

THE PANJAB PAST AND PRESENT

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Edited by

GANDA SINGH



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Dr. Ganda Singh

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A Brief Account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore (1873)

Introductory

This brief account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore has been drawn up at the request of the Hon^{ble} Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B., and it is hoped will be useful to those who have no time or opportunity to collect the information for themselves.

Apart from its connection with the stirring events of the last twelve years, Lahore is a city which must be interesting to the student of the History and Architecture of India. Situated on the high road from Afghānistān, it has been visited by every Western invader, from Alexander to Shah Zeman; it was the focus of the first struggles between Hinduism and Mahommedanism, and the centre of a confederation which for upwards of two centuries successfully withstood the progress of Islam; it was for years the capital of the Ghaznevīdes, and for a time of the Moghul Emperors; the place of Arjun's martyrdom and of Ranjit Singh's rise. Historians and Poets of the East and of the West have united in the praise of its size and splendour. Abulfeda, in the fourteenth century, had read of it in the pages of Ibn Alatir as "a city great among the cities of India." Abulfazl, in the sixteenth, describes it as the "grand resort of people of all nations." "If Shīrāz and Ispāhān," says an old local proverb, "were united, they would not make one Lahore." The traveller Thevenot, who saw it in A.D. 1665, the period of its decline, states that a short time before his visit the city with its suburbs covered an area of three leagues in length. Bernier notes the magnificence of its place, the length of its streets, and the height of the houses as compared with those at Agra or at Delhi. Our own Milton places Lahore among the "*Cities of old or modern fame, the seat of mightiest empire,*" which met the eyes of the repentent Adam from the hill of Paradise;¹ and Moore has

1. ... "from the destined walls,
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
To Paquin of Sinaean Kings; and thence,
To Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul."

Paradise Lost, Bk., xi, l. 337-341.

built up amid the "palaces, domes and gilded minarets" of Lahore a city of enchantment sacred to loves of the Lalla Rookh and Feramorz.²

Modern Lahore, it is true, far from realizes the glowing description given above. In size and populousness it is far inferior to Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, and even to Amritsar. The circuit of its walls does not exceed three miles, and its population, at the last census, was given at about 90,000. The streets are narrow and wormlike, and the general aspect of the city, with the exception of its northern front, is neither imposing nor picturesque. But a closer acquaintance with the city and its environs will tend considerably to modify the first impression and give some colour to the extravagant descriptions given above. That Lahore formerly covered a far larger area than it does at present is at once apparent from the number and extent of the ruins which cover the face of the surrounding country. From the city walls to Shalimar, Meean-Meer and Ichra—a circle with a radius of some three or four miles,—the ground is strewn with debris interspersed with crumbling mosques, tombs, gateways and gigantic mounds. Some conception of the extent of Lahore in its palmier days, as compared with its present state, may be formed from the fact, that of thirty-six *guzars* or quarters into which Lahore is known to have been divided, only nine are included within the area of the modern city; but a more vivid picture of the desolation which is passed over Lahore will be obtained by a view of the surrounding country from a minaret of the Imperial Mosque or of the Mosque of Wazir Khān. Some have supposed that the actual city, that is, the inhabited portion of Lahore, never extended beyond its present limits, and that the mass of debris which everywhere meets the eye is composed entirely of the remains of tombs and garden walls. This supposition may be proved to be erroneous, not only by the evidence of eye-witnesses, Native and European, such as

2. They had now arrived at the splended city of Lahore, whose mausoleums and shrines, magnificent and numberless, where Death appeared to share equal honours with Heaven, would have powerfully affected the heart and imagination of Lalla Rookh, if feelings more of this earth had not taken entire possession of her already...The Rajas and Omras in her train, who had kept at a certain distance during the journey, and never encamped nearer to the Princess than was strictly necessary for her safeguard, here rode in splendid cavalcade through the city, and distributed the most costly presents to the crowd. Engines were worked in all the squares, which cast forth showers of confectionery among the people, while the artizans, in chariots adorned, with tinsel and flying streamers, exhibited badges of their respective trades through the streets. Such brilliant displays of life and pageantry among the palaces and domes and gilded minarets of Lahore, made the city altogether like a place of enchantment.".....*Lalla Rookh*.

Bernier, Tavernier and Thevenot, but also from the existence, among the debris, of numerous small wells, such as are constructed in the private dwelling-houses of a closely-packed city; from the position of the large ruined mosque on the right-hand side of the Amritsar road, known as the Idgāh, or place of assembly upon Mahommedan feast-days. These buildings are almost always erected in the immediate outskirts of a town; it may be inferred, therefore, that when this mosque was built the city extended as far as its immediate vicinity; but the city is now nearly three miles off, and the building has long ceased to be the rendezvous of the faithful on their holy days. Again, we have a casual notice, in a Mahommedan writer of Akbar's time, of a certain *guzar* or quarter, which is now desolate and upwards of a mile from the city, as being the most populous quarter of Lahore; and lastly, we have the analogy of other Eastern cities, such as Kābul, Tabriz or Ispahān, where the suburbs, that is the portion of city beyond the walls, are far the most extensive and important parts of the town. Upon the whole, it may be considered probable that in its best days, that is during the reign of Shahjehan, the city must have had a circuit some sixteen or seventeen miles. The portion of the city outside the walls probably consisted of numerous thickly inhabited spots connected with the city gates by long bazars. The intervals between these different quarters were filled up with tombs, gardens, and mosques, whose remains now form a conspicuous feature in the aspect of the environs of Lahore. The *Moti Mahall* or 'Regent-street' of old Lahore is said to have been in the vicinity of the site of the present Civil Station, and to this day coins and remains of jewellery are occasionally picked up in that locality after heavy rains.

It is easier to form an idea of the size and extent of the old city of Lahore than of its magnificence. Few cities have suffered more from desolating hordes and from anarchy than Lahore during the last one hundred and twenty years. Eight times did the troops of Ahmad Shah Durani pass through Lahore; Marattas and Sikhs have done their work of destruction, and the buildings, being for the most part, built of brick, have perished and are perishing rapidly from mere exposure. But it is pretty certain, from the accounts we possess and from the absence of any but insignificant specimens of Hindū and Pathān remains, that, until the period of the Moghul dynasty, the city had no architectural pretensions; on the other hand, in the number and importance of its tombs, the profuse use of glazed tiles and enamelled frescos as an architectural decoration, the recurrence of the bulb-like dome and semi-domed

gateway, we have all the characteristics of the Moghul or what may be termed the florid style of Indo-Mahommedan architecture, standing perhaps in a similar relation to the Pathān to that which the decorated style of English architecture bears to that termed semi-Norman. As far as can be judged from existing remains, Lahore can never have equalled Dehli in its public buildings, though the superior size of its private edifices would indicate the existence of more private wealth. Still, in the Tomb of Jehāngīr, the Palace of that Prince and of his successor Shāhjahān, the Mosque of Wāzīr Khan, the Pearl Mosque, the Gardens of Shālimār, and the Bādshāhi or Imperial Mosque of Aurangzīb, will be found no mean specimens of architecture; and on its north-eastern side, where the Mosque of Aurangzīb, with its plain white domes of marble and tall unadorned *minārs*, the Mausoleum of Ranjit Singh, with its curvilinear roof, projecting balconies and details, half Mahommedan, half Hindū, and lastly, the once brilliantly enamelled front of the Palace of the Moghuls stand side by side, overlooking a broad and grassy plain,—Lahore can, even now, show an architectural *coup d'œil* worthy of an imperial city; and could we but imagine the same palace-front, undisfigured by Sikh and English additions, with its coloured frescos fresh and vivid, the river flowing at its base, and eastward, as far as the eye could reach, a massive quay of masonry, with flights of steps at intervals and gardens extending to the water's edge, the now deserted suburbs filled with a thriving population and interspersed with tombs and *baradaris* rising amid luxuriant gardens, whose gates glittered with many-coloured porcelain, we should form a conception of what we have reason to believe Lahore really was in the period of its prime.

Before proceeding to give a historical account of the city, it may be as well to say a few words respecting the available sources of information. These, it is to be regretted, are few and unsatisfactory. What we know of its pre-Mahommedan history is confined to the casual notices contained in the annals of the neighbouring States of Rājputāna and Kashmīr, to the glimpses afforded by earlier Mahommedan writers, and to inferences drawn from numismatic evidence. For the period subsequent to the Mahommedan invasion we have, certainly, a connected history to guide us, but the annalists seldom deal in facts of a locally interesting character. The general histories of India, such as those of Ferishta, Nizām-ud-din Ahmad, Abd-ul-Qadir, *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, the *Iqbāl-nāmah Jehangīrī*, &c., are little more than a chronicle of wars, court intrigues and murders, and seldom descend to local details; and those of a more local character, such as the work of Abd-ul-Hamīd Lāhorī, the *Safina-t-*

ul-Auliya, and the records of the numerous Mahommedan shrines, seem to have been compiled upon the principle of omitting all that is interesting and recording all that is not. Local legends there are, but, for the most part of so extravagant a character as to be neither instructive nor amusing; the people, moreover, are careless of their own history, and the sarcastic remark of Petrarch regarding Rome in the fourteenth century— "*Nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romae*"— is applicable with still greater force to Lahore in the nineteenth.

Under these circumstances the task becomes a very difficult one. Still the compiler is sensible that he has not done justice to his subject; but if he succeeds in awakening interest and stimulating further antiquarian research, his object will have been attained.*

Lahore, October 16th, 1860.

Antiquity of Lahore :

There can be no doubt that Lahore was founded and rose to be a place of importance long before the period of the Mahommedan invasions of India. Its connection with the earlier cycle of Purānic legends, the testimony of the Rājputānah chronicles and of the Annals of Kashmīr, and lastly the coins still discovered among the ruins in the vicinity of the present city, sufficiently prove this.

Date of its Foundation :

The exact date of its foundation it is, as may be supposed, impossible to discover, but we may make an approximate guess at the period of its rise to importance from the following considerations.

In the first place, there is no mention of Lahore, nor of any city with which it may be fairly identified, in the writings of Greek historians of the expedition of Alexander to the East. Burnes would identify it with *Sangala*,³ a city mentioned by Arrian as the stronghold of the *Kathoei* or *Katheri*, who occupied the region in which Lahore is situated. But the position of Sangala,—three marches from the Rāvi—would appear fatal to such a supposition. Yet there can be no doubt that Alexander embarked upon the Ravi in the vicinity of Lahore, and must

*The Compiler's acknowledgements are due to Mr. H. Cope, of Amritsar, and also to several Native Gentlemen, especially Diwān Amr Nāth, Syud Jemāl-ud-din and Pandit Matsūdun, for the assistance they have rendered him in the preparation of this Memoir.

3. The identification of this place is a bone of contention among Panjābī antiquaries. Wilford would identify it with Kilanore; Masson with Harlpa; Cunningham with *Chek*, the old town which stood on the site of the modern Amritsar.

in all probability have passed the site of the modern city. If, therefore, any place of importance had existed at that time, it would in all probability have been mentioned. It may be assumed, therefore, that Lahore, if it existed, was a place of no importance at the period of the invasion of Alexander.

On the other hand, from the number of coins of the Menander dynasty of Indo-Bactrian kings discovered among its ruins, it would appear that Lahore was a place of importance at that period.

It may be inferred, therefore, that Lahore was founded or rose to importance some time between the fourth and second centuries B.C.

By whom Founded :

From the name of the city itself, from Hindū tradition concerning its foundation, from the testimony of the Rājputānah annals, and the statements of Mahomedan writers, it would appear that Lahore was essentially a Rājput city.

Derivation of its Name :

Its name appears in Mahomedan writers under the varied forms of *Lāhor*, *Lohor*, *Lohér*, *Lahāwar*, *Lehāwar*, *Luhāwar*, *Lohāwar* and *Lāhanūr*;⁴ in the chronicles of Rājputānah it is mentioned under the name of *Loh-kot*, and in the *Deshv Bhāg*, a compilation from the Purānas, drawn up by order of the erudite Rāja Jye Singh Siwāe, of Jyepore, it is called *Lavpor*. The form *Lāhanūr* is probably a Mahomedan corruption, and occurs only, as far as I am aware, in the writings of Amīr Khosro, the bard of Dehli;⁵ *Lohāwar* is the oldest and probably the most correct form of the name, as it is the form under which it appears in the writings of Abū Rihān al Barūni, a contemporary and companion of the Emperor Mahmūd of Ghaznī, and one who is known to have been well versed in the literature of the Hindus. The termination *āwar* is, no doubt, a corruption of colloquial Sanskrit *awara*, meaning a *fort* or *enclosure*, which is found as a termination in the names of many other Rājput cities, as, for instance, *Peshāwar*,⁶ *Rājāwar*, commonly called *Rajore*, and *Sonāwar*, and may still be traced in the Maratta term *awār*, a *court-yard*, and the

4. An anonymous writer in the Annual Register for 1809 states that he was told at Lahore that the former name of the city was *Ella-nūr*, but I can find no written authority for this.

5. Since writing the above, I have found another instance of this form *Lahanūr* in records of a Mahomedan shrine founded in the time of Bohlol Khan Lodi.

6. The derivation of the first syllable of this word has given rise to considerable discussion. Some of the more sanguine affirm that it is a corruption of the name

[Contd. on page 7]

Hindī and Panjābī *bār* or *vārā*, a cattle-pen or fence. *Lohawar*, therefore, must signify the *Fort of Loh*,⁷ and the name will thus correspond in signification with the *Loh-Kot* of the Rājputānah chronicles.

Local Hindu Tradition Regarding the Foundation of Lahore :

According to Hindu local tradition, Lahore was founded by *Lav* or *Loh*, the son of Rāma, and *pūja* is still done to Sita, Rāma's wife, as mother of a Lav, the founder of Lahore. In other words, its founders were Rājpuṭs of the Solar race.

This local tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the Mewar annals. According to them, the founder of the royal line of Mewar was, *Keneksen*, a Solar Rajput Prince, who migrated from Lahore about A.D. 144. Moreover, the Solankhi tribe of Anulhāra Pattan and the Bhāttis of Jessalmer, whose name is still borne by one of the city gateways, point to Lahore as the seat of their earlier location. Further, we have the testimony of Mahomedan Historians that, at the period of the Mahomedan conquest, Lahore was in the possession of a Rajput Prince.

Mahomedan Local Tradition :

On the other hand, there is a Mahomedan tradition that the present city and fortress of Lahore were founded by *Mallik Ayāz*, the friend and counsellor of Mahmud of Ghaznī, and his tomb by the Taksālī Gate is still revered by Mussulmen as the burial-place of the 'Oekist' of Lahore.

How Reconcilable :

These two traditions may be reconciled by supposing that the original Hindū city of Lahore did not occupy exactly its present site, or that the city had been deserted or destroyed before its final capture by the Mahomedans and founded by them *de novo*. There are reasons which make

Contd. from page 6]

of Porus and antiquity. Others who profess to take a 'common sense' view of the subject would regard the first syllable as identical with the Persian *pesh* and hold that Peshāwar means nothing more than "advanced fort" or "frontier post." Against the 'common sense' view of the subject there are unfortunately one or two fatal objections. In the first place, the derivation of Peshāwar from *pesh*, in front, involves the combination of a Persian and Sanscrit root; in the next place it is to be remembered that by all early writers the name is written *Persh-āwar* or *Parash-āwar*, not *Pesh-āwar*; and, further, the name appears in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, who visited the Punjab in the 7th century A.D. under the form PUILU-SHA-PU-LO, which is nothing more than Chinese rendering of *Purushpūr*; I being invariably substituted for R by the Chinese.

7. In like manner Kusoor is resolvable, into *Kush-āwar*, or Fort of Kush; Kush being the name of the brother of Lav.

it probable that the first of these suppositions is correct, and that the older city stood somewhere in the vicinity of the existing village of Ichra, or about three miles from its present site. In the first place, there is a tradition among the inhabitants of the villages of Ichra and Mozung to this effect; in the next place, the old name of Ichra was *Ichra-Lahore*, which is still to be found, it is said, upon old documents; and lastly, the oldest and most sacred Hindu shrines⁸ are to be found in this locality.

Pre-Mahomedan History of Lahore :

Beyond the fact of its Rājput origin, hardly anything can be recorded of the history of Lahore until the period of the Mahomedan invasion. In the *Rājā Taranginī* Lahore is mentioned as a dependency of Lalitaditya, the renowned sovran of Kashmir; in the *Deshv Bhāga* above mentioned, it is recorded that at the end of the Dwārpar or brazen age, Bhim Sen fought Ban Mal, Rāja of Lahore, a mighty prince, with an army of 10,000 horsemen, and after a struggle of three days took him prisoner and made his kingdom tributary; and in the ballad poetry of the northern border, "the forest near Lahore, then called Udinagar," figures as the battle-ground where Rassalū, son of Sal-Vahn, the eponymic hero of Syālkot, fought and slew the monster Rākhas. These stories cannot, indeed, be considered history, but they show the intimate connection of Lahore with the semi-mythic period of Indian history. Numismatic researches tend to show that Lahore formed a portion of the kingdom of Menander and his successors; that it fell successively into the hands of the Scythic dynasties of Azes, Kadphises and Kanerkis, and subsequently under the rule of a Sassanian dynasty of Princes, who reigned between the fourth and seven centuries A. D. It is possible that Kanerkis, whose coins are numerous at Lahore, and whose date is given by Prinsep as about A.D. 100 is the same as the Kaneksen of the Mewar chronicle, and the *Kanishka* of the annals of Kashmīr, in which case Lahore must have been the capital of the third Scythian dynasty.

Early Struggle with the Mahomedans :

However, this may be at the period of the first Mahomedan invasion, in the latter part of the seventh century of our era we find Lahore in possession of a Chauhān Prince of the family of Ajmīr. In A.D. 682, according to Ferishta, the Afghans of Kerman and Peshawar, who had, even at that early period, embraced the religion of the prophet, wrested certain possessions from the Hindu Prince. A war ensued, and in the

8. I allude to the *Bhaira-ka-Sthān* and the *Chandrāt*.

space of five months seventy battles were fought with varied success, until the Afghans having formed an alliance with the Ghakkars compelled the Raja to cede a portion of his territory. The next mention of Lahore is in the Rajputanah chronicles, where the Bussas of Lahore, a Rajput tribe, are mentioned as rallying to the defence of Chittore when besieged by Mussalman forces in the beginning of the 9th century. At length, in A.D. 975, Sebektegin, Governor of Khorasan and father of the celebrated Mahmud, advanced beyond the Indus. He was met by Jeipāl, Raja of Lahore, whose dominion is said to have extended from Sirhind to Lamghan, and from Kashmir to Multan. By the advice of a Prince of the Bhatti tribe the Raja formed alliance with the Afghans, and with their aid was enabled to withstand the first invasion. On his succession to the throne of Ghazni, Sebektegin repeated his invasion. A battle ensued in the vicinity of Lamghan. The Raja was defeated, and made overtures for peace. His terms were accepted, and persons sent on the part of Sebektegin to receive the balance of the stipulated ransom. On reaching Lahore Jeipāl proved faithless, and imprisoned those commissioned to receive the treasure. On receiving intelligence of his perfidy, Sebektegin, in the words of Ferishta, "like a foaming torrent hastened towards Hindustān."

Another battle ensued, in which Jeipāl was again vanquished and retreated, leaving the territory to the west of the Nilab or Indus in the hands of the invader, and chagrined at his double defeat performed the Hindu sacrifice of *Johar*⁹ or devotion, by burning himself to death outside the walls of his capital.

Lahore taken by Mahmud of Ghazni :

The invader did not retain the conquests he had made, for in A.D. 1008 a confederation, headed by Anangpal,¹⁰ son of Jeipāl, again met the advancing army, now commanded by Mahmud, son and successor of Sebektegin, in the vicinity of Peshawar. In the battle which ensued the

9. The suicide of Calanus, the Indian, at Pasargadae, and that of Zarmanochegas at Athens (Strabo Lib., XV., Chapter 1), are other instances of the performance of this rite. But we need not go back to antiquity for examples; only the other day a peasant of the Kangra District, a leper, deliberately burnt himself to death. According to the official report "one of his brothers handed him a light and went away, a second brother watched the burning, and a third thought it a matter of such small interest that he went about his usual avocations."

10. He is called by Ferishta *Anandpal*, but *Anangpal* has the authority of the Rajputanah chronicles and the Puranahs. *Anang* means "incorporeal" or "unsubstantial," hence *Anangpal* is translated by Tod "supporter of a desolate abode"—an ominous name for the monarch of a falling dynasty.

naphtha balls of the Afghan army, according to a conjectural reading of Ferishta's text, spread dismay among the Hindu soldiery, who fled with a great slaughter. But Lahore was allowed to remain intact for thirteen years longer. Anangpal was succeeded by another Jeipāl, called by Al Baruni Nardjanpāl, while Mahmud pushed his conquests into Hindustan. But in A.D. 1022 he suddenly marched down from Kashmir, seized Lahore without opposition and gave it over to be plundered. Jeipāl II fled helpless to Ajmir, and the Hindu principality of Lahore was extinguished for ever. A final effort was made by the Hindus in the reign of Modūd, A.D. 1045, to recover their lost sovereignty, but after a fruitless siege of six months they retired without success, "and thus," says Albaruni, "the sovereignty of India became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth."

Social and Political results attending the Introduction of Mahomedanism :

From the above account it will be seen that the princes and people of Lahore played a prominent part in that long-continued struggle between Mahomedanism and Hinduism which marks the introduction of the former into India. While Persia was vanquished in three successive battles, and Egypt and the north coast of Africa in less than fifty years, it took upwards of two centuries before Mahomedanism had established a footing across the Indus. The strong social action and re-action which have taken place between the two religions in this part of India may be traced to the fact that the establishment of Mahomedanism was thus gradual, and the comparative tolerancy of the earlier Mahomedan dynasties of India is perhaps referable to the same cause¹¹—the result of those long struggles in which Lahore was so conspicuous; for history shows that the steady resistance of a people to the religion and customs of their conquerors will, as was the case with the Moors in Spain, teach even bigots the necessity of toleration. Even now the Mahomedan of the Punjab is perhaps less bigoted, and the Hindu less grossly superstitious, than elsewhere; and it is remarkable that two of the boldest reformers which India has produced, Gorakhnath and Nanak, were natives of the Panjab.

Early Mahomedan Period :

During the reigns of the first eight Princes of the Ghaznevide dynasty Lahore was governed by Viceroys, but in the reign of Masaud III (from A.D. 1102-1118), the seat of Government was removed to Lahore, as the Seljuks having deprived the house of Ghazni of most of its territory in

11. See the remarks in Elphinstone's *History of India*, Book V., Ch. I.

Iran and Turan, the Royal family were compelled to take refuge in their Indian possessions. Lahore appears to have remained the seat of empire until transferred by Mahomed Ghori, the founder of Ghorian dynasty, to Delhi in A.D. 1160. The Ghaznevides, especially the later ones, appear to have been a tolerant race, and to have adopted the 'conciliation policy' towards their Hindu subjects; we find them employing troops of Hindu Cavalry, and some of them even adopted on their coinage the titles and written character of the conquered race; and their popularity may further be inferred from the continual disturbances which arose at Lahore after their expulsion. Three localities at Lahore are traditionally connected with the Ghaznevide period, and are looked upon as places of great sanctity,—the tomb of Malik Ayaz, before alluded to, who is said to have built up the walls and fortress of Lahore miraculously in a single night; the tomb of Syud Izhak, in the quadrangle of Wazir Khan's mosque; and lastly, the tomb of Dada Ganj Baksh; a learned divine of Baghdad, the St. Odo of his day, who accompanied the victorious army of Mahmud of Ghazni, in the character of spiritual adviser, and died at an advanced age at Lahore. Whatever may have been his deeds, he has unfortunately had no Robert Wace to chronicle them. He has left a work entitled '*Kahsf-ul-mahjub*,' the 'Revelation of the Hidden,' but it does not reveal a single fact connected with the history of his time.

Lahore during the Ghorian and Slave Dynasties :

During the Ghorian and Slave dynasties Lahore was the focus of conspiracies against Government; indeed, it appears throughout the subsequent history of Mahomedan rule to have been the rendezvous of the Tartar as opposed to the Afghan party. In A.D. 1241 Lahore was taken and plundered by the hordes of Gengiz Khān, and in A.D. 1286 Prince Mahomed, the accomplished son of Sultan-Gheias-ud-din Balbun, perished in an encounter with the Moghuls on the banks of the Ravi, and the poet Amir Khosro, the Alcaeus of his time, was taken prisoner by his side.

The Khilji and Tughlak Dynasties :

During the Khilji and Tughlak dynasties Lahore is not conspicuous in the political history of the day; it was once plundered by the Ghakkars, and mention is made of Moghul colonists taking up their abode in the vicinity of the city, and the place of their location is still known by the name of Moghulpura.

Invasion of Timur :

The year A.D. 1397 is memorable as the date of the invasion of Timur, the "firebrand of the universe," Lahore was taken by a detachment

of his forces, and from the fact that Timur did not plunder it in person, it may be inferred that the city was not particularly rich at the time. On his departure Lahore was left in possession of Syud Khizr Khan, an Afghan and native of India, whom he appointed Viceroy.

The Lodi Dynasty :

From this period it was alternately in the hands of Ghakkars and the ruling dynasty, until in A.D. 1436 it was seized by Behlol Khan Lodi, one of the Afghan Chiefs, who rose to power on the dissolution of the Toghlak dynasty, and eventually became Emperor. In the reign of his grandson, Sultan Ibrahim, Daulat Khan Lodi, the Afghan Governor of Lahore, revolted, and, Count Julian-like, invited to his aid the great Chagatai, Prince Baber, who had long meditated an invasion of Hindustan, which he claimed as the representative of Timur.

Lahore taken by Baber :

Baber came, saw and conquered. He was met by an Afghan army composed of the supporters of Sultan Ibrahim in the vicinity of Lahore, but it was speedily vanquished, and the victor, enraged at the opposition he had experienced, let loose his soldiery upon the city, which they plundered and partially burnt. This happened in A.D. 1524. Baber did not remain long at Lahore, but after a halt of but four days marched on for Delhi. He did not, however, get further than Sirhind on this occasion. Daulat Khan Lodi, who had invited him to Hindustan, being dissatisfied with his reward of a jagir, had already commenced to intrigue against him. He, therefore, returned to Lahore, and having parcelled out the provinces he had conquered among his Begs, went back to Kabul. The next year Lahore was the hot-bed of intrigues fomented by Daulat Khan, which it is unnecessary to detail, but the following year Baber again appeared. An attempt was again made to oppose him at the Ravi near Lahore, but the force melted away before it was attacked, and Baber, without entering Lahore, passed on towards Hindustan.

A.D. 1526 :

This was his last expedition, and it ended in the decisive victory of Panipat over the Afghan Army, the capture of Dehli and the foundation of the Moghul Empire.

Lahore at the Period of Baber's Conquest :

It is disappointing that Baber, who always took care to see what was to be seen, and has, in his autobiography, left such graphic descriptions of Kabul, Samarkand and the environs of Dehli, passes over Lahore in silence. From this it may be inferred that the city had, at that period, no architectural pretensions. The insignificance of the existing Pathan remains

confirms his inference,¹² Two small mosques, of no pretensions, in the heart of the city, the Nimiwala-mosque and the Shiranwala mosque, are the only remains of the Pathan period, as far as I am aware, existing at Lahore at the present day.

The Moghul Period :

The reigns of Humayun, Akbar, Jehangir, Shahjehan and Aurangzib, the successors of Baber, may be considered the golden period of the history of Lahore. The city again became a place of Royal residence; gardens, tombs, mosques, baradaris sprung up in every direction; the population increased; suburbs grew up; until the city became, in the language of Abulfazl, "the grand resort of people of all nations," and celebrated for its fine buildings and luxuriant gardens. To this day almost all that is architecturally beautiful at Lahore is referable to this period.

Aesthetical Influence of the Moghuls :

To the Moghuls we owe the introduction of what now form three striking characteristics of the principal cities of Upper India.

Architecture :

In the first place, there grew up with them a new style of architecture, more splendid and elaborate, though less massive than the Pathan, from which it was developed. Bulb-like doms supported on elaborate pendentives; tall minars; lofty semi-domed gateways; ogee arches with feathered edgings, marble lattice windows, and brilliantly enamelled walls, are the characteristics of this style.

Gardens :

In the next place it is to their love of the picturesque in nature,— a pleasing feature in their character—we owe the construction of those regularly planned gardens¹³ with their dense foliage, fountains and imitative cascades, which have excited the admiration of all travellers to the East. Coming from the well-watered valleys and waving foliage of Ush and Andejan, Baber regarded with European disgust the dusty, treeless plains of the Panjab. In his memoirs he bitterly complains of the ugliness of the cities of Hindustan. "They have no walled gardens," he says, "no artificial water-courses;" and he alludes to the impression of novelty produced by the garden he laid out at Agra. "The men of Hind," he says, "who had never before seen places formed in such a plan, or

12. It is also confirmed by the fact that the traveller Ibn-Batuta, who must have passed through Lahore on his way from Multān to Delhi, is silent respecting it.

13. It is remarkable that there is no Hindi word in common use for "a garden," *Bagh* and *Chaman* are Persian, and *Rauza* Arabic.

laid out with so much elegance, gave the name of Kabul to the side of the Jumna on which these palaces were built."

Tombs :

Lastly, the same appreciation of natural scenery, combined with that solicitude for their dead, which characterizes Tartar races, led to the erection of those numerous garden-enclosed tombs which form a picturesque feature of the environs of every Moghul city.¹⁴ The thought they suggest as they rise, dome after dome, from amidst the crowded suburbs,—or what were crowded suburbs,—of *Death in the Midst of Life* is solemn and impressive. At the same time we cannot but reflect that these monuments are, in many cases, the offspring of nothing more than a selfish desire on the part of the deceased to perpetuate his own name,¹⁵ and we miss the Christian sentiment inspired by the mode in which England deals with her illustrious dead. *There*, in one "temple of reconciliation," the dust of the great and good, of every shade of party or opinion, mingles beneath one hallowed roof; *here*, every noble has a Westminster Abbey of his own, and the separated in life are not united even in death.

Prince Kāmran gave the first impulse to the architectural adornment of Lahore :

Prince Kamran, the brother of Humayun, when Viceroy at Lahore, seems to have given the first impulse in this direction. He built a house and a garden at Lahore in the vicinity of Naulukha, extending from thence to the river Rāvi. It was here probably that Humayun, on his retreat from Sher Shah, the Afghan claimant of the throne, was entertained by his perfidious brother just before his temporary expulsion. A story is told that, as the Royal cortege was crossing the Ravi in flight for the West, his counsellors suggested to Humayun the advisability of

14. This tomb-building propensity is not peculiar to the Moghuls, but the number and importance of these monuments and their picturesque additions would seem to have been owing to their influence.

15. This practice of building their own monuments at first sight seems to imply a distrust on the part of these Turki nobles of the *Pietas* of their heirs. But it must rather, perhaps, be ascribed to the uncertainty, under an Eastern despotism of transmitting wealth to posterity. Most large incomes were the result either of personal favour or peculation—in either case the fortune generally died with the possessor; we can understand, therefore, why a man, who had been successful in his generation, should be anxious to rear himself a suitable monument—that "necessary adjunct or a Tartar's glory"—before the means to do so had been dissipated.

then and there despatching the brother, whose faithlessness was one great cause of his misfortunes; but the Emperor indignantly rejected the proposal. A baradari said to have been built by Prince Kamran is now used as a toll-house at the bridge of boats. This is the oldest specimen of Moghul architecture in Lahore, but has undergone considerable alterations.

Sher Shah :

The new Emperor, Sher Shah, appears to have regarded Lahore as a place, from its Moghul partizanship, politically dangerous, and at one time meditated razing it to the ground, and transferring its inhabitants to Mankot in the Syalkot range; and, on his death-bed, lamented his not having done so as one of the omissions of his life. The design was again revived in the reign of his successor, but never carried into effect.

A.D. 1554, Humayun Returns :

After an exile of 14 years Humayun returned in triumph to Lahore, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants. After his death at Delhi in A.D. 1556, and the accession of Akbar, the peace of Lahore was again disturbed by Hakim, the younger brother of Akbar, who descended from Kabul, of which province he was governor, and seized Lahore in A.D. 1563, but was soon expelled; in 1581 he made another attempt, but the siege was raised by the advance of Akbar in person. From A.D. 1584 to 1598, Akbar apparently made Lahore his head-quarters and undertook from thence the conquest of Kashmir and the operations against the Afghan tribes of the frontier.

Akbar at Lahore :

It was during his residence at Lahore that Akbar would appear to have developed to their greatest extent those principles of religious liberty for which he is so conspicuous. His court was the resort of savans of every creed, and religious discussions were the order of the day.¹⁶ It is related that the Emperor erected two buildings outside the city for the entertainment of devotees of every kind: one, called Khairpura, for Jews, Gabrs, or fire-worshippers, and Mahomedans, and another, called

16. The *odium theologicum* excited by these discussions led sometimes to fatal disputes. In one of them Mulla Ahmad, a learned Shia, compiler of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* was assassinated in the streets of Lahore by one Mirza Fulad. The murderer was sentenced to be bound alive to the leg of elephant, "and thus," adds the Sunni narrator, "attained martyrdom."—See Sir H. Elliot's *Biographical Index of the Mahomedan Historians of India*.

Dharmapura, for Hindus. Weekly meetings were held for discussion, in which Bīr Bal, Abu-l-faizī, Abu-l-fazl, and other independent thinkers took part. Alchemy, fascination and magic were also practised, according to the Historian,¹⁷ and the Emperor himself is said to have become an adept in the former art. In the same spirit of eclecticism, Akbar revived the old Persian festival in honor of the sun, and appointed Abū-fazl superintendent of fire temples. A portion of the building called Khairpura is still to remain in the vicinity of Dārānagar on the left bank of the road to Mian Meer,¹⁸ and there is a memento of the imperial partiality to sun worship in an enamelled figure of the sun visible to this day on the front-wall of the palace.¹⁹

Visit of the Portuguese Missionaries :

It was during this period that some Portuguese Missionaries, at the express request of Akbar, proceeded from Goa to the Emperor's Court at Lahore. They arrived with sanguine hopes of christianizing the country. In their journal they describe Lahore as a "delightful city." On arrival, they continue, they were taken to the Imperial residence, situated "on an island in the river;" being introduced to His Majesty, who is described as "a man about 50 years old, and white like an European," they presented him with a splendid image of the virgin, and he received it with the greatest admiration. But, notwithstanding this good beginning, their hopes of conversion were not realized, and they eventually returned *re infecta* to Goa. Akbar's successor Jehāngīr, was even more liberal than his father. He allowed some Portuguese Jesuits to establish a mission and build a church at Lahore, and even assigned stipends to the priests. But this liberality ceased after his death; Shāh-jehān—a more strict Mussalman—confiscated the pensions and pulled down the church; but some traces of it still remained when Lahore was visited by the French traveller Thevenot in A.D. 1665.

It was about this period also (A.D. 1584) that Lahore was visited by four of our own countrymen, Messrs. Fitch, Newberry, Leedes and Storey, members of the Turkey or Levant Company. The former left an

17. Abd-ul-Kadir, author of the *Tarikh-i-Budauni*.

18. It is not improbable that there is an allusion to the practice of alchemy at Khairpura in the following passage in the inscription on the tomb of Meean Meer, which is in the immediate vicinity of Dārānagar :

Kih khāk-i-darash rashk-i-akseer shud.

"The dust of whose portals is envied by the stone of the alchemist."

19. Tod mentions a similar decoration at Oodipore. "A huge painted sun of gypsum, in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the Hall of Audience." This subject will be noticed again hereafter.

account of his travels, but whether he gives any detailed description of Lahore I am unable to ascertain, but any notice of Lahore from his pen would be most interesting, as containing the impressions of the first Englishman who visited Lahore, and that at a period of its greatest splendour.

Literature :

The literary circle which followed the Imperial Court appears to have been peculiarly active during its sojourn at Lahore. It was here the voluminous history of Mahomedanism from the earliest period up to the thousandth year of the Hijri era, compiled by order of the Emperor, was finished and revised; and it was here that the translation of the *Mahabharata* and the *Raja Tarangini* into Persian—a work still unaccomplished as regards our own language—was undertaken. I forbear inflicting upon the reader a list of the historians, the poets and the divines who wrote and rhymed and occasionally fought within the walls of Lahore between A.D. 1584 and A.D. 1598, but there is one among them who deserves special mention in a history of Lahore, I mean the Historian Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the author of the *Tabāqāt Akbarī*—the first historical work of which India forms exclusively the subject-matter. He died in A.D. 1594, and was buried in his garden at Lahore. I have endeavoured to find out the tomb of this *celebre*, to whom Ferishta owed so much in the compilation of his history, but without success; even his name and his work are but little known to the modern literati of Lahore.

It is also worthy of remark that Akbar's able minister, Todar Mall, the best Revenue officer perhaps the Moghul Government ever had, and the ideal of an oriental financier, expired at Lahore. The visit of the late Mr. Wilson to Lahore before commencing the new era of finance which he has opened was thus historically appropriate.

Architectural Works of Akbar :

During his residence at Lahore Akbar enlarged and repaired the fort and surrounded it and the city with a wall, portions of which still remain, though it was almost built *de novo* at the beginning of the present century by Ranjit Singh. In the fort, up to within a few years, there remained some good specimens of the peculiar style of architecture, half Mahomedan half Hindu, adopted by the Emperor, but they are nearly all destroyed; the *Akbari Mahal*, or Chamber of Akbar, has been razed to the ground, and the smaller Takht or Throne-room has been so completely transmogrified by modern additions that it is hardly recogni-

zable as an antique building. The massive gateway, now blocked up, leading from the Huzuri Bagh into the fort, was a work of Akbar, and its boldness of design contrasts remarkably with the elegant but somewhat finnikin architecture of the later buildings.

Other architectural remains of this period are the tomb of Shah Chirāgh, lately used as a residence by the Deputy Commissioner, and now being transformed into a Government Office. The tomb of Mir Ismael, once the trysting-place of the Lahore wrestlers, and now the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor; the tomb of Mūssa Shah, by the Railway station plot—noticeable as one of the few specimens at Lahore of purely Pathan design, and at the same time one of the earliest, if not the earliest, instance at Lahore of the use of coloured tiles as an architectural decoration,—a mosque called the mosque of Kala Khan to the right of the road Meean Meer; another by the Dehli gate, and one or two others of less importance, which will be noticed in the descriptive portion of this memoir. Several Hindu shrines, such as the Tibbika Shibwālā, were built at this period, but none of them have any architectural pretensions.

Rapid increase of the city in Akbar's time :

During the reign of Akbar, Lahore, as might have been expected, increased great in size and opulence. Up to this period, according to a native writer,²⁰ Lahore consisted of a number of detached hamlets; it now grew into an extensive city. The city, *par excellence*, was that portion surrounded by the wall and covered the same area as the present city; but outside the walls were long bazars and thickly populated suburbs which no longer exist; but some idea of their extent may be formed from the fact that at the time Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad wrote his work, that is, the latter part of Akbar's reign—the most populous quarter of Lahore was the quarter of Langar Khan,²¹ this quarter was situated between the Civil Station of Anarkulli and the village of Mozung, upwards of a mile from the *enceinte* of the present city. Another writer of the same period, the celebrated Abul-fazl,²² speaks of Lahore as a very great and populous city, famous for its artizans and the excellence of its manufactures. The

20. Amin Ahmad Rāzī, author of a work called *Haft Iqlīm*, dated A. H. 1032, A. D. 1624.

21. Langar Khān distinguished himself as Governor of Multan in the reign of Humayun, who in recognition his services, assigned him a residence at Lahore in the locality which still bears his name.

22. In the *Aīn Akbarī*.

climate was considered peculiarly salubrious, and it had two special attractions in his eyes from the fact that musk-melons and ice were procurable all the year round in the bazars.

Jehangir, A. D. 1606 :

The reign of Jehangir commenced with a rebellion, and, as usual, Lahore felt the effect of it. Prince Khosrū, the eldest son of the Emperor, seized the suburbs of Lahore and laid siege to the citadel. His army was quickly defeated by the Imperial troops, and his adherents dealt with fearful severity. Seven hundred prisoners were impaled in two rows leading from the gate of Lahore, and the Prince was marched past them in mock dignity on an elephant from Kamran's palace at Naulakha, where he had been temporarily placed, to the fort, where he was kept in close confinement in chains.

Guru Arjun Mal :

The celebrated Sikh Guru Arjun Mal, the fourth successor of Nanak, and compiler of the *Adi Granth*, was somehow implicated in the rebellion and was imprisoned; and his death, which occurred soon after, is attributed to the rigors of his confinement though tradition asserts that having obtained permission from his guards to bathe in the river Ravi, which flowed by his prison, he miraculously disappeared beneath the stream. However, this may be, he is regarded by the Sikhs as their first martyr, and his death was one of the causes which changed them from a peaceable to a warlike sect, and instilled into their minds that bitter hatred of Mahomedans which stood us in such stead in 1857. His humble shrine²³ may still be seen between the palace of Moghuls and Mausoleums of Ranjit Singh,—a fitting locality for the memorial of him who was an unconscious cause of the downfall of the one and the elevation of the other.

Jehāngīr's Tomb :

Jehāngīr was fond of Lahore, though one would have thought that the place would not have had very pleasant associations connected with it. In A.D. 1622, he fixed his Court here and when he died at Rajauri, in Kashmir,²⁴ in A.D. 1627, it was his express wish that he should be

23. A well, said to have been dug by him, may be seen in the vicinity of the golden mosque; Ranjit Singh built a *bāoli* on the spot.

[For a detailed researchful study, see Ganda Sing's *Guru Arjun's Martyrdom Re-interpreted*, 1969.]

24. The author of the *Iqbāl-nāmah Jehāngīrī* states that his death was the result of a shock on the nervous system brought on by having seen one of his attendants dashed to pieces by falling down a precipice in pursuit of a deer. This is not very credible one who, in his own memoirs, gloats over the atrocities committed at the commencement of his reign. Others attribute his death, with more probability, to asthma.

buried, at Lahore. He was buried, accordingly in the garden of Nur-Jehan, his devoted, though imperious wife, and through her exertions the Mausoleum at Shahdrah, one of the chief ornaments of Lahore, was erected in his memory. In the immediate vicinity is tomb of Nur-Jehan herself, an humble imitation of that of Jehangir, and the tomb of Asof Khan or Asof Jah, her brother, the Historian,²⁵ Soldier and Wazir, and, in the latter capacity, in common with his sister a great opponent of English interests in the Court of Jehangir²⁶ a period of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy.

Both the latter tombs have been almost completely stripped of their marble facings and coloured enamellings by the Sikhs, but the Emperor's tomb has fared somewhat better, though it mourns the loss of an elegant lattice-work parapet of marble, which surrounded the roof and the galleries of the minars, and must have given a lightness to the structure which at present it does not possess.

It is also asserted that a marble dome once rose from the centre of the roof over the vaulted chamber which contains the tomb, but that Aurangzib removed it in order to insult the remains of his unorthodox predecessors. However, this may be, there is an unfinished appearance about the tomb which detracts considerably from the general effect.

Buildings of Jehāngir :

Jehāngir himself built but little, but Lahore has specimens of his architecture in the greater Khwabgah or Sleeping Palace, the Moti Masjid²⁷ or Pearl Mosque, formerly the Chapelle Royale for the ladies of the Imperial harem, but now used as the Government Treasury, and lastly, the tomb of Anarkalli, which, after having served a variety of secular purposes, has ended in becoming the Station Church. The first

The Khwabgah of these buildings consisted of a large quadrangle with a colonnade on three sides²⁸ of red stone pillars, intricately carved with bracket capitals, consisting of the figures of peacocks, elephants and griffins. On the centre of the fourth side, which overlooked the Ravi, stood a lofty pavilion, in the Moghul style of architecture, and on either side at the point of contact of the colonnade

25. He composed a portion of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*.

26. Until Sir Thomas Roe bribed him with a valuable pearl, after which "all went on well and smoothly."—Elphinstone's *History of India*.

27. Subsequently Shāhjhān built a bathing pavilion on the side opposite the main building.

28. Usually called the "Moti Mandar."

with the outer wall were two chambers with verandahs of elaborately carved pillars supporting a sloping entablature in the Hindu style. In the quadrangle was a garden, with a *chabutra* or platform of marble mozaic, and beneath the pavilion and colonnades were underground chambers to serve as a refuge from the heat. Sikh and European disfigurements have completely destroyed the effect of this beautiful quadrangle. The pavilion has been transmogrified into a mess-room; the colonnades have been walled in and cut up in to quarters; but the two chambers remain in tolerable preservation, and are fine specimens of Hindu-Moslem style of art usually supposed to be peculiar to the time of Akbar. The mosque of Miriam Makani or Miriam Zamani, by the eastern gateway of the fort, is another specimen of the architecture of this period, and, though plain, is interesting as being an example of the transition style between Pathan and Moghul architecture.

Shāh-jehān, A. D. 1628 :

On the death of Jehangīr, Lahore was again the scene of a struggle between rival claimants to the throne, which as usual terminated in the execution of the vanquished. On the one side was Shehriār, the younger

Attempt of Shehriar to
obtain the throne

son of the last Emperor, supported by the once all-powerful Nūr-Jehān, whose daughter by her former husband he had married; and on the other, Shāh-jehān, supported by his father-in-law, Asof Khan. Shehriar seized the treasury at Lahore and proclaimed himself Emperor, but he and his adherents were speedily

Defeated by Asof Khān

attacked and defeated by the energetic Asof Khān, and the Prince himself, together with the two sons of Jehangīr's brother, Danial, taken prisoners. The Prince and his two cousins were put to death at Lahore, and Shahjehan and his sons remained the sole direct representatives of the house of Timur.

Asof Khān now enjoyed a position even more elevated than in the preceding reign, and continued to do so until A. D. 1632, when he failed in the siege of Bijapur, from which date he seems to have lost favour, and his decease must have taken place soon afterwards.

Death of Nur-Jehan :

Nūr-Jehān survived until A.D. 1646, but her influence was extinguished for ever with the death of Shehriār. From that date she lived in seclusion and devoted herself to the memory of her husband. She and a faithful female attendant are buried side by side in a tomb she had constructed during her life-time in imitation of her husband's, and in friendly proximity to the tomb of the very brother who had caused her downfall.

Lahore during the struggle between the sons of Shahjehan :

During the struggles between the sons of Shahjehan, which clouded over the latter part of the reign of that Emperor, as if in retribution for the atrocities which attended its commencement, Lahore was a warm partizan of Dārā Sheko, the eldest son; and, according to our notions, the rightful heir to the throne. He had fixed his residence at Lahore, and gained great popularity by his engaging manners and generous disposition, and by the interest he took in the welfare of the city, which he improved by the construction of numerous *chauks* or market-places. He himself collected a history of all the holy men and conventual institutions of the place,²⁹ and had as his spiritual adviser the eminent Lahore saint, Meean Meer, who, if we may judge of the tenets of the master by those of the disciple, must have been a singularly liberal-minded Mussulman. When pursued by his brother Aurangzib in A.D. 1658, at a time when his cause was almost hopeless, Lahore supplied him with men and money,³⁰ and when his wife died, during his hurried flight to the Western frontier, Lahore received her last remains. The disasters of his flight to Gūjerat, the painful scene near Ahmadabad, as the city closed its gates against him, his betrayal and cruel death, are matters beyond the scope of the present memoir, and the reader is referred for an account of them to the graphic pages of Bernier, or the more discriminating narrative of Elphinstone. His name is still held in affectionate remembrance at Lahore, and the costly Badshahi Mosque, built at Lahore by Aurangzib a few years after this event, has never been held in disrepute, because built from the "spoils of blood," that is, from the proceeds of the confiscated estates of Dara;³¹ a remarkable instance of the strong and lasting hold which personal attachment and sympathy with personal wrong has, in some cases, in the minds even of Asiatics.

Prosperity of Lahore during the reign of Shah-Jehan :

During the reign of Shāh-jehān, Lahore, though no longer the *dar-ul-hukumat* or capital, was still a place of importance. It lay on the route of the imperial marches to Kashmir, and was the arsenal and rendezvous of the armies despatched to Balkh and the North-Western Frontier. It, therefore, still continued to

Addition to the palace

29. The work is still extant, but gives no trace of the alleged heretical opinions of its author.

30. Among his adherents was Har Rai. The seventh Sikh Gūrū.

31. The mosque was converted into a powder magazine by Ranjit Singh, and has only lately been restored to the Mahomedans; but the boon is little appreciated by them.

increase in size and splendour. The palace was enlarged and beautified under the superintendence of Asof Khān. A smaller Khwabgah was erected adjoining the western side of that built by Jehangir. It consisted of a quadrangle, enclosed on three sides by an arcade, in the Moghul

The Smaller Khwābgāh

style of architecture, the centre of the fourth side being occupied by a light marble pavilion, with lattice windows looking towards the river. In the inner space was a garden, with fountains flowing into marble receptacles inlaid with flowers wrought in precious stones. The arches and the chambers into which they led have suffered the same fate as those in the Khwabgah of Jehangir; even the marble slabs upon the walls have received the usual coating of whitewash, but the pavilion remains in tolerable preservation, and is an elegant specimen of the palatial architecture of the time. In front of this pavilion, outside the palace walls was a platform raised on arches,³² called the *arz begī*, where the Omra assembled every morning to receive the commands of his Imperial Majesty, who showed himself at the lattice window immediately above to the multitude assembled beneath.

The Saman Burj :

To the left of the Khwābgāh was erected the range of buildings with octagonal towers, the largest of which is called, *par-excellence*, the Saman Burj,³³ and contains the small though costly marble pavilion, inlaid with flowers wrought in precious stones and known by the significant name of Naulakha,³⁴ of the pavilion which cost nine lakhs; and the celebrated Shish Mahal, used by Ranjit Singh as a reception room and

The Shish Mahal

historically interesting as the place where the sovereignty of the Punjab was formerly made over to British Government. A new gateway was opened into it for the Emperor's private

32. It is now used as a stable.

33. *Saman* is an abbreviation of *musamman*, *octagonal*; similarly, *Toj Mahal* is a corruption of *Mumtaz Mahal*. It is by no means certain that the building now known as the Saman Burj is that to which the name was originally applied. Current report says that there was another lofty tower, detached from the main building, which was so called, and, indeed, unless the language of the inscription on the Hathipaun gateway is inordinately hyperbotical, such would appear to be indicated by it. The inscription runs as follows :— "The king ordered a tower to be erected, which in height should be beyond measurement and conception, like unto the highest heaven. In beauty, loftiness and excellence such a tower never has been, and never will be seen under the sky." This is hardly applicable to the building now known as Saman Burj.

34. This was built subsequently by Aurangzib.

Ghurrah mashau kih mulk-i-Allah ast.

Pride not thyself for the kingdom is of God.

use, called the Hāthipaun gateway, which is now the only entrance into the fort. A winding flight of steps, sufficiently broad to allow of an elephant's ascending—hence the gateway's name—led to this portion of the palace, through a garden which covered the space now occupied by the fort magazine, and suggested a comparison with the hanging gardens of Babylon. Opposite the pavilion in Jehangir's Khwābgāh a *hammām* or suite of bathing rooms was erected, which served not only for the purpose indicated by the name, but also as a cabinet council chamber; and in the centre of the fort enclosure, the once stately building, known as

The Takht

the *Takht* or Throne-room of Shāh-jehān, now vandalized into a barrack; this was the Diwani A'm or Hall of Audience where the Emperor daily sat in state to transact business, or in official parlance, held kutcherry; as His Majesty took his seat the musicians in the *Naqār Khānah* struck up a martial strain, and a glittering pageant of men, horses elephants, so graphically described by Bernier, passed in review before him; but, meanwhile, there issued from an empty tomb immediately in front, a voice reminding the Shah-in-Shah that he too must die like other men.³⁵ The procession, according to Bernier, lasted for upwards of an hour; but notwithstanding the time wasted in these absurdities, a large amount of business was got through and the Emperor, with all his love for show and splendour, never remitted his vigilance over the internal government. Of Aurangzib, indeed, it is said that "the appointment of the lowest Revenue Officer of a district, or the selection of a clerk in an office was not beneath his attention," while he planned each campaign, issued instructions during its progress, fixed on points of attack, and regulated the movements of every detachment or convoy.

Coloured Designs on the palace front :

The palace was now, in size and interior magnificence, worthy of an Imperial residence; its front extended some five hundred yards along the banks of the river, which then flowed near its base; but the dull red brick of which it was built was unsuited to the Imperial taste; the whole palace front was accordingly covered with brilliantly coloured designs in *kasi* or porcelain-work, executed upon hard cement so as to resemble mozaic. These designs are not simply confined to patterns but include, in defiance of Mahomedan orthodoxy, the figures of men, horses and

35. Portions of the *Naqar-Khanah* or Band-stand still remain, but the empty tomb has within the last few years experienced the fate which it was intended to typify.

elephants, engaged in scenes chiefly of a sporting character, and also symbolical representations of zodiacal signs and of the angels, who, according to old Persian mythology, presided over each month and each day of the year. Among them we recognize the dragon-form *Hastabar*, representing the constellation of that name, and *Jadi*, the oriental Cāp-ricorn. But most conspicuous perhaps are four figures of the rising sun over the arched compartments in front of Jehangir's palace. These would appear intended to represent the divine *mihr*, or genius of the Sun, in whose honour two important festivals, that of the *nauroz*, at the vernal equinox, and *mihrگان* at the autumnal, were held. In like manner the frequently-recurring ornament of salvers filled with fruit and flowers would appear to be suggested by the offerings presented on those festive occasions; and the vessels of water and baskets of viands, which form a common decoration of the walls of Moghul tombs,—that of Jehāngir, for instance,³⁶—are perhaps referable to the same origin; for we know that it was an old Persian custom to place offerings of food and drink on the tops of houses and high places to conciliate the spirits of departed friends.

Historical Interest of the Designs :

The designs are thus interesting for two reasons,—first, as exhibiting the open contempt in which the strict rules of Mahomedanism forbidding the representation of living beings were held; and in the second place, as indicating a strong recurrence to old Persian superstitious and mithraic symbolism at the period of their construction. They further completely corroborate the statements of contemporary writers, such as Abd-ul-Kadir, Abul-fazl and the Portuguese Missionaries, who all notice the assiduous worship paid to the sun and heavenly bodies by the earlier Moghul Emperors. This tendency to mithraism was not, however, confined to the Emperors of Hindustan. A mithraic emblem adorns the Hall of Audience at Udipore. the Lion and the Sun have from a remote period been the heraldic emblems of the Persian empire, and in the title *Sahib-i-Qiran*, or *Lord of Propitious Constellations*, assumed originally by Tamerlane and afterwards adopted by Shahjehan, and inscribed by him upon the entrance into his palace at Lahore, we have similar relics of the religion of Zoroaster.

Origin of the art called Kāshī :

It may not be uninteresting in this place to say a few words about the origin and history of the art called Kashi, or more properly Qashi,

36. A native gravely told me that the vessels were decanters, and intended to indicate the wine-bibbing propensities of the deceased Emperor.

by which the architects of the day were enabled to compensate to some extent for the want of stone material and the consequent impossibility of sculpture, and to give to plain brick walls that appearance of costliness and durability which in an architectural point of view is essential to success.

The use of glazed tiles as an architectural decoration is common all over Persia, and is not uncommon in the Mahomedan cities of India; we hear mention of porcelain towers among the architectural works of Chinese races; but I have been unable to discover any history of the use and progress of this art or of its introduction into India.

As far as my very limited observation extends, the art would appear to have been introduced from China by the Moghuls.

The earliest instance of its use which I can discover is the celebrated mosque of Tabriz, built about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century of our era, after the conquest of Persia by the Moghuls. The next perhaps is the tomb of Mahommed Khudabendah at Sultaniah, which was built by the successor of Ghāzān Khān, the builder of the mosque at Tabriz.

From this date the use of glazed tiles became common in Persia, but it was not for upwards of two centuries from this time that it was introduced into Hindustan.

Baber, writing in the sixteenth century, speaks of a mosque at Samarkand "covered with porcelain of China" as a novelty, indicating thereby at once the supposed origin of the art, and also that it was not in common use at the time he wrote in Afghanistan and the adjacent countries.

The earliest instance of the use of this mode of decoration at Lahore is the mosque of Shah Mussa, built in the reign of the Emperor Akbar; the colours of this the oldest specimen are as vivid, and the decoration as perfect, as in any of the later ones. But Kāshī did not come into general use until the time of Shāhjahān; at the same time the art took a new form. Encaustic tiles were to a great extent disused, and the designs executed upon a hard kind of cement. This, being probably a cheaper process, led to the almost universal adoption of Kashi designs as an architectural ornament. There is hardly a mosque, or a tomb, or a gate-way built during this period whose walls are not covered with them. Strange to say, after the reign of Shahjehan it became entirely disused, and the art may be said to be lost in the Panjab. Coloured tiles are still manufactured in Lahore and Multan, but the colouring is very inferior, and the process of executing coloured designs upon cement is altogether unknown.

The Mosque of Wazir Khan :

The finest existing specimens of Kashi work are to be found in the mosque of Wazir Khan, built in A.D. 1634 by Hakim Ali-ud-din Wazir Khan, a native of Chiniot, who, although a Punjabi by birth, rose during the reign of the liberal-minded Shahjehan to be Governor of Lahore, as well as Court physician. In gratitude for his unlooked-for prosperity under the rule of a stranger, he erected the mosque, which bears his name, at a great expense, over the remains of an old Ghaznevide saint. Artists, it is said, were sent for expressly from China to execute the Kashi work, and the mosque was pronounced, according to a writer of the day,³⁷ a mole on this cheek of the city of Lahore.

Other Architectural works of the period of Shahjehan :

Besides the architectural works above described, the following may be mentioned as belonging to the period of Shahjehan.

Shalamar Garden

The gardens of Shalamar, the Versailles of the Panjab, designed by Ali Mardan Khan, the celebrated canal architect, in imitation of the garden of that name built by Jehangir at the sources of the

Tomb of Ali Mardan Khan Gulabi Bagh
--

Jhelam in Kashmir; the Tomb of Ali Mardan Khan himself; the gateway leading to the Gulabi Bagh, or 'Garden of Rosewater,' whose beauty, was such, according to the inscription, that —

"The tulip marked itself with the spot of envy,"

"The flower of the sun adorned it as a lamp."³⁸

Abd-ul-Maali's Tomb-the Idgah, & c. & c.

The tomb and shrine of Abd-ul-Maali, the Idgah by the Railway Station plot; the tomb of Miyan Mir, the baradarri of Wazir Khan, the gateway of which is now turned into the Station museum; and lastly, the gateway commonly called the "Chauburji," once the entrance into the garden of Zebinda Begam, a learned daughter of Shahjehan, and, what is more, an authoress who, in her shady retreat on the banks of the Ravi, composed a volume of mystical poems which are still read and

37. Sujan Singh, who, however, makes no allusion to the story about the Chinese artists. The employment of Chinese is improbable in itself, as there are no traces of Chinese style in the designs or their execution; on the other hand, the origin of the tradition is easily accounted for by the fact that Kashi is popularly known as 'China-work.'

Khush ān baghe kih dārd lālā dāghish

Gule khurshid mi zebid chiraghash.

38. The Inscription thus romantic in its commencement goes on to relate that the garden was laid out by the Emperor Shahjehan in memory of his—wet-nurse ! It is good specimen of the *chiar oscuro* style-of composition favourite amongst Persian poets.

admired by the learned in the Panjab and Hindustan.³⁹

Reign of Aurangzib :

At the date of the accession of Aurangzib in A.D. 1658, Lahore must have fallen off in wealth and populousness from what it was in the days of his predecessors. The absence of the Court and the foundation of Jehanabad, or New Delhi, had drawn away the bulk of the artificers and trading population to that more favoured locality, and when Bernier passed through it in A.D. 1664 the houses had begun to look dilapidated, and the long streets of the city to be disfigured with ruins. It was still, however, the capital of the most important Wazirat of the Empire, and benefitted by the occasional presence of the Emperor during his march to Kashmir at the commencement of the hot season.

The "Bund", or Quay of Alumgir :

In the fourth year of his reign, the city having suffered a good deal from the encroachment of the river, Aurangzib had a massive quay of masonry constructed for upwards of three miles along the river's bank. The quay, it is said, was faced with lead; flights of steps at intervals led down to the water's edge, and rows of Persian wheels projecting over the side made the waters of the Ravi available for the gardens which lined its banks. The work is compared by a contemporary writer to the "rampart built by Secander Dhulkarnein against the incursions of Gog and Magog;" and, as a rampart, indeed, it proved most effectual; for it not only effected the object of saving the city from destruction, but frightened away the river altogether; so that in a few years the inhabitants saw, with dismay, the Ravi change its course, and retire a mile away from the city, leaving the quay upon which so much had been spent, and about which so much had been written, ignominiously high and dry. From that date, I believe, the main stream of the river has never flowed in its old channel, though occasionally an arm of the river has taken a circuit along its old course, and at the time of annexation there was still a small stream flowing under the fort walls. The remains of the quay or "bund" of Alumgir, as it is called, are still traceable between the north-east end of the fort and the village of Bhogewal.

The Jama Masjid :

In the year A. D. 1674 Aurangzib was engaged for upwards of two years in a war with the Afghans of the north-west frontier. In order to supervise the operations his presence in the Panjab was continually

39. The work is entitled the "*Diwan-i-Makhfi*," Vide Appendix, where a few specimens of its contents are given.

necessary; it was during his visits to Lahore during this period that the construction of the Jama Masjid, the most striking building in Lahore, whose white bulb-like domes and colossal minars may be seen for miles, was undertaken. Its architect was Fidae Khan Khokah, who held the post of Master of Ordnance to His Majesty. As a work of art, it is not to be compared with the Imperial Mosque at Delhi, though at first sight it has some resemblance to it. The absence of side entrances and the position of the minarets at the four corners of the quadrangle give the building a very stiff appearance, and we miss the graceful subordination of part to part, which is so pleasing in the Dehli mosque. There is, moreover, a poverty of detail; the *riwaq*, or colonnades at the side, are plain in the extreme, and the minars, divested of their cupolas, which were so shattered in the earth quake of A.D. 1840 that they had to be removed, have some resemblance at a distance to certain unpoetic structures common in manufacturing towns in England. At the same time the effect of the arcade of red sandstone adorned with marble tracing, with the tall semi-domed arch in the centre, seen through the elegant gateway resting on a broad flight of steps, which meets the eye of the spectator from the Huzuri-Bagh, is very fine; and in defence of the architect it may be remarked that many of the defects may be ascribed rather to the 'orthodoxy' than to the bad taste of the designer. The arrangement of mosque is in fact a recurrence to that of the exemplar mosque of El Walid at Mecca, from which that of the Delhi mosque is a tasteful departure.

It has already been mentioned that the building was turned into a magazine by the Sikhs, and only recently restored to the Mahomedans, who, however, to a certain extent, shun it as an 'Akeldama.'

The architectural History of Lahore may be said to close with the reign of Aurangzib and the completion of the Jama Masjid.⁴⁰ Later attempts, such as the golden mosque of Bhikari Khan and the palace and tomb of the Khan Bahadur at Begampura, only show how architectural taste fell with the fall of the empire, and became a mongrel style, half Mahomedan and half Hindu.

40. It is difficult to understand why an economical prince like Aurangzib should have lavished so much money in the erection of these expensive works in a city which was not his capital. Possibly the popular account may be correct, viz., that it was done as a peace-offering to the *manes* Dara Shekoh, and to pacify the people who were aggrieved at his cruel death. There is another story current that Aurangzib built it in order to eclipse the beauties of the mosque of Wazir Khan.

Lahore after the Death of Aurangzib :

From the death of Aurangzib on to the accession of Ranjit Singh the fate of Lahore was singularly unfortunate. As capital of an outlying province, it was naturally the first to suffer from the weakness of the decaying Moghul empire; ruled over by Governors inadequately supported, it became the *point d'appui* of Sikh insurrections, and, like a second Ariminium, the "*iter ad bella*" of every invader from the West.⁴¹

A.D. 1712 :

Almost immediately after the death of Aurangzib the Sikhs, who had been kept under during his energetic rule, broke out into insurrection under a leader by name Banda, and at length seriously threatened Lahore. The Emperor Bahadur Shah, the son and successor of Aurangzib, marched to Lahore with a view of crushing the rebellion, but died before he could achieve any decisive success over them. One of the gateways of Lahore, the 'Shah Alumi' gateway,⁴² was called after his name, and the fact is some testimony to the popularity of this prince, whose tolerancy was a great contrast to the bigotry of his predecessor. It has been said indeed that "had Bahadur Shah, and not Aurangzib succeeded on the decease of Shahjehan, the family of Timur might have still sat on the throne of Delhi."

His death was followed by the usual struggle among the sons; Azim-us-Shan, a younger, but more popular, son, endeavoured to seize the throne and oust his elder brother Jehandar. A conflict ensued between the brothers and their respective partizans outside the city walls; Azim-us-Shan was driven from the field, and fled precipitately to the Ravi, which he endeavoured to cross upon an elephant. But the river, being swollen, and rapid from the melting of the snows, swept him away elephant and all.

But his death was not unavenged. Seven months afterwards Jehandar was prostrate before Farokhsir, the son of Azim-us-Shan, who had marched up from Bengal with a large army, and by him sternly put to death.

Successes of the Sikhs :

The struggles between Jehandar and Farokhsir for the imperial throne and the dissensions and intrigues in the court of the latter encouraged the Sikhs to further excesses; they defeated the Governor of Lahore in a pitched battle, and it became necessary for even the *faineant* Farokhsir to take some measures for their repression; he appointed Abdul-Samad

41. —quoties Romam fortuna lacescit

Hoc iter est bellis.—*Luc. 'hars.*

42. It was formerly called the 'Bherwala' gateway.

Khan, a Turani nobleman and an officer of known vigour, to the Viceroyship of Lahore; he obtained a brilliant success over the rebels and took Banda himself prisoner and despatched him to Delhi. Abdul-Samad was succeeded in the Viceroyship by his son, Zakariya Khan, under the title of Khan Bahadur, and for twenty-one years the Panjab was peaceful; the

A.D. 1717-1738

weakness of the court of the Delhi turned the Viceroy into a satrap, who safe for a time in his fountain-lulled palace at Begampura, viewed with complacency the failing powers of the sickman and the rise of the Marattas.

Invasion of Nadir Shah :

At length in November A.D. 1738, the citizens of Lahore heard with dismay of the approach of a new enemy from the West led by the Turkomanni warrior Nadir Kuli Khan, who from his home by the fountain Margab, in the vale of Azerbaijan, issued forth conqueror of Khorasan and Meshed, the Lord of Parsia, and vanquisher of the house of Timur.

Nadir Shah at Lahore :

On the 18th November, A.D. 1738, he crossed the Indus, "passed rapidly, without boat or raft, the Jhelum and Chenab rivers"—writes his Secretary, Mirza Mehdi,—“furious as the ocean or as an arm of a destructive sea,” and pushed on for Lahore. A faint show of resistance was made at Wazirabad, and again in the vicinity of Lahore, but to no purpose; and at length the invading army encamped in the gardens of Shalamar. Zakariya Khan, the Viceroy, had no particular affection for the court of Delhi, and was soon convinced that discretion is the better part of valour. He brought twenty lakhs of rupees and a vast array of elephants and presented them before the throne of the invader, and the result was that Zakariya was confirmed in his Governorship, and Lahore was this time unpillaged.

On the 29th December, the troops of Nadir Shah quitted Lahore *en route* for Delhi. The prostration of the Moghul empire by the ensuing victory of Karnal and sack of Delhi gave fresh courage to the Sikhs, who had been restrained during the vigorous rule of Abd-ul-Samad and Zakariya Khan; but the latter was now dead, and his son and successor, Yahia Khan, was less fortunate. A marauding band of Sikhs had collected at Eminabad, a locality fraught with sacred recollections to their minds; there is the shrine of Rori Sahib⁴³ marking the spot

43. *Rori* means 'hard ground,' and the expression Rori Sahib is in stance of a habit characteristic of oriental races of personifying localities. Thus we have

[Contd. on page 32]

where their Guru, Nanak, in performance of a vow of penance, knelt down and prayed upon the hard ground. Troops were sent by Yahiya Khan to disperse them, but the Sikhs, inspired by the *religio loci*, fell upon the detachment with fury and overpowered it. The news of his disaster exasperated the Viceroy, who dispatched another overwhelming force under the command of Lakhpat Rae, which succeeded in defeating the insurgents. A number of prisoners was brought into Lahore and executed on the north-east side of the city, then known as the horse-market; but since the period of Sikh rule by the name 'Shahid Ganj,' or place of martyrs; and the scene of the execution is marked by a shrine erected to the memory of Bhai Taru Singh, the chief martyr, who though offered pardon if he would consent to have his long hair cut, persistently refused, and died.

A.D. 1748 :

Two years from this event a more powerful enemy appeared before the walls of Lahore in the person of Ahmad Shah, the successor of Nadir Shah, who had no sooner established himself on the throne than he marched an army into India; the Viceroyship at Lahore was then a bone of contention between the two sons of Zakariya Khan, Yahiya and Shah Nawaz Khan, while the court of Delhi looked on, too weak or too inactive to interfere. To aid his cause, Shah Nawaz encouraged the advance of Ahmad, recollecting that his father had not fared badly at the hands of the western invader.

Ahmad Shah takes Lahore :

So Ahmad Shah advanced; but his army was small, and Shah Nawaz Khan, having prevailed over his brother, thought better of his treachery. He met the invading forces, was disastrously defeated under the walls of the city, and Ahmad took possession of Lahore.⁴⁴

From this time until the establishment of Ranjit Singh upon Lahore was subject to periodical invasion, pillage and depopulation, and was thus reduced from a mighty city to little more than a walled township

Contd. from page 31]

Amritsar-Ji Darbar-Sahib, &c. just as if an Englishman were to speak of "My Lord Parliament House." The Gujranwala district abounds in localities thus "canonized as being associated with some act in the life of Nanak—e.g., *Nankanah Sahib*,—the place of his birth; *Balkarira Sahib*, the place where he spent his youth; *Malisthan-Ji*, the tree beneath which he slept; *Kiara Sahib*, where he tended his herd of cattle.

44. At the back of the Jama Masjid there is the tomb of one Sabir Shah, who was put to death for advising the people to submit to Ahmad.

set in a circle of ruinous waste. Quarter after quarter became gradually deserted. The wealthy residents of 'Guzar Langar Khan' relinquished their 'country seats,' and retired for safety within the city walls; the merchants fled in numbers to Amritsar; the artificers were dispersed,—some following the invading armies on their return march to Kabul, others to Hindustan. At length the inhabited portion of the city was confined to the area surrounded by the city wall.

The first invasion of Ahmad, having passed Lahore, met with a check in Sirhind, and the conqueror returned the way he came; Mir Mannu, son of the Delhi Wazir, who had distinguished himself in the battle, was appointed Governor of Lahore. At the close of A.D. 1748 Ahmad again

Third Invasion

crossed the Indus, but the invasions was warded off partly by the bold front assumed by Mir Mannu at the banks of the Chenab and partly by diplomacy. The following year it was renewed with better success. The invader marched, without opposition, to Lahore, and halted a short distance from the suburb of Shah-darah, where Mir Mannu had entrenched himself. He crossed the river, however, at a ford higher up, and proceeded to invest Lahore,—his own camp being fixed in the vicinity of the Shalamar gardens. For four months Mir Mannu made a good defence. At length, however, as provisions and forage began to fall short, he imprudently risked a general action. On the morning of the 12th April, 1752, he marched out of his entrenchment and took up a position near the village of Mahmud Buti; a battle ensued which was sustained for some hours with doubtful success on both sides, but at length the tide was turned by a charge of the Durani horse, and Mir Maunu retired into the citadel.⁴⁵ The next morning, however, finding further resistance hopeless, he repaired to the tent of the conqueror to make his submission, when the following dialogue is said to have taken place: "How is it," said Ahmad Shah, "that you have not, long ere this, come to do homage to your lord and master?" "Because," replied Mir Mannu, "I had another master to serve." "And why," rejoined the Shah sarcastically, "did not your master protect you in this hour of need?" "Because," replied the other proudly,

45. The scene of the battle is marked by a large square brick tomb. This, say the neighbouring villagers, was erected by the last surviving son of Aziz Beg, a person of distinction in Mir Mannu's army, who with his five other sons fell in the battle. They say that being unable to recognize the bodies of his father and brothers, to make sure, he collected the bones of all those slain in the place where the fight was thickest, and buried them in a large vault below the tomb. The plain around is still strewn with human bones.

"he knew that Mir Mannu would take care of himself." "And supposing," continued the Shah, "you had been victorious?" "I should have put you in an iron cage and sent you prisoner to Delhi," was the reply. "And now that I am victor, what do you expect at my hands?" "If you are a tradesman," said Mir Mannu, "sell me; if an executioner, put me to death; but if you are a prince, be generous." The conqueror, struck with admiration at the dauntless bearing of his youthful adversary, called him the Rustam of India, decorated him with a jewelled sword, and confirmed him in the post of Viceroy of the Panjab.⁴⁶

A.D. 1752 :

But Mir Mannu did not long live to enjoy his newly-acquired title; he died soon afterwards, leaving an infant son and a widow. The latter

Fourth Invasion
A.D. 1755-6

succeeded as guardian; for a time she vainly endeavoured to keep friends with both Kabul and Delhi; at

length, however, her duplicity was discovered, and the Delhi Vizier

A.D. 1756-8 Lahore in the
hands of the Sikhs

sumarily put an end to her intrigues by having her seized in her own house and carried

off a prisoner.⁴⁷ This ungallant act afforded the Durani a pretext for a fourth invasion. Lahore was occupied without opposition and placed under the conqueror's son, Prince Timur; but an act of intolerance on his part in defiling the sacred tank at Amritsar roused the fury of the Sikhs, now a rapidly-rising sect. The Sikh horsemen swarmed round the city walls and assumed so threatening an aspect that Prince Timur thought it prudent to retire, and Lahore for the first time fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Their leader, Jussa Singh, Ahluwalia, at once assumed the prerogatives of sovereignty, and struck a coin bearing the inscription "Coined by the grace of the Khalsah." Their occupation this time was short-lived; they were expelled by a new enemy in the shape of the Marattas, under a chief named Ragoba, whom Adinah Beg Khan, the

Lahore taken by the Marattas,
A. D. 1758

deputy of Mir Mannu, had invited to his assistance. With their help he was installed

on the viceregal throne, but he enjoyed his success but a few months; he

46. His memory is held in great repute by Mahomedans, but detested by the Sikhs, whom he treated with great severity. He was buried near Shahid Ganj, where the remains of his tomb may still be seen, in the reign of Sher Singh the Sikhs in a moment of religious frenzy dismantled the building, and dug out of the remains of Mir Mannu and scattered them to the winds.

47. Bhikhari Khan, who built the *Sunahri Masjid*, or Golden Masque in the city of Lahore, was a favourite of this lady; but having in an unlucky hour incurred her displeasure, was by her orders surrounded and beaten to death with shoes.

died leaving a name still held in some respect as that of the last Moghul Governor of Lahore.⁴⁸

A. D. 1759 :

The success of the Marattas led to a fifth invasion from Ahmad Shah, which resulted in their disastrous over-throw at Panipat in A.D. 1761. One Buland Khan was made chief magistrate of Lahore; but the Government machinery was powerless, and the Sikhs again

Sixth Invasion

assumed a formidable appearance, and besieged his successor, Obeid Khan, in the fort of Lahore. A sixth

descent of the Durani scattered the Sikh forces and inflicted on them a

Seventh Invasion

terrible slaughter near Ludhiana. He returned via Lahore and left one Kabuli Mul governor, and the

country ravaged by Sikh horsemen. The success of the Sikhs in Sirhind led Ahmad Shah to undertake his seventh invasion; but he retired somewhat precipitately without having affected his object. Kabuli Mul was ejected, and the Sikhs again became masters of Lahore.

Eighth Invasion :

In A.D. 1767, Ahmad Shah made his eight and last invasion but had to retire without success, harassed by the ever present Sikh Cavalry.

A.D. 1767-97

The Three Hakims

During thirty years following the final departure of Ahmad Shah the Sikhs were pretty much left to themselves, and increased in wealth and numbers.

They gradually divided themselves into independent *misl*s or bands under the command of hereditary chieftains with a common place of meeting at Amritsar, which was to them what the Amphictyonic Council was to the Hellenes or the fountain of Feronia to the tribes of Latium, Lahore meanwhile was portioned out amongst a triumvirate of Sikh chieftains named respectively Gujar Singh, Lena Singh and Sobha Singh, who are spoken of to this day is the 'three hakims.' The former had his stronghold in a brick fort between Shalamar and Lahore, which still bears his name; Lena Singh in the citadel, and Sobha Singh in the garden of Zebinda Begum, which he turned into a fort now known by the name

Invasion of Shah Zeman

of Nawakote. At length in A.D. 1797 the spell was again broken. Shah Zeman, the successor

of Timur on the throne of Kabul, but known in aftertimes as the blind exile of Ludhiana, and the brother of the unfortunate Shah Shujah, made a new attempt to establish a Durani empire from Kabul to the Ganges. His advance created the liveliest sensation not only in the Panjab, but

48. His tomb and garden still remain.

even in the Council Chamber at Calcutta, Governor-General wrote long minutes, augmented the native army and laid the foundation of that chronic state of apprehension which ended only in the expedition to Afghanistan.

Rise of Ranjit Singh :

In the beginning of the cold season Shah Zeman appeared before Lahore, and the tall sheep-skin cap of the then youthful warrior is still recollected as he rode upon a prancing steed on the plain fronting the palace. But his expedition was cut short by bad tidings from home, and he returned after exacting a subsidy of 30 lakhs from the few wealthy merchants who still remained. The next year it was renewed with no better success; but it is interesting as being the first occasion on which Ranjit Singh, son of Maha Singh, chief of the Sukherchakiya Misl, came prominently into notice, and made the first step towards obtaining the sovereignty of the Panjab by securing from the retiring Durani emperor a formal grant of the cheifship of Lahore. The history of Lahore is henceforth contained in the history of its great ruler, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the events of whose life are fully detailed in the now familiar pages of Murray, Cunningham, and the *History of the Panjab* from this period, therefore, it is not proposed to give more than a brief resume of events.

In A.D. 1799 Ranjit Singh became master of Lahore, which was then in possession of Sirdar Chait Singh, the son of the 'Triumvir' Lena Singh, after a short struggle in which Ranjit Singh was aided by the treachery of the leading men.

In A.D. 1801 he assumed the title of *Sirkar*, established a mint, and commenced his career as a sovereign. But the Lahore of which Ranjit Singh was now sovereign was a very different place from the Lahore of the Mogul period. From a mighty city it had sunk to the position of a mere township, and even within its dilapidated walls it was but sparsely inhabited; outside was ruin and devastation. The only signs of life were two Sikh forts, built to overawe the country round about, and a few scattered hamlets,—one peopled by the descendants of hardy clan of Beloches who had settled at Lahore in happier times, and another by a few peasants who clung to the site of the old Hindu city.⁴⁹ Perhaps the best idea of the contrast between Lahore of the commencement of this century will be afforded by placing in juxtaposition the account of the city as given by Abul-fazl in the reign of Akbar and that given by an European Officer

49. In the village of Ichra there is still a watch-tower built in troubeous times as a look-out against Sikh marauders.

who visited it in A.D. 1809. "Lahore," says Abul-fazl, "is a very large and populous city. The fort and palace are of brick and lime, and when this city was for some time the seat of Government many other capital buildings were erected and gardens laid out in taste and elegance; it became the grand resort of people of all nations, and their manufactures were brought to the highest pitch of perfection." Through His Majesty's (Akbar's) encouragement "gardeners were brought from Iran and Turan, who cultivated the vine and various kinds of melons. The manufacturers of Silk and woollen carpets were introduced, together with that of brocades;" in short, "here could be obtained the choicest productions of Iran, Turan and Hindustan."

Extract from the Diary of an Officer who visited Lahore in A.D. 1809 : 29th May—

"I visited the ruins of Lahore, which afforded a melancholy picture of fallen splendour. Here the lofty dwellings and masjids which not fifty years ago raised their tops to the skies, and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust, and in less than half a century more will be levelled with the ground. In going over these ruins I saw not a human being: all was silence, solitude, and gloom. This city in the days of its glory must have been most splendid."

In A.D. 1802 Ranjit Singh obtained the celebrated gun Zamzamah, a huge piece which Ahmad Shah had used in the battle of Panipat, but had left behind at Lahore as too unwieldy to take back to Kabul. The gun had hitherto been in possession of the most powerful of the misls, the Bhangis of Amritsar, and came to be regarded as the talisman of Sikh Empire. Hence its capture by Ranjit Singh added greatly to his prestige.⁵⁰ From this period the tide of success flowed on apace; Jhung, Kusr, Patankot, Syalkot, Gujerat felt the power of his arms, and the chiefs of Multan, Jalandhar and Kassauli were glad to ward off an attack by timely submission and acknowledgment of Ranjit Singh as lord paramount.

In A.D. 1812 he became possessed of the person of Shah Shujah and of the *Koh-i-Nur*, effectually opposed the hitherto irresistible progress of Affghan invaders, and re-occupied the fort of Attock.

50. The gun was used by Ranjit Singh at the siege of Multan in A.D. 1818, where it is said to have done great execution. From that time it was stationed by the Delhi Gate of the city until the year before last, when it was removed to its present position in front of the Museum. It is still regarded with superstitious reverence as an 'incarnation' of Mahadeo, and occasionally its muzzle may be seen with a garland and a lamp—the pious offering of some old Sikh. It has a long inscription in Persian, a translation of which is given in Part II.

In A.D. 1814, he suffered his first reverse in an attempt to conquer Kashmir, but he so far succeeded as to obtain from the Governor a formal recognition of the paramount authority of the Lahore Darbar.

In A. D. 1818, Multan was besieged and taken, and the province annexed to the empire of the Maharaja. In 1819, Kashmir was at length conquered. This was followed by its annexation to the Panjab, and in 1823 by the capture of Peshawar.

Ranjit Singh died in A.D. 1839, lord of the Panjab from the Sulaimanni range to the Sutlej and from Kashmir to beyond Multan, and empire little less in extent than that of Jeipal, having a regular army and three hundred pieces of artillery—in fact his rule may be considered an improved edition of the old Rajput dyanasty. This empire he raised by his own personal character, working upon a vigorous social confederation, and, as other empires which have been similarly constructed, it was destined to perish *mole sua*.

Being based upon no national idea, with no leading principle to give it coherence,—for the consolidating system of its founder had destroyed the bond of union which once existed in the yearly *Gurumata* or assemblage of Sikh chieftains at the Sacred Tank,—without even the prestige of antiquity, the moment the directing power was weakened the fabric of government fell to pieces. The source of its strength, the fine, well-disciplined army, became the cause of its destruction. Thus, from the period of Ranjit Singh's death to the date of the occupation of the Panjab by the English troops we have the melancholy spectacle of a bold and vigorous nation :—

"In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra."

As might be expected, it is difficult, as it is useless, to attempt to analyse the motives which influenced the several actors in the political drama which followed the decease of Ranjit Singh; indeed the most remarkable fact is the almost total absence of anything like a political faction. There was, to a certain extent, what may be called a Dogra party, composed of the Jammu family, who had risen into importance in the later years of the maharaja, with their adherents, and the Khalsah party, represented by the Sindanwalias, who were related to the family of Ranjit Singh. But neither of these parties dreamt of such a thing as the public good. Personal or family considerations and zenanah intrigues were the main spring of their public acts, and their first object was to carry favour with the army.

The successors of Ranjit Singh threw themselves alternately into the hands of the one party or the other as it suited their interests or caprice,

and it thereupon became the object of the party out of favour to put their rivals 'out of the way.' The first act in the drama was the murder of Cheit Singh, a minion of the imbecile Kharak Singh, Ranjit Singh's successor.⁵¹ This was done in pursuance of a concerted design between Nau-Nihal Singh, the heir-apparent, and the Jammu party, but no sooner had the object been attained than Nau-Nihal turned against his friends.

Kharak Singh died in 1840; Nau-Nihal Singh, who, there is reason to believe, had hastened his father's death by poison, was the same day killed by the fall of a portion of an archway⁵² as he was proceeding on foot from witnessing the cremation of his father's remains. The ashes of the father and son rest side by side beneath two small domes to the left of the mausoleum of Ranjit Singh.

The death of Nau-Nihal Singh was followed by a struggle between the mother of the deceased prince in concert with the Sindanwalia party and Sher Singh, a son of Ranjit Singh aided by Dhyān Singh, the Jammu prince and favourite of Ranjit Singh. The *soi desant* queen-regent, aided, strange to say, by Gulab Singh, the brother of Dhyān Singh, held the fort, and it became necessary for Sher Singh to besiege them. The siege lasted four days, from the 14th to the 18th January, 1841. The main attacks of the besiegers were made in the Hazuri Bagh, where Sher Singh took up his position in the then unfinished marble pavilion⁵³ in front of the massive gateway of Akbar.

Twelve cannon were directed against the fort walls, and Zamburaks or light guns used in the mountain warfare of Kashmir were mounted on the tops of the minarets of the great mosque of Aurangzib, which overlook the fort. The bombardment resulted in the submission of the queen and her party and the coronation of Sher Singh.

Sher Singh, in his turn, fell a victim to a coalition between the Sindanwalias and the Dogra chiefs. On the 15th September, 1843, he was assassinated by Ajit Singh, the Sindanwalia chief, while inspecting levies at a county seat called Shah Balawal, whose marble lattice window still

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51. The unfortunate man was murdered whilst sleeping in the verandah in front of the 'Takht,' or Throne, in the Fort, from which the Moghul Emperors administered justice.
 52. The archway was close by the tomb of Ranjit Singh, and led through another archway into Hazuri Bagh; it has been since pulled down. Nau-Nihal Singh was a young prince of great vigour and activity, and had been virtually ruler during the last months of his father's life. He has been called the "Hotspur" of the Panjab.
 53. The building still bears the mark of bullets and three-pound shot fired from the fort-walls on this occasion.

bears the impress of the bullet which passed through his heart.⁵⁴

Having succeeded in their attempt, the Sindawalias forthwith turned their hands against their late ally, Raja Dhyan Singh, who was shot down and cut to pieces, within an hour of the death of Sher Singh, at the summit of the ascent into the fort from the Hazuri Bagh.

This led to a second siege of Lahore by Hira Singh, son of Dhyan Singh, aided by the Khalsah army, animated by the prospect of high pay and plunder. The wall was breached; Ajit Singh, the assassin, sprung over the north-east angle of the fort, and was cut to pieces in the place where he fell; Lehna Singh, already wounded, fell into the hands of the soldiery, and was shot and hacked to death.

For a little more than a year Hira Singh was virtual ruler in the name of Dhalip Singh, the son of the Rani Jindan, a queen of Ranjit Singh; he fell owing to a personal quarrel with the Rani and unpopularity with the fickle Khalsah army. He fled with his adviser, Pandit Jallah, pursued by Jowahir Singh, the Rani's brother and troops of Khalsah horse; from Shahdrah a close pursuit was kept up for some twelve miles, until the unhappy Pandit fell from his horse from exhaustion and was cut to pieces.⁵⁵ Hira Singh continued his flight, and headed his pursuers, but, imprudently stopping at a village to get a draught of water, was surrounded and slain after a desperate resistance. Jowahir Singh, in his turn, became unpopular with the 'praetorian' of Lahore, and was deliberately shot on parade. Lal Singh, the favourite of Rani Jindan, then became nominally Wazir but the Government was really the will of the army at Lahore. Irritation at the defensive preparations made by the English Government, restlessness and desire for plunder led to the invasion of our territories on the 11th December, 1845, the battles of Modkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon, and the occupation of the Lahore; and then at length—in the words of a local ballad—"sorrow was silenced and the Sikh empire became a story of the past."⁵⁶

54. Sher Singh far inferior in ability to his predecessor, Nau-Nihal Singh; the most remarkable feature in his character was his love of dress; he is said to have invented a very gaudy silk-pattern, which still bears his name.

55. There are different accounts of this affair; but this is one commonly received.

56. The above quotation is taken from a spirited ballad current at Lahore descriptive of the invasion of the British territories by the Sikhs and the subsequent battles. The whole is too long for insertion, but the following extracts will show the style of the composition, and a native view of the motives which actuated the Sikhs :—

[Contd. on page 41]

The Architecture, & c., of the Sikh Period :

The architecture of the Sikh period is, like their language, substan-

Contd. from page 40]

"The queen mother (*i.e.*, the Rani Jindan) cried out from her inner chamber:—

"What will become of me ?
Ye clamour for high pay, Khalsah,
But take ye the pay of former days."

The Sikhs said, No! and straight took counsel
To destroy Delhi at a blow;
But God careth not for the designs of man,
He heedeth no one !

Then cried the Sikhs—"Make ready your powder;
First destroy Ferozepur,
Then loot gold and hang long earrings in your ears,
Yea, right big ones !"

So amid the neighing of colts and mares
They commenced their march—
Few patriots, but many plunderers,
Burning for pillage.

Then said the Juts,—
The huge-thighed, stout-limbed Juts—
"We are the falcons, the Feringhis our quarry,
Bring them to us !"

But when they crossed the ford,
Lo ! a mighty host;
Balls fly thick in the air,—
This was the style of warfare.

Then fought the Sikhs and the dark Purbeahs;
The bracelet, the necklace, and the earring
Were blended together in close conflict—
All was confusion.

Then the Sikhs fled to their tents,
But they set up a good watch :
They wrote down the names of the dead,
And said—"we will fight again !"

"Mark out a boundary, O Khalsah !
Call in the runaways !
Yea, we will fight again !"

Then wrote they to the Raja [Gulab Singh],
"Come thou and command us,
Our honour is not lost;
Lead us, and we conquer."

But the Raja replied with sarcasm—
"Do as you think best;
First conquer Hindustan,
And then, perhaps, I'll come."

They fought a second time, &c., &c.

tially Hindu, overlaid with Mahomedan details, blended without taste. Their palaces are further disfigured by small angular chambers, perched generally on the highest point of the building to catch the breeze in the hot weather. These have their original in the mud huts of the peasantry,—the abode of the fathers or grandfathers of nearly all modern Sikh nobility. But Ranjit Singh, unpolished and unlettered as he was, had an idea that architecture was a good thing. Accordingly he stripped the Mahomedan tombs of their marble facings and sent them to adorn the temple at Amritsar. He restored the Shalamar Gardens, which had gone to ruin during the troublous times of Ahmad Shah; but at the same time laid ruthless hand upon the marble pavilions by the central reservoir, and substituted structures of brick and white-wash in their stead. He turned the sarai which separated the fort and palace from the Jama Masjid into a private garden, and placed therein the beautiful baradari, which remains to this day the architectural *chief d'oeuvre* of his reign.⁵⁷ Besides the above a few hideous Shibdewalas, the erection of his wives or favourite dancing girls, and a few tasteless additions to the fort, comprise all the architectural works of the period of Ranjit Singh. One of Sikh architecture is the mausoleum of Ranjit Singh and of his son and grandson. The building is, as usual, a mongrel design, half Mahomedan and half Hindu, and does not bear close inspection, but the effect at a distance is not unpleasing. A lotus carved in marble set beneath a canopy marks the spot where the ashes of the Lion of Lahore are laid. Around it are nine smaller ones in memory of those who were burnt alive upon his funeral pyre.⁵⁸

Such is a brief account of the history of Lahore from the earliest times up to the period of British occupation. Albeit a city which has been the seat of mighty dynasties, and boasts antiquity little short of that of ancient Rome, its history is little more than a chronicle of war upon war, intrigue upon intrigue, crime upon crime; and the most instructive portion of history—the history of the people, their laws, their customs, and the machinery of their government,—is well-nigh a blank. We know that as

57. The building was the joint production of a Mahomedan and a Hindu. The materials were taken from the tomb of Asaf Khan, at Shahdrah, and that of Zebinda Begum of Nawakote.

58. The last recorded 'suttee' which has taken place at Lahore was on the occasion of Dhayan Singh's murder. But in Kashmir an attempt at a suttee was made, as late in 1857, on the death of Dyan Singh's brother; Maharaja Gulab Singh; thousands of persons had assembled and the victims were ready, but the energetic remonstrance of the Civil Commissioner, Captain Urmston, prevented its occurrence.

in the physical⁵⁹ so in the moral history of the Panjab great changes have been at work. Buddhism, Brahminism, Mahomedanism have successively infused themselves in the mass of the people, but by what steps we know not. The people once renowned for truthfulness have become renowned for perjury and deceit,⁶⁰ but the history of this change is hidden from us. But darkness such as this broods over the most interesting periods of the life of the almost every nation, and what is here observed of the history of Lahore is only a repetitions of the remark of Hallam, as he closes the history of the middle ages, that "we can give a minute description of a tournament or a coronation, but cannot recover the genuine history of mankind."

The future of Lahore :

Under these circumstances it is a pleasure to turn from the barren record of the past and speculate upon the future of Lahore.

Some years yet will have to elapse ere the magic wand of Anglo-Saxon Civilization shall have completely charmed into life again the dreary expanse of crumbling ruins which still surround the modern capital of the Panjab.⁶¹ But a good beginning has been made, houses and gardens begin to dot the waste; the once solitary mounds ring with the sound of the volunteer rifle, or are being utilized as ornamental adjuncts of a Botanical Garden; metalled roads pierce the rugged debris, converging to a point where a handsome Railway terminus worthy of Euston Square or Paddington rises upon a spot till lately marked only by memorials of Mahomedan bigotry and Sikh fanaticism;⁶² costly Sarais, with accommodation

59. There is reason to believe that years ago the climate was more humid and the vegetation more rank than at present; even as late as the 16th century and country between Peshawar and Lahore abounded with rhinoceros.

60. Not only the Greek Historians, but even Abul-fazl remarks upon the truthfulness of the inhabitants of India.

61. To an outsider it seems strange that, after annexation, Amritsar should not have been chosen as our political capital instead of Lahore. At Amritsar there is unlimited room for expansion, and a fertile soil unimpregnated with saltpetre and undisfigured by debris. At Lahore we are cramped up on one side by the river, on the other by large and almost unculturable waste. Besides, in a commercial point of view, Amritsar is far the more important city of the two; a few silk-weavers and gold wire-drawers, the descendants of those planted here by Akbar, are the only remnants of the once vast manufacturing population of Lahore; all the great mercantile houses are in the former city.

62. The Railway station is in the immediate vicinity of Shahid Ganj and the tomb of Mir Mannu; singular to relate, during the progress of the works a traditionary foot step of 'Muhammad' was accidentally obliterated.

for the European as well as the Native, have been built. A Canal flows within three miles of the City; a Medical College, Museum, Library and Reading Room, two bi-weekly Newspapers, and numerous Printing Presses attest the progress of European ideas; the closely packed City itself, with its narrow winding streets and over-hanging houses, is cleansed and cared for in a way which would put to shame half the towns of the European Continent; and lastly, the very house which was the focus of dark intrigues in the late period of anarchy is transformed in to a School, where the sons of Sikh and Pathan nobles are taught the language and science of the Western world. In twenty years what, under Providence, may we not hope for !

Social Life in Sikh Kingdom*

P. N. KHERA

Numerous books, old and new, have related the political and military history of the Panjab under Sikh rule, but none has dealt adequately with the social life of the people. An important and fascinating field lies here almost fallow. Its cultivation would be valuable in all respects but is beset with difficulties, chief of which is the paucity of clear evidence. Still, in the Panjab Government Records and in the journals of the various travellers who came to this Province in those days, one finds some remarks about the society interspersed. By putting those bits together one gets a picture, incomplete perhaps, but quite fascinating.

The Panjab of the first half of the last century was a very thinly populated country. No regular census was ever taken, but the population was roughly estimated by Henry Lawrence¹ at fifteen lakhs, which seems to be an under-estimate. Another estimate, given in a paper read before the Institute of France, gave the population of the kingdom of Lahore as three million, or double that given by Henry Lawrence.² Still, another estimate given in an appendix to Smythe's *History of the Reigning Family of Lahore* puts the total number of the inhabitants of the Panjab, including Kashmir and Jammu, at about five millions.³ Deducting from it about a million for Kashmir and Jammu we get four millions for the Panjab proper. The approximate population of the Panjab at that time may, therefore, probably be placed at three to four millions, or about thirty-five lakhs. The proportion of the different communities as given by H. Lawrence is : Sikhs about one-sixth of the total population, Hindus about one-half, and Muslims about one-third.⁴ In other words, Hindus and Sikhs combined were about double the number of Muslims, whereas now, after the lapse of hundred years, the Muslims number more than 50 per cent of the total population. The Sikhs were to be found mostly in the Manjha

* J. P. U. H. S., V, April 1938.

1. *Adventures of an Officer* by H.M. Lawrence, Second Edition, Vol. I, p. 84.

2. Quoted in Rev. J. Pegg's *Present State of Infanticide in India*, London, 1844, p. 104.

3. Appendix, p. xxix.

4. Lawrence's *Adventures*, p. 84.

and Malwa, though many *Sirdars* held *Jagirs* throughout the Panjab, the Muslims prevailed to the westward, and the Hindus towards the east.⁵ But members of each community could be found in varying numbers in almost all parts of the Panjab. In the districts where the Mohammedans or Sikhs prevailed the Hindus were found as traders and shopkeepers. Even in Mohammedan districts the Sikhs were found as *jagirdars*, and the Muslims were found in almost all parts as artisans. The Kashmiri *Pandits* were generally employed in official business.

At the top of the society were the court and the aristocracy, with which I propose to deal first. The state was essentially patriarchal and the court was filled with warriors. The Russian Prince Soltykoff, who travelled through the Panjab in Maharaja Sher Singh's time, tells us that the King in the midst of his courtiers was on equality with all the rest, a warrior like themselves, and they addressed him simply and without any ceremony.⁶ Hugel records an incident on a certain *Basant* day, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh was sitting on a chair with all the courtiers seated around him on the ground. The Maharaja asked Zulfikar Khan, a son of the brave Muzzaffar Khan of Multan, to relate some story. The proud young man, who had come to the Raja's *Darbar* for the first time, related an anecdote without rising, and this did not cause any annoyance to Ranjit Singh.⁷ In 1831 when Captain Wade went to see Maharaja at Adinanagar, he once found him seated in a shady spot by the canal, attended by a few *Sirdars* and a troop of about thirty dancing girls.⁸ A picture of an old fashioned warrior resting for a while from work and worry, but, ready at any moment to jump on his horse and march to the field of battle if need be!

The aristocracy — by which is meant the new military aristocracy created by Ranjit Singh — spent their time either in war, which was often, or, if there was no war, in rough and boisterous soldierly amusements. Hunting parties were common. Raja Dhyani Singh, the Dogra minister of the Sikh Government, was probably the most celebrated of the hunters. Although the Central Panjab was full of jungles, wild beasts were rare, owing to the dryness of the climate, and *shikar* was mostly confined to smaller game which was taken with the help of matchlocks, guns, dogs and

5. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 8.

6. *Voyage Dans L'Inde* by Alexis Soltykoff. Monograph No. 18, Panjab Government Records Office Publications, pp. 98 and 104.

7. Hugel's *Travels*, p. 341.

8. *Panjab Government Records*. Book 137, Letter 13, Wade to Princep, 25th May, 1831.

hawks. For 'big game', the Dogra chief sometimes organised hunting parties towards Jammu. When the Maharaja himself went out for *shikar*, almost the whole camp moved up with him. On such occasions the number of elephants would be as large as five hundred with rich harness and brocade trappings, followed by a crowd of superb horses, and a crowd of pedestrians with hawks on their wrists or perched on the head.⁹

In addition to hunting there were other sports, especially *nezabazi*, which was more common among the Mohammedan aristocracy of the Peshawar side. Sirdar Sultan Mohammed Khan, the Barakzai feudatory of the Sikh Government, was particularly fond of showing his skill in this sport. He would come galloping his horse at full speed, with a spear in his hand and discharge it through an orange set on the palm of a footman, who received no injury at all.¹⁰

When the big *Sirdars* and nobles were in the towns, they divided their time between intrigues, seeing and listening to the dancing girls and drinking. This latter was a common vice of the Panjabis, especially of the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh himself in his youth was careless of appearing *mast* (drunk) in public in the company of a dancing girl, the famous Moran. Most of the bigger *Sirdars* had their domestic distilleries, where spirits were prepared according to individual tastes. After the First Sikh War the British Resident introduced *Abkari* Regulations which proved a little irksome, as the *Sirdars* could not have the spirits prepared "in their own houses, under their own superintendence, as was formerly their custom;"¹¹ and because, as Henry Lawrence puts it, the regulations were "inconvenient as obliging them all to go to the contractor and thus they thought betraying their secret."¹² A certain volunteer, Hugo James, gives a rather quaint explanation of the drinking habit of the Sikhs. He writes, "The Sikhs abominate the tobacco leaf, which they say would defile them were they to smoke it but though debarred this luxury they make up for it in the drinking line."¹³ The explanation may be wrong, but the fact remains that the Sikh *Sirdars* and soldiers had a partiality for spiritous liquors and moderation was certainly not one of their virtues.

The king's wine was prepared under official supervision, and we are told by Prince Soltykoff that every bottle was signed and sealed by the

9. Soltykoff, R. O. P., Monograph No. 18, p. 101.

10. Mohan Lal, p. 326.

11. P. G. R., Vol. IV (Lahore Political Diaries), p. 437; R.G. Taylor's Diary dated 17th January, 1848, Camp Lundee beyond Peshawar.

12. P. G. R., Vol. III, p. 250. H. Lawrence's Diary, dated 9th August, 1847.

13. *Scrambles through Sindh and the Panjab* by H. James, p. 192.

minister in whose presence it was prepared. The exact quantities of rubies, emeralds, pearls, diamonds and gold employed were given in the recipe. These precious stones were considered an *aphrodisiac* and anybody who could afford to take them did so.¹⁴ The spirits for general use were extracted from molasses and *babool*. The juice of grapes was not used for making wine anywhere in India except in Kashmir, where Forster tasted it in 1786 and described it as resembling *Madeira*.¹⁵

Dancing girls provided another diversion. Ranjit Singh had a whole regiment of young girls in his *seraglio*, whom he sometimes ordered to mount on horse back for his amusement.¹⁶ And then there were mountebanks or *bahrupias* who, to some extent, kept alive the art of make-up. Maharaja Sher Singh was, particularly, fond of them.¹⁷

The dancing girls, who were of course courtesans also, were found in almost all the towns and especially in those which happened to be cantonments. In the small fort of Rohtas, for example, fifty out of four hundred houses were occupied by them.¹⁸ In Amritsar, their number was about six hundred, all of whom were Mohammedans.¹⁹ The soldiers, military officers and big *Sirdars* were their patrons. A traveller, Munshi Mohan Lal, observed in 1832, that at Peshawar *Sirdar* Sultan Mohammed Khan Barakzai was generally surrounded by these girls and was always decked in splendid and precious robes, on account of which he was called, by Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul, 'Sultan Bibi'.²⁰

The great *Sirdars*, both Muslims, Sikhs and Rajputs, led generally a more or less dissolute life. Henry Lawrence particularly condemned the Sikhs, perhaps a little unjustly. "There probably is not a more dissolute race on the face of the earth," he wrote, and he ascribed the smallness of their numbers to their mode of living.²¹ Considering the fact that the Sikhs of the nineteenth century were a virile race, one may be tempted to doubt Henry Lawrence's judgment, yet one cannot but feel that there must be much truth in his statement in view of the numerous instances of lapse between 1815 and 1845 in the Protected Sikhs States on account of

14. Soltykoff Monograph No. 18 (P.G.R.O.P.), p. 96; also Hugel, p. 298.

15. Hugel, p. 109, footnote.

16. Jacquemont, p. 397; also Book 137, Letter 13. Wade to Princep, 25th May, 1831, P.G.R.; also Monograph No. 18, p. 54.

17. Soltykoff, Government Records Office Publications, Monograph No. 18, p. 99.

18. Mohan Lal, p. 25 (1832).

19. *Census of Amritsar* taken by Bowring in 1848, P.G.R.

20. Mohan Lal, p. 39.

21. *Adventures of an Officer*, Vol. I, p. 58.

failure of heirs. The first Administration Report refers to the same fact and comes to the same conclusion.²² But the failure of heirs cannot altogether be explained by this factor. Not only Henry Lawrence but almost all the foreigners, who visited or lived in the Panjab, formed a very low estimate of the standard of morality that prevailed here. In considering the opinions of such foreigners, one must remember that they had chances to observe only a particular kind of life, namely the life in bigger towns which lay on the main roads and in the military camps. A constant stream of foreign invasions and the consequent anarchy and plunder had produced among the town-dwellers of the Panjab a reckless and care-free philosophy of life, the outward manifestations of which were a love of military life, hunting and drinking parties and dancing girls. The people had become fatalistic and desperate and their maxim was "Eat and drink, for tomorrow ye die." But even this was confined to the richer classes and the soldiers, who were no more immoral or dissolute than rich people or soldiers of the twentieth century. The mass of the people living in the country led orderly and sober lives. Symthe, Sir J. Malcolm and other writers of the time were of the opinion that the conduct of the Panjabis with regard to women and marital ties was very lax.²³ It seems that the area of observation of these writers also was very much limited. There are numerous cases on record, in the protected Sikh States and the Panjab proper, of murders of women for petty infidelities. In one case a young man murdered even his mother, because by her love intrigues she was, as he thought, cutting the nose of the family. In another case a tailor of Peshawar killed his wife and her lover, when he surprised them in his own house, and brought their heads to Sultan Mohammed Khan, who praised the intrepidity of the tailor.²⁴ The first Administration Report states: "The men of the Panjab regard adultery with a vindictiveness only to be appeased by the death or mutilation of the parties."²⁵ I believe that there is enough evidence to show that the people of the Panjab had a high sense of sexual morality. It is rather hard to reconcile with this belief the prevalence of a low standard which many contemporary writers would have us believe. If they found license in court and camp, there is no reason to believe that the moral life of the whole nation was impure. There is much truth in the charge of dissoluteness among the Sikh sol-

22. *Administration Report*, 1849-50, p. 101.

23. See Smythe's *Ruling Family*, Appendix, p. iv, giving also the opinion of Malcolm.

24. Mohan Lal, p. 40.

25. *Administration Report*, 1849-50, p. 67.

diers. The rise of the Sikhs was to some extent the result of a spirit of revolt against the ascetic manners of the Hindus and the influence of this spirit was bound to spread over the life of the times. A moral revolt is always apt to answer extravagance with extravagance, and the Sikh of the nineteenth century was sometimes dissolute out of bravado. Moreover, it is generally recognized that great art flourishes in societies where conventional morality is not strict. The fact that the Sikh period is marked by an almost total lack of any great art (having flourished) is also evidence in some measure of the prevalence of a code of strict conventional morality. Soltykoff was perhaps the only foreigner who did not form a low estimate of Sikh morality for he says, "Everything is formal here, as if one were in a convent."²⁶

The Towns : Lahore : The towns people of the Panjab were a cheerful race. They lived in houses of brick, generally unburnt brick, fronting a labyrinth of narrow, irregular streets, wayward as sheep tracks. The streets of Lahore, the capital of the Panjab, were no better than those of other towns. The narrowness of streets was a common feature of Panjab towns, except in Wazirabad, where Avitabile, when governor of that place, had rebuilt the town in European style, pulling down the old bazar and widening the streets.²⁷ This set a good example, which was followed by Fattah Singh Ahluwalia, who built a beautiful bazar with wide streets in Kapurthala.²⁸ But the streets of Lahore remained as narrow and filthy as of old.²⁹ A person passing through these fantastically crooked streets not only saw but smelt Lahore. All accounts are unanimous about the filthy condition of the town, a tradition which it faithfully maintains to-day. The streets of Peshawar and even Jhelum were cleaner than those of Lahore.³⁰ A traveller, Hugo James, wrote, "Lahore is a large but filthy city, all or most of the streets being so extremely narrow that scarcely three people can perambulate abreast through them, whilst a person on horse back can, with great difficulty just manage to ride through these little alleys; and when once the lane is entered the hardy equestrian is forced to proceed as the narrowness of the street will not permit his horse to turn round."³¹

26. Soltykoff, Monograph, No. 18, p. 98.

27. Hugel, p. 251. Also P.G.R. Political Diaries, Vol. VI, p. 2, being Diary of Lt. R. G. Taylor.

28. Hugel, p. 39.

29. Mohan Lal, p. 11, also Soltykoff, Monograph No. 18, p. 100.

30. Mohan Lal, p. 37, and Hugel, p. 247.

31. *A Volunteer's Scramble through Sindh, the Punjab and Hindustan*, p. 237.

Sadhus and Fakirs—Lahore, though dirty, was quite prosperous under the Sikh sovereigns. Its prosperity was due to the camp and the court,³² as today it is due to the students. Its prosperity attracted many *fakirs* and *Sadhus*, and in the evening one could see half naked *fakirs* wandering in the streets, smeared with ashes, their faces variously painted, some covered with a tiger or panther skin and with fantastic turbans with feathers in them, but all indescribably dirty.³³ These *fakirs*, who, Hugel describes as "athletic fellows,"³⁴ swarmed the country, and in Lahore, we are told, they "literally infested the streets and public thoroughfares, many of them stalking along almost in a state of nudity."³⁵ From all accounts, these *sadhus* and *fakirs* were a rascally set. They wandered from place to place trying to induce superstitious boys to join their fraternity "by promises of teaching them chemistry and art of making gold."³⁶ These people, though perennial beggars, extorted extra money from people on specially hard on them. He writes: "Frequent cases have come to the knowledge of the authorities where these rascals made it a point to harbour and protect individuals who, having offended against the established laws of their country, were obliged to conceal themselves in some secure retreat until the police had given over all further search."³⁷ He adds, "Many a cruel murder, plots against the Government and a variety of other lawless machinations have been nurtured in dark abodes of these hypocritical saints. The beauty of it is that these fellows, who the people imagine to exist almost on nothing but prayers, are generally the wealthiest of men in India, living in a most luxurious state of wealth, maintaining a host of attendants and being extremely assiduous in the promotion of their worldly affairs."³⁸

During the day time, the place would be humming with life—the cries of *fakirs*, the shoutings of the people, the soldiers and the children. But there was nothing of what we call night line. With the approach of darkness, the whole city would be hushed into silence, with the exception of certain areas. These areas would be lighted up and become centres of gaiety. These were the streets in which the windows and balconies were full of dancing girls and courtesans, "brilliant with gold and preci-

32. Lawrence's *Adventures*, Vol. I, p. 214.

33. Soltykoff, P.G.R. Monograph No. 18, p.100.

34. Hugel, p.62.

35. Hugo James, p. 264.

36. Mohan Lal, pp. 17-8.

37. Hugo James, p. 264.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

ous stones and making gestures of welcome,"³⁹ the streets full of a motley crowd, but especially soldiers, direct from the *Kalal Khana* and consequently a little shaky on their legs, joking, singing and perhaps quarrelling. These revelries and brawls would continue till about midnight.

The Women—The condition of Panjabi women was much as it was, say, twenty years ago. A daughter was considered a liability, especially among the higher castes of Hindus, and consequently the number of females was smaller than that of males. For illustration's sake, let us make the figures for Amritsar, "the most bustling of all the cities of the Panjab"⁴⁰ These figures are according to a census of the place taken by Mr. Bowring in 1848,⁴¹ but they cannot be far from the truth for Ranjit Singh's time.

The number of men, women and children of different communities is given as follows :—

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Hindus	17,125	14,478	11,579	43,182
Sikhs	3,076	2,360	1,898	7,334
	20,201	16,838	13,477	50,516
Muslims	13,751	14,362	14,162	42,275

Subtracting from this 595, the number of dancing girls who were all Mohammedans, we have Muslim men 13,751, women 13,767, still a small excess of women over men.

A further examination and analysis of number of Sikhs is still more illuminating :—

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Hindu Sikhs, 2996		2,264	1,808	7,064
Sikhs converted 80 from Islam		96	94	270

Among the Hindus, therefore, we find a low sex ratio, the lowest being amongst the Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The Aroras showed an excess of females over males. Thus we find a paucity of females only amongst the upper class Hindus. This was due to many causes. As already noted, the girls were considered a liability,⁴² female babies were neglected with the result that female infant mortality was high. Infanticide of females was also practised to some extent though it was confined chiefly to the priestly class of *Bedis*, and to some higher sects of Mussal-

39. Soltykoff, Monograph 1.

40. Hugel, p. 393, No. 18, p. 10.

41. Resident's Correspondence, No. 46, 1849, P.G.R.

42. Cf. Pegg, pp. 35-37, *op. cit.*

mans.⁴³ The Administration Report of 1849 points out that whereas in Hindustan and Central India the cause of female infanticide was inability to pay a dowry, here in the Panjab, it was the pride of their order and the supposed sanctity of their caste which made them unwilling to give their daughters in marriage.⁴⁴ Also as pointed out by Gibbon, the custom of female infanticide was "due not to a vicious and callous nature, but to that caste pride to which so many of India's woes must be ascribed."⁴⁵ Though the custom prevailed in a limited circle, it was very deeply rooted, and on the Panjab passing into British hands, the authorities found it rather hard to abolish it. John Lawrence sent for the priest and head of the *Bedis* and ordered him to issue a proclamation forbidding his followers to slay their children. The old man replied that all he possessed was at the disposal of the *Sahib* but comply he could not. "Obey or give up your lands," was the commissioner's alternative and the chief of the *Bedis* chose the latter course.⁴⁶

It may not be out of place here to remark that this low sex ratio among the Panjabi Hindus still continues, as is shown by the Age of Consent Committee in their Report (1928-29). They write that there is a regular traffic in girls in several provinces of India. Many of the girls are sent to the Panjab, where demand is great owing to paucity of girls.⁴⁷ Leaving numbers apart, the condition of Hindu and Muslim women was almost the same. *Pardah* was prevalent among the middle and higher orders of all the communities, but more so among Mohammedans. The *pardah* system is not in keeping with the Hindu tradition, and there is evidence to show that the Hindus began concealing their women-folk since the Mohammedan invasion. By the time of Ranjit Singh *pardah* had spread so much that the pretty courtesans were the only females to be seen in the Panjab towns.⁴⁸ In the villages, of course, strict *pardah* was not possible owing to economic reasons and it was possible for a traveller to note the beauty of the women of Rachna and Chaj Doabs. One of them tells us that the women of Saharan, a village eleven miles from Ramnagar and of Biki, another village twenty-one miles from Ramnagar towards Jhelum, were famous for their beauty. Their language, he writes,

43. *Administration Report*, 1849, p. 64. Cf. also Diary of Mr. A.H. Cocks, Lahore Political Diaries, Vol. VI, p. 426, regarding Bedis.

44. *Ibid.* See also J. Pegg's *Infanticide in India*, p. 31.

45. *The Lawrence's of the Punjab* (J.M. Dent and Co., 1908), by F. P. Gibbon, p. 123.

46. *The Lawrence's of the Punjab*, Gibbon, p. 124.

47. Age of Consent Committee's Report, 1928-29, p. 34.

48. Soltykoff (P.G.R.O.P.), Monograph No. 18, p. 104.

'is sweet and mild.' The beautiful women of Darapur on the Jhelum were, however, not so mild, for we are told that "they had the power to control their husbands rather than obey them."⁴⁹ The women of our province were especially reputed throughout India for the delicacy of their hands and feet and the whiteness of their teeth.⁵⁰ I am not sure whether they still enjoy the reputation. We are told that they used the bark of a certain tree called *Deodasa* to clean the teeth and redden the gums.⁵¹ There are numerous incidents to show that *pardah* was not so strict among the Hindus. Munshi Mohan Lal, who was in Peshawar on certain *Baisakhi* day, tells us that thousands of Hindu women took a bath in the pond near the Temple of Gorakhnath. He adds that several Moham-medans, both of rank and low classes, were laughing and joking with each other at seeing the Hindu women bathing openly.⁵² We learn from H. Edwardes' diary that some Khatranis of Pind Dadan Khan were in the habit of bathing naked in the river Jhelum without clothes or screens. But the *Kardar* of that place put a stop to this practice of the cult of nudism by asking their husbands to forbid their wives to do so.⁵³ Bathing nude was, however, a common practice with the women of our province.⁵⁴

There are numerous cases of Sikh and Hindu women of the upper classes having mixed in men's society and taken an important part in public affairs. The instances of Daya Kaur, Sada Kaur, Chand Kaur and Rani Jind Kaur come to one's mind at once. Rani Jindan, though usually wrapped in a *chadar*, unveiled herself on occasions. There is a delightful instance of such an occasion in 1845. The Sikh soldiers of Lahore had not received their pay for some months and they decided to go in a body to the fort where the minor, Maharaja Dalip Singh was, and demand the arrears from the Council of Regency. Their attitude when they reached the fort was so menacing that the members of the Council dared not come out to face them. Jindan, like a Queen Christina, came out to meet them. She unveiled herself and made such a persuasive little speech that the soldiers went away charmed by the beauty of her face

49. Mohan Lal, pp. 19, 21, 25.

50. Hugel, pp. 57, 60, 344.

51. Hugel, p. 67.

52. Mohan Lal, p. 48.

53. H. Edwardes Diary. Cf. also Barr's *Journal of a March from Delhi to Kabul*, p. 62. He saw in a village near the Sutlej, a party of grown-up women bathing themselves in a pond without a single article of covering on.

54. Barr's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

and the sweetness of her voice.⁵⁵

Literacy—A very remarkable and altogether unsuspected feature was the existence of literacy among the women of our province. The Administration Report says,⁵⁶ "It is remarkable that female education is to be met with in all parts of the Panjab. The girls and the teachers (also female) belong to all the three great tribes, namely Hindu, Mussalman and Sikh. . . ." "The existence of such an education almost unknown in India, is an encouraging circumstance." Perhaps this is what explains the numerous references in the old Panjabi love songs of the heroine writing letters to her lover. There were, of course, schools for the boys too. These schools were private dwellings, the village town hall, the shade of a tree, a temporary shed or the courtyard of a temple. The Mussalman schools were nearly all connected with the village mosques.⁵⁷ The system of such an education, though rough, was pleasantly intimate. The teacher knew each scholar whom he or she taught with real parental love, which, however, did not exclude the use of the rod. At present too the proportion female literacy is higher in this province than in the contiguous provinces and states such as the North West Frontier Province, Rajputana Agency, Jammu and Kashmir State and the United Provinces, though it is less than that in the presidencies and provinces with a large urban population, like Delhi.⁵⁸ The remuneration of the teachers consisted frequently of presents, grain and sweetmeats given by the scholars and their parents.⁵⁹ The scholars also did little jobs for the teacher. Apart from this literary education which consisted mostly of the study of religious or semi-religious books, education in craftsmanship and vocation was taught from father to son. It was not, of course, considered necessary for royalty of either sex to learn the three R's and the theory that Ranjit Singh could write his name has yet to be proved.

Slavery and Slave Trade—Slavery of women was a common feature of the Panjab of those times. When Sikhs rose to power, and Ranjit Singh created a feudal aristocracy of his own, it was necessary to endow them with all the external characteristics of the Mohammedan nobility of the Mughal kings. The new aristocracy had their gaudy retinues, their city residences gay with equipages and visitors, their country seats and villas. It required only the introduction of *harems* and slave girls to

55. *Broadfoot to Government*, 1845 ?

56. 1849-50, para 376.

57. *Administration Report*, 1849-50, para 376.

58. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVII, Panjab Part Report, p. 261.

59. *Administration Report*, 1849-50, pp. 3, 50-51, para 376.

complete the picture. Hence a custom grew up of presenting the big *Sirdars* with slave girls.⁶⁰ Jacquemont tells us that Ranjit Singh himself had a numerous collection of the greatest beauties of Kashmir.⁶¹ There must have been a regular traffic in girls from Kashmir and other places for we know that the *harems* of the aristocracy were kept well supplied. Those engaged in this traffic either bought girls or stole them and brought them up. Child stealing was quite common in the hilly tracts.⁶² When pretty girls could be sold at attractive prices, it is most unlikely that parents in hills would resort to female infanticide. A girl in the hills was considered as an asset and could generally be sold at from thirty to forty rupees. Exceptionally beautiful girls could fetch up to hundred and eighty rupees.⁶³ Thus it was that any little Kashmir girl who promised to turn out pretty was kidnapped or bought and exported to the Panjab or other parts of India, thereby denuding Kashmir of beautiful faces. That is why the foreign travellers found the females of Kashmir very ugly, and one of them humorously wrote : "I know no country on earth where so many witches could be enlisted for Macbeth, if Shakespeare had chosen to introduce a hundred thousand instead of only three."⁶⁴ In addition to the slaves of the *harems*, most of the female servants of the Panjab were also slaves. But these servants were treated tolerably well and their condition was hardly worse than that of their mistresses in the *harems*.⁶⁵ An intelligent and clever slave girl could always improve her condition considerably. There is the case of the slave girls Mangla, who played a somewhat important part in the numerous *Darbar* intrigues before the First Sikh War.⁶⁶ She raised herself almost to the position of a Private Secretary of Rani Jindan and any body who wished to obtain a favour from Her Highness had first to placate Mangla.

Sati—The custom of *Sati* was very ancient in the Panjab. It was well established here in the fourth century B.C., at the time of Alexander's invasion. It continued throughout the Hindu Period, but the Mus-

60. Four female slaves were brought from Bikaner in 1845 and they are intended as a present for Jawahar Singh, the uncle of Maharaja Dalip Singh. They were seized at Sirsa by the British Authorities, P.G.R. Book No. 90, Letter 129.

61. Jacquemont, p. 396.

62. H. Lawrence, *Adventures*, Vol. I, p. 150.

63. Jacquemont, p. 65. His figures are 50 to 60 Francs for an ordinary girl and up to 300 Francs for the best girl.

64. Jacquemont, Vol. II, p. 74.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

66. Cf. Smyth's *Secret History of the Lahore Ruling Families*, Chap. XII especially from page 160 to 167.

lim rulers of the Panjab and Delhi, especially the Moghals discouraged it as best they could,⁶⁷ so much so that by the beginning of the nineteenth century *Satis* were very rare in our province. The most curious thing about it is that the Sikh ruling families should have adopted the custom, notwithstanding the fact that third of their *Guru*, Amar Das, had condemned it.⁶⁸

The explanation probably lies in the fact that, when the Sikhs became rulers of the Panjab, they adopted the rite because it was considered a necessary appendage to regal and princely castes. Moreover, in the words of Edward Thompson, "chieftain's women were toys and dolls, just as truly as the women of the Moghal's *harem*. Chosen for their physical loveliness, they were moths, who led a twilight existence that ended in the bewildering pomp that brought them to the flame."⁶⁹ One need not explain the custom among the Hindus, as, according to their doctrines of sociology and religion, the husband stands to the wife in the place of the Deity.

Sati was of various kinds. Firstly, *Sahmaran* or burning with the corpse of the husband. Secondly, *Anumaran* or immolation with the ashes or remains, e.g., clothes, sword, etc., of the Lord. And thirdly, *Ma Sati* or mother sati, burning with the corpse of the son.⁷⁰

Allard once saw a *Sati* at Lahore : "The procession in which she walked made a terrible uproar, but the *Sati* seemed to have retained all her composure. She lay down herself on the pyre and removed her ornaments which she distributed among those round her, and when she had finished, she picked out the most comfortable position, getting up several times to alter the position of logs and wood which were not comfortable. When she was at her ease, she let herself be covered carefully with more logs. Then they threw a quantity of oil on the pyre in which she had buried herself and when fire was applied, it blazed with such violence that she must have been suffocated at once."⁷¹

67. Edward Thompson, "Suttee," p. 57.

68. They are not Suttees who parish in the flames, O Nanak ! Suttees are those who die of a broken heart.

The loving wife perishes with the body of her husband. But were her thoughts bent upon God her sorrows would be alleviated. (Amar Das, *Adi Granth*, Rag Suhi.)

69. *Suttee*, E. Thompson, p. 46.

70. H. R. Rose, *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Panjab*, Quoted by E. Thompson in *Suttee*, p. 38.

71. Political and Social State of Northern India in 1830. Jacquemont's Journal in Northern India. Translation in Monograph No. 18 (P. G. R. O. Publications), pp. 55-56.

Four *Ranis* and five slave girls, including the famous 'Lotus,' burnt themselves with the body of Ranjit Singh. The British Government conveyed their horror to the Lahore Government through their agent, Mr. Clerk. *Rani* Isar Kaur burnt unwillingly—if Lepel Griffin is to be believed—at the pyre of Maharaja Kharak Singh. Two wives burnt with Nau-Nihal Singh next day. *Sati* was performed again in 1843 at the death of Maharaja Sher Singh. Raja Dhyan Singh was murdered the same day. But his widow and thirteen slave girls did not commit *Sati* till Hira Singh brought the head of his father's slayer and laid it at the feet of his step-mother⁷². A slave girl aged ten years begged to be included and was allowed.

A lady who was pregnant or had young children to bring up was not expected to become a *Sati*. But if a lady of rank who "being neither pregnant nor having children to nurture declined immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her lord," she lost her precedence and a share in the government of her late husband's estate.⁷³ This rule obtained in the hills.

A prospective *Sati* was considered noble and sacred and endowed with powers of prophecy just before immolation. In September 1845, at the murder of Jawahar Singh, the brother of *Rani* Jindan, when four of his wives were about to perform *Sati*, Jindan went and got their blessings. So did Diwan Dina Nath and Maharaja Dalip Singh, all of whom prostrated themselves before the prospective *Sati* and obtained their blessings. While those ladies were being conducted from the fort to burning *ghat*, they were plundered of all their ornaments by the Sikh soldiers. The *Satis* on the pile blessed the Maharaja, the *Rani* and Diwan Dina Nath, but cursed the Sikh *Panth*. They prophesied that during that year, the independence of the Panjab would cease, the Sikhs would be conquered, the wives of the Sikh soldiers be widowed and the country desolated, but the *Rani* and her son would live long, and the Maharaja continue to reign.⁷⁴ This prophecy, if authentic, was fulfilled.

Village Life — Although Indian civilization and culture has since very early times been mainly urban, a vast majority of people have always lived in the villages. In the Panjab, traditions of the war and rapine showed themselves in the narrow streets of the towns and outside the towns in the form of the village, with narrow winding lanes, the

72. Smythe's *op. cit.*, p. 85.

73. Book 18, Letter 64. Lt. Ross to C. T. Matcalfe, Resident Delhi, 6th November, 1815.

74. Broadfoot to F. Currie, Secretary to Government of India, 26th September, 1845, Book No. 167, Letter 36, pp. 310-19, P.G.R.

population crowded within the smallest possible area. In some of the submountane tracts of the Panjab, tiled houses were taboo and in some Mohammedan villages it was a rule that a house was not to be built until the village mosque was finished.⁷⁵ The village people, therefore, lived in mud-houses. A brick house in the village would be probably that of the *Bania*. But in spite of thier mud-houses and insanitary living, the country people were stronger and healthier than perhaps they are today. Work in the field and plenty of food helped to keep them healthy. The villages, which were autonomous units, had a very simple organization. Almost everybody was engaged in agriculture, with the exception of the Brahmin who made known the lucky or unlucky days for seed time—a smith and a carpanter, the potter, the barber, who was a luxury, but performed sundry other services connected with marriages; and here and there a poet who would sometimes be the school master also. These few individuals were maintained at the expense of the community. The rest worked in the fields and did a little spinning and weaving at home. The only link with the outside world was provided by the Government *Kardar*, or the tax-gatherer and the *Bania*, who bought the surplus produce if there was any of the village for export, and brought in such things as were not produced in the village. Another link was the wandering holy man who would occasionally settle in village for a few months and tell tales of the wonderful places he had visited. And then there were the soldiers who returned to their homes every year before *Dushera* with their pockets full of money which they had saved, and their heads full of gossip and politics.

For irrigation the people depended on rain, wells worked by Persian wheels, and canals, the latter chiefly in Multan Province. There Diwan Sawan Mal had dug no less than fifteen canals, covering a length of about 35 miles and irrigating lands of about four hundred and ten villages.⁷⁶ The share of the state in the shape of revenue, though in theory assumed to be one half of the produce, varied in practice from two-fifths to one-third of the gross produce. In Multan and the Trans-Indus possessions of the Sikhs it was even less, and never exceeded one-third. It usually averaged one-fourth or one-fifth and sometimes fell even lower to one-eighth of the crop. Moreover, a large portion of what the State got come back to the villages. As the first Administration Report describing the Panjab under Sikh rule states :—"the Government gave back with

75. "The House in India." From the point of view of sociology and folklore by W. Crooke. *Folklore*, Vol. XXIX, June 1918, p. 116.

76. *Administration Report*, 1849-50, p. 81.

one hand what it had taken with other. The employees of the State were very numerous, every *jat* village sent recruits for the army, who again remitted their savings to their homes. Many a highly-taxed village paid half of its revenue from its military earnings.⁷⁷ Again the presence of a vast body of consumers created an immense demand for manufactured commodities. Prices were quoted high, the market was brisk and thus the commercial interests bore up against their load of taxation.⁷⁸ The village folk still used hand-spun and coarse cloth, but by the end of Ranjit Singh's reign, British cotton and piece-goods were beginning to penetrate especially in the villages about the bigger towns.

Agriculture was carried on by primitive methods, though the rotation of crops was known.⁷⁹ No great care was paid to manuring and a very useful manure like cow-dung was burnt as fuel.⁸⁰

Doaba Bist Jullundur was, and account of its situation with respect to the hills and other natural advantages, the Mecca of the agriculturists, and the farmers on both sides of the Sutlej were very wealthy. So was the area about Peshawar. In Multan also agriculture flourished on account of the numerous canals dug by the *Diwans*. But the area round about the salt mines was poor in agriculture on account of the uneven nature of the ground.⁸¹ So poor indeed were the husbandmen of this area that they often sold their daughters and sometimes even sons to make both ends meet.⁸² Though the people of this tract mostly ill-paid miners, working in the salt mines, were poor, the State derived considerable revenue from this part. Ranjit Singh had prohibited the manufacture of salt in all parts of his dominions, thus making salt a monopoly of the state, which was sometimes farmed out. About eight lakhs of Panjab maunds per year were extracted and sold at two rupees per maund. Only a lakh and a half were spent in working the mineral and the workers were paid a rupee for every twenty maunds of salt brought to the surface, a task which, according to Alexander Burnes' estimate, could be performed by a man, his wife and a child in two days.⁸³ Thus a man, his wife and a child working all together would earn eight annas per day. The work in the

77. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

80. *Ibid.*, Also Mohan Lal.

81. Mohan Lal, p. 24.

82. Mohan Lal, p. 24.

83. "Account of the Salt Mines of the Panjab," article by A. Burnes in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1832, p. 147.

mines gave the workers a most unhealthy complexion, but they were not known to be subject to any particular disease. Leaving aside their area, which was an exception, one may say that, as a rule, the people lived a contented and happy life, with plenty of food and good health.

Travel and Commerce — Travelling in the Panjab, though not very common, was quite safe and, if Hugel is to be believed, the Panjab in Ranjit Singh's time was safer than even Hindustan under the British rule.⁸⁴ Beyond Rawalpindi, it was by no means safe, and Burnes on his first mission to Afghanistan had to change his dress, reduce his baggage so as to look a poor man and call himself Sikandar Khan, His Hindu attendant called himself Hassan Jan.⁸⁵ There were numerous *Serais* on the main road where the traveller could shelter for the night. For example, between Lahore and Ferozepur, a distance of about fifty miles, there were enclosed *serais* at the following places : Ganda Singh Wala, Kasur, Lalliani and Kana Kacha.⁸⁶ On the Imperial Road from Delhi to Kabul there were *serais* built by the Mughal kings at a distance of every six *kos*, but they were now in a very bad state of repair.⁸⁷ In the Peshawar District such sheltering places, called *Hujras*, were very commonly used by strolling vagabonds as well as genuine travellers.⁸⁸ In addition to these *serais* the Hindus and Sikhs could always resort to the temple and the *dharamsala* and the Muslims to the mosque. Sometimes when there was no *dharamsala*, the Sikhs also used the mosque for shelter.⁸⁹

For the means of travel, one had first of all one's own feet, or a horse, a camel or a *dolie*. The women of the richer classes generally used *dolies*, and *palanquins*,⁹⁰ and the men elephants and horses, but sometimes even men travelled in *dolies*. Jacquemont wrote, "India is the Utopia of social order for the aristocracy, in Europe the poor carry the rich on their shoulders; but it is only metaphorically, here it is without figure. Instead of workers and consumers, or governed and governors—the subtle distinction of European politics—in India there are only the carried and the carrying, which is much clearer."⁹¹

84. Hugel p. 316.

85. Mohan Lal, p. 29.

86. Lahore Resident's Correspondence, 1849. Proceedings No. 283-90.

87. Hugel, pp. 188, 209, 217, 226, 245.

88. Resident's Correspondence, W.P. 393, P.G.R.

89. Hugel, 204.

90. Book No. 47, Letter No. 10,19,23. N. W. F. Agency Correspondence. A large number of *dolies* and *palanquins* were arranged for the travel of the family of Shah Shuja.

91. Jacquemont, p. 195.

There were almost no bridges over the rivers and *nalas*, which had to be crossed on boats, inflated skins, on elephants, or, if possible, on foot.⁹² The new bridges that existed were in a wretched condition and the Government never cared either to repair them or to post sentinals to keep watch over them.⁹³ By a 'road' was generally meant a mere broad path, and that not always, for sometimes it was a mere beaten track found with difficulty.⁹⁴ It was the policy of the state not to construct good roads, and Ranjit Singh once remarked that if he constructed good roads he would be making it easier for his enemies to advance against him.⁹⁵

Merchandise was carried on mules and camels. Long strings of loaded camels slowly moving in a line, with little bells tinkling from their necks were the real goods-trains of that age. The merchants who accompanied them were always armed, and those who came from the West were a remarkable class. As the Administration Report puts it: Having to pass through defiles tenanted by the most savage and ferocious tribes, they are armed to the teeth; and bear about them marks of many a conflict. With the most amazing perseverance they travel over half the length of Asia and exchange the products of Tartary, Kabul and Tibet for the commodities of Europe at the quays and marts of Calcutta."⁹⁶

The people of our province were quite accustomed to seeing these traders and their caravans, but the sight of a European was a luxury and a rarity. When such a traveller approached a town, the younger and the lazier inhabitants would gather round him and make such remarks as they seemed appropriate to the occasion, and which, if translated, would not be quite pleasing to the *Sahibs*. A shout of *Farangi ho* was enough to bring the people out of their shops and houses to look at the newcomers, who were greeted with words like 'monkeys' and other worse epithets.⁹⁷ The word *Farangi*, though gone into disuse now, was for a very long time loaded with all the hatred and contempt which the Indians felt against the white intruders of Europe. Such was especially the case in the Sikh Governments' territories beyond the Indus, where the preponderatingly Mohammedan race looked upon the Empire as their heritage and hated every dynasty except their own and regarded the British as the worst, "because the most powerful of usurpers."⁹⁸ Almost every one was

92. Mohan Lal. p. 34.

93. Hugel, pp. 193, 227.

94. Hugel, p. 238.

95. Hugel, p. 326.

96. *Administration Report*, 1849-50, p. 7.

97. Mohan Lal, p. 35 and 45.

98. *Administration Report*, p. 6.

armed in the Panjab,⁹⁹ and the people were brave and fearless. They were curious like other Indians to see the white men, but they had not that slavish veneration for the European which made the people of other parts of Hindustan, on the approach of a foreigner, stand on one side, or take off their shoes and say *salaam* or *Ram Ram*.¹⁰⁰

Customs, Superstitious, etc.—The Panjabis of the Sikh times were superstitious, religious and tolerant. In the case of Hindus religion had come to mean no more than a matter of forms and ceremonies, and consequently, as Cunningham points out, Brahmanism and Buddhism no longer inspired their votaries with enthusiasm.¹⁰¹ Mohammedanism was also becoming corrupted and the grave of many a holy mortal became a place of pilgrimage. But a Muslim was 'still actively desirous of acquiring merit by adding to the number of true believers.'¹⁰² He found a field for such activities among what Cunningham calls the 'debased' classes (the Harijans of today), to whose spiritual needs the Brahmins refused to minister. The most zealous from the religious point of view were the Sikhs. Their faith was still an active and living principle, in fact, more living than it ever had been. It was the hour of their triumph, and a crusading spirit pervaded the whole Khalsa. Every Sikh believed in a great future in which the Khalsa had to achieve still greater triumphs. This desire and hope, which looked like being realized in the near future, was every morning expressed by the Sikhs in those significant words which followed the *Ardas* : *Raj karega Khalsa, yaki rahe na ko*.

That is, the *Khalsa* shall rule and no enemies shall remain. The spirit of these words is almost identical with that of the words in the national anthem of the English, "Britons never shall be slaves."

Sikhism had arisen as a protest and a revolt against the defeatist, fatalistic and non-aggressive philosophy of the Hindus. It was natural, therefore, that Sikhism should embody in itself most of the externals which Hinduism tabooed. Their drinking, their prohibition against smoking, their growing of beards, their swash buckling activities, the compulsory carrying of a *Kirpan* were the external manifestation of that spirit which was a revolt against all the standards of weakness represented by Hindus.

But in spite of this, it is to the great credit of the Sikh Government, at least during the reign of Ranjit Singh, that the religious policy of

99. Soltykoff ?

100. *Ibid.*

101. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 11.

102. *Ibid.*

the State was one of toleration. There were only two exceptions to this policy; Mohammedans were not allowed to cry the *Azan*, and they were not allowed to kill the cow. With those exceptions any body could follow any religion, and profession of any particular religion was neither a bar nor a qualification for government service. To inculcate this spirit in others, the Maharaja himself set an example, and in addition to Amritsar, he paid devotion at the tombs of several Mohammedan saints, and Jacquemont tells us that such pilgrimages did not offend the puritans of his own sect.¹⁰³ There were many saints common to both Hindus and Muslims and communal riots, as we know them today, were rare. Hindus, Mohammedans and Sikhs lived at peace.

On the Frontier, perhaps, Hindu suffered occasional oppression but by industry and knowledge of accounts the Hindu *Banias* had made themselves almost indispensable to the insolent and ignorant Pathans.¹⁰⁴ They had much the same position among the Afghans as the Jews used to have in England. They were tolerated because they were necessary, but were handicapped by certain minor disabilities. For example Herbert Edwardes tells us that in Bannu they were not allowed to wear a turban and were "consequently obliged to trust their skulls to a small round cap which must be a poor defence against the proverbial strength of the Bannu sun."¹⁰⁵

All the communities were fond of celebrating their festivals and holding fairs. The Royal Court itself celebrated certain auspicious days. At Basant, for example, the whole court moved out to the *smadh* of Madho Lal Hussain.¹⁰⁶ Here the Maharaja's troops dressed in *basanti* (yellow) uniforms, stood on both sides of the road, forming a regular lane to salute the King. The Maharaja apparelled in *basanti* dress would pass through this lane accompanied by his Indian and European officers, and proceed towards the royal tents, made of yellow silk and richly ornamented with pearls, etc.¹⁰⁷ At *diwali* the whole town, the fort and royal houses were illuminated. In 1847 a British officer observed that the houses of the Mussalman officers (of the Lahore *Darbar*) were as brilliantly lighted up as any.¹⁰⁸ The festival of *holi* was the time for jokes and frolics and the boy-king, Maharaja Dalip Singh, sometimes carried his practi-

103. Jacquemont, p. 399.

104. P. G. R. Vol. V, H. B. Edwardes' Diaries, p. 208.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

106. P.G. R., Vol. III, P.S. (H. Lawerence's Diary). Also Mohan Lal, p. 15.

107. Mohan Lal, p. 15.

108. R. G. Talyor to Resident, Lahore, P. G. R. Vol. IV, p.411.

cal jokes to such a length that some of the courtiers were obliged to slip away from the *Darbar*.¹⁰⁹ He would order his 'boy-regiment' to tease the *Sardars* and especially Lehna Singh.¹¹⁰ The Mussalmans also celebrated and observed their days and there was absolutely no restriction. Gradually the Hindus and Muslims were beginning to have common places of pilgrimage and even common festivals. In fact, for the first time after the Mohammedan conquest the Panjabis were in the evolutionary process of becoming a nation. The great dream of the *sufi* poets, a dream of creating a united India—beginning with Ramanand and Kabir and Nanak, was being partially realized in the Panjab. Ranjit Singh, a true follower of Nanak, was a *sufi* at heart and had a very tolerant spirit. So much had he endeared himself to his Mussalman subjects by his broad-minded and just policy that when he fell ill in 1820, prayers were offered in the mosques for his recovery.¹¹¹

The whole structure of society was based on ideas and rules derived from religion and tradition, with the result that change, when at all possible, was very slow. Though the institution of the family existed, family life was almost non-existent. A grown-up man found all his pleasures and companionship outside the family, the children in the street, and the women folk among the neighbouring women. The wife was regarded as an inferior, a status assigned to her by Hindu and Mohammedan law, though one is inclined to believe that the condition of the Sikh women was not so bad. The children when they grew up imbibed the some contempt for their mother as soon as he could dispense with her services.¹¹² With polygamy and this degradation and seclusion of women, that romantic passion called 'being in love' was rare. People did fall in love, no doubt, but in a very matter-of fact way. Friendship among brothers was scarcely less rare; the respect due from the younger brother to the elder checked any feeling of familiar friendship.¹¹³ Even ordinary domestic manners were based on immutable laws having the sanction of religion. For every little act that people did, they could find some sanction in the holy books, and herein lies the secret of the unchanging East. The East is governed by religion, which of necessity is slow to change, and as long as the hold of religion is strong, it is impossible to bring about any social revolution in India.

109. H. Lawrence, P. G. R., Vol. III, pp. 41-43.

110. *Ibid.*

111. *Zafar-Nama-i-Ranjit Singh*, p. 172, quoted in *Ranjit Singh* by Sinha, p. 143.

112. Jacquemont, Vol. II, p. 91.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

Inventory of Panjab Frescoes

R. P. SRIVASTAVA*

Ever since the commencement of scholarly interest in Indian art there has been a great demand for a well-documented inventory of monuments of art objects in the country. This need has recurrently been felt by the scholarly community resident in Europe (including U. K.), U. S. A., U. S. S. R., etc. Thus far, however, no attempt has been made by any individual, agency or institution in this direction.

The author has taken this modest initiative in the hope that the long felt need of the prospective research scholars in the field of fresco painting in the Panjab plains might be fulfilled. A district-wise inventory of Panjab frescoes has been prepared after ten years' strenuous field survey. Similar inventories on sculpture and architecture, etc., shall follow in due course for the benefit of scholars of Indian art history specialising in the fine arts of the Panjab. It will be of special interest to readers of this Newsletter, that some places of Pakistan Panjab (which once formed a part of India before 15th August, 1947) have also been included in this inventory as they have some style affinity with the fresco painting which flourished on the Indian side of the Panjab in the nineteenth century.

Districtwise Inventory of Nineteenth Century Murals of Panjab Plains

<i>Sr. No.</i>	<i>Name and description of the monument, place</i>	<i>Style of school affiliation</i>	<i>Whether Religious or Secular</i>	<i>Particular sect/faith pantheon depicted</i>
1.	Sheesh Mahal in Ranjit Singh's Palace, Lahore (Pakistan).	Pahari	Religious	Vaishanavaite
4.	Tomb of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Lahore (Pakistan).	Sikh	—do—	Nanak Shahi
3.	Dharam Sala Bhai Wasti Ram, Lahore (Pakistan).	Sikh	—do—	— do —

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INVENTORY OF PANJAB FRESCOES

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|--|-------------|-----------|---|
| 4. Residence of Allard and Ventura, Anarkali, Lahore (Pakistan). | Pahari | —do— | Sikh themes |
| 5. Garden House of Allard, Lahore (Pakistan). | Popular | Secular | Dragons soldiers, lancers, foot soldiers |
| 6. Haveli Maharaja Nau-Nihal Singh, Lahore (Pakistan). | Sikh | Religious | Sikh themes |
| 7. Lahore Fort, Wall Paintings, Lahore (Pakistan). | Sikh | —do— | Sikh themes |
| 8. Royal Palace, Lahore (Pakistan). | Pahari Sikh | Religious | Vaishanavaite History of Krishna as narrated in <i>Prem Sagar</i> . Krishna with Milk maid, in another room Krishna teasing <i>gopis</i> , while bathing and taking away their clothes. Fakirs are also shown |
| 9. Mir's Harem in Hyderabad Fort, Hyderabad (Sind), (Pakistan). | Mughal type | Secular | Secular themes |
| 10. Fort of General Hari Singh Nalwa, Gujranwala (Pakistan). | Sikh | Secular | Battle of Jamrood |
| 11. Country House of Ranjit Singh at Wazirabad, (Pakistan). | Sikh | Religious | Sikh Gurus |
| 12. Main shrine in the Temple walls are painted in Pindori Dham, 8 miles from Gurdaspur. | Pahari | Religious | Vaishanavaite |
| 13. Gurudwara, Dhianpur (Gurdaspur). | Pahari | —do— | Nanak Shahi |

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| 14. Gurudwara Sri Har-gobindpur (Gurdaspur). | Pahari | —do— | Nanak Shahi |
| 15. Dhamtal Temple, Dhamtal (Gurdaspur). | Pahari | —do— | Vaishanavaite |
| 16. Baring Union Christian College Building, Batala (formerly palace of Maharaja Sher Singh), Gurdaspur. | Sikh | —do— | Nanak Shahi |
| 17. Walls of Gurudwara at Naurangabad (Amritsar). | Sikh | —do— | Nanak Shahi |
| 18. Walls of Gurudwara Mattewal (Amritsar). | Sikh | —do— | Nanak Shahi |
| 19. Golden Temple Amritsar (walls and ceilings), Amritsar. | Flora and fauna | Natural | Flora and fauna |
| 20. Walls of Brahmbuta Akhara near Golden Temple (now-repaired and white-washed), Amritsar. | Pahari | Religious | Vaishanavaite |
| 21. Walls and ceilings of Chitta Akhara (Bazar Mai Sewan), Amritsar. | Pahari | —do— | Vaishanavaite |
| 22. Walls of Haveli Mangal Singh, Chowk Prag Dass, Amritsar. | Pahari and Sikh mixed | Religious | Nanak Shahi |
| 23. Haveli of Jamadar Khushal Singh, Amritsar. | Pahari and Sikh mixed | Religious | Nanak Shahi |
| 24. Walls and ceilings of Temple near Jallianwala Bag, Amritsar. | Sikh | Religious | Vaishanavaite |
| 25. Haveli Giani Harinder Singh Roop, Main Gate (Bazar Mai Sewan), Amritsar. | Sikh plus popular | —do— | Popular Sikh |
| 26. Gurudwara near Sultanwind Gate, Amritsar. | Pahari | —do— | Sikh themes |

INVENTORY OF PANJAB FRESCOES

27. Temples and Samadhas of Maharaj Chand near Ghee Mandi, Amritsar.	Pahari	—do—	Vaishanavaite
28. Upper Storey room in Akhara Bala Nand, Guru Ram Dass Sarai Road, Amritsar.	Pahari	—do—	—do—
29. Walls of Temple, Katra Ahluwalia, Amritsar.	Pahari	—do—	—do—
30. Gurudwara Baba Attal Sahib (upper storeys), near Golden Temple, Amritsar.	Sikh	—do—	Nanak Shahi
31. Deorhi leading to Attal Sahib, near Golden Temple, Amritsar.	Sikh	—do—	Nanak Shahi
32. Gurudwara Khadoor Sahib, Amritsar.	Sikh	—do—	—do—
33. Gurudwara Goindwal, Amritsar.	Sikh	—do—	—do—
34. Gurudwara Thatha Khara, near Taran Tarn, Amritsar.	Sikh	—do—	—do—
35. Summer Palace of Ranjit Singh, Ram Bagh, Amritsar.	Sikh	—do—	Sikh themes
36. Gurudwara Baba Deep Singh, Amritsar.	Sikh	—do—	—do—
37. Haveli of Phaga Sant Ram (upper storey), Mehsuliwala Darwaza, Jandiala Guru Ka.	Pahari	—do—	Hindu popular themes
38. Gurudwara Baba Bakala, Baba Bakala (Amritsar).	Sikh	—do—	Nanak Shahi
39. Baba Hundal Ka Gurudwara, Jandiala Guru Ka (Amritsar).	Sikh	—do—	Sikh themes
40. Vir Bhan Da Shivala, Ghee Mandi, Amritsar.	Pahari	—do—	Vaishanavaite

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| 41. Gurudwara and House of Sodhi family, Kartarpur, Jullundur. | Sikh | —do— | Sikh religious themes |
| 42. Bara Mandi Frescoes, Nurmahal, Jullundur. | Pahari | —do— | Vaishanavaite |
| 43. Gurudwara Ram Tatwali, Hoshiarpur. | Sikh | —do— | Sikh themes |
| 44. Gurudwara Bhunga (Hoshiarpur). | Sikh | —do— | —do— |
| 45. Gurudwara Ferozepur (Ferozepur). | Sikh | —do— | —do— |
| 46. Jain Temple between Zira-Ferozepur (Ferozepur). | Jain | —do— | Jain Tirthankaras |
| 47. Gurudwara Bargari, Faridkot (Faridkot). | Sikh | —do— | Sikh themes |
| 48. Gurudwara at Muktsar (Faridkot). | Sikh | —do— | —do— |
| 49. Gurudwara Jandiali (Sangrur). | Sikh | —do— | —do— |
| 50. Havelis of big Businessmen in Handayaya (Sangrur). | Hindu | —do— | Vaishanavaite |
| 51. Temple at Barnala (Sangrur). | Hindu | —do— | —do— |
| 52. Gurudwara at Kangra Dina (Sangrur). | Sikh | —do— | Nanak Shahi |
| 53. Temple at Doraha-Ludhiana, Chandigarh Road, Ludhiana. | Pahari | —do— | Vaishanavaite |
| 54. Gurudwara Lapon, Ludhiana. | Pahari | —do— | Sikh themes |
| 55. Temple at Mannupur, Via Khanna Ludhiana. | Pahari folk mixed | —do— | Vaishanavaite |
| 56. Sheesh Mahal frescoes, Old Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala. | Pahari | —do— | —do— |
| 57. Qila Mubarak, Interior Palace frescoes, Patiala. | Pahari Rajput | —do— | —do— |

INVENTORY OF PANJAB FRESCOS

58. Office Punjab Chief Chemical Examiner, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.	Pahari Rajasthani	—do—	—do—
59. Temple of Tung Nath, Rajpura Road, Patiala.	Pahari	—do—	—do—
60. Temple of Kedar Nath frescoes, Rajpura Road, Patiala.	Pahari	—do—	—do—
61. Temple of Badri Nath frescoes, Rajpura Road, Patiala.	Pahari	—do—	—do—
62. Temple of Raj Rajeshwari frescoes at the back of Kali Devi Temple, the Mall Road, Patiala.	Pahari	—do—	—do—
63. Gurudwara Tegh Bahadur frescoes, near Bahadur- garh Fort, Patiala.	Pahari style	Religious	Sikh themes
64. Gurudwara at the back of Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala.	—do—	—do—	—do—
65. Rani Mahal, Nabha (Patiala).	Pahari Rajasthani mixed	—do—	Popular religious
66. Mansa Devi Temple at Mani Majra near Chandigarh (Chandigarh).	Pahari	—do—	Cult of Devi
67. Mani Majra Palace (now deserted), Chandigarh.	—do—	—do—	Vaishanavaite
68. Shrine of Bhikan Shah of Ghuram near Patiala (Patiala).	—do—	—do—	Flora and fauna
69. Am Khas Bagh, Sirhind (Patiala).	Mughal	Secular	Secular popular
70. Roza Sharif, Sirhind, near Fatehgarh Sahib (Patiala).	Mughal Rajasthani mixed	Religious	Flowers and foliage
71. Gurudwara Chachroli frescoes, near Ambala (Ambala).	Pahari	—do—	Sikh themes

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| 72. Gen. Avitabile's residence,
Peshawar Governor of
the Province at the time
Peshawar (Pakistan). | Pahari | Secular | Erotic, i.e.,
dancing girls,
nudes, depicting
the tales of the
Gen. Avitabile |
| 73. Walls of house of Shri
Kundan Lal, Dasuya
(Hoshiarpur). | Pahari | Secular | Poets, mystics |
| 74. Gurudwara Achal Sahib
Village, Batala (Gurdas-
pur). | Pahari | Religious | Vaishanavaite |
| 75. Achaleshwar Maha Dev
Temple, Achal Sahib,
Batala (Gurdaspur). | Pahari | —do— | —do— |

History of the Conquest of the Panjab

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST

I

Et Cujus parva fui : 1845-6

I came by a mere chance on a file of manuscripts written by myself between the 11th of February and March 31, 1846, just fifty two years ago. I recognize my handwriting, but I had forgotten the existence of the document : it proves to be a transcript of a portion of Vol. II of my Journal, which I have kept day by day since I left England September 15, 1842; and I must have made the transcript to send to my father, for it came back to me when he died in 1861, amid the file of my letters to his address which I had sent without fail every Sunday from January 1843, when I parted with him in the Bay of Naples, to May 1861, and one letter arrived to his address from me after his death, proving that I had never forgotten him.

This transcript gives an account of the first British invasion of the independent kingdom of the Panjab, and the capture of Lahore. I had accompanied the Army from Ambala, December 6, 1845, to the River Satlaj. I had been present at the battle of Mudki on December 18, and Ferozshahr on the 21st, where my superior officer, Major George Broadfoot, Agent to the Governor-General, was killed. I was his personal assistant, and I buried him at Ferozpur and was appointed Under Secretary in the Foreign Office, living as a guest with Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, and his two sons, my old Eton friends, Charles and Arthur Hardinge. My superior officer, Mr. Frederick Currie, was Secretary to Foreign Department. On the 10th of February, 1846, I was present at the battle of Sobraon, and witnessed the defeat of the Sikh Army : and the next day the narrative now printed commences. As far as I can judge, every person named has long since been dead, and the only person, except myself of whom I am certain, that he was present, and is still alive, is Field-Marshal Sir Paul Haines.

Colonel Henry Lawrence, then Resident at Nepal was summoned to take the place of my dead Chief, Major George Broadfoot, and when he arrived in Camp I went back to my old office as his personal assistant.

The Governor-General was good enough to make the two following notices of my services. I was only twenty four years of age, but I did my

best; my knowledge of the languages, of the political environment, and the individual Chiefs, with whom we came into contact, and my ability to give orders, and discuss matters in the Vernacular, made me of some use, as everybody else was an entire stranger to the country, language, and people.

"Mr. Cust, of the Civil Service, Confidential Assistant to Major Broadfoot, the Agent to the Governor-General on the North-West Frontier of India, both in the field, and his own immediate Department, has shown great intelligence in duties, which were new to him, and I notice him as a most promising officer"—*Dispatch of Governor-General to the Secret Committee of the Directors of East India Company, Dec. 31, 1845.*

General Orders of Governor-General, Feb. 14, 1846.

"The Governor-General acknowledges the able assistance which he has at all time received from the Political Secretary, Frederick Currie, Esq., his acknowledgements are also due to his Private Secretary, Charles Hardinge, Esq., and the Assistant Political Agent, Robert Cust, Esq."

Fifty-two years have passed away since I sent this document to my father, years of joy and sorrow, sunshine and shade, wonderful success, and bitter disappointment. Crushed by domestic misfortune, I left India in 1867, thirty years ago, without Pension, Honours, or the completion of my career by occupying the highest Posts of the Empire, which seemed within my grasp. But life is one of compensations, and after the lapse of fifty-two years since my first battle I can truly say, that all has been ordained for me in the wisest, and best, and kindest way. I remember as we rode out of the battle of Mudki, in the dark, on December 18, 1845, asking my dear and honoured friend, Sir Henry Havelock, whether that was a real battle, which we had just taken part in, as to me, fresh from the Eton playing fields it seemed to be only a confused scrimmage; and his reply was: "I should rather think that it was a battle;" but we had heavier experiences in a couple of days at Ferozshahr, when my Master, Broadfoot, was killed, and equally heavy, though more magnificent to look at, in the following February at Sobraon.

Life is indeed one of compensations; at the age of seventy-seven I look at events from a different point of view to that, from which I regarded them at the age of twenty-three, when I began my Indian career and forty-seven, when I ended it abruptly under the pressure of domestic affliction, and in spite of the protests of my life-friend and Master in the Art of Rule, John Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy of India. And perhaps the quiet satisfaction of seeing large folio leaves in the British Museum, and the Bodleian, and similar Libraries, entirely filled with the

names of the books, written by my hand on the two subjects of Language and Religion, in all their aspects, is greater than that, which might have been afforded a five years' Government of my dear Panjab, or the transitory honour of the Star of India and the Indian Empire, which has fallen to the lot of my contemporaries and my subordinates, and well deserved by them, though, alas ! so many wasted away, and found their way to early graves in the fifties and sixties. Others may have deserved and desired such honours but have not attained them owing to the obliquity of vision and prejudice of those in power. I can say with truth for myself :

Sunt qui non habeant; est qui non quarit habere.

And of some of my contemporaries, who made a pretence of ruling Provinces of India, it may be truly, though sadly said in the scorching words of Tacitus, that he seemed :

Dignus Impero si non imperasset.

Fortunately I have escaped that risk, but have run a chance of the opposite stigma of being deemed

Capax scribendi is non scripsisset.

But those who, without any selfish object, commit their thoughts and experiences to print, realize the pleasure and joy of doing so, whether the readers like or do not like the bold assertions of independent opinion, or the severe and searching criticisms of bad methods in affairs Material, Intellectual, or Spiritual. The voice crying in the wilderness against the unwisdom of the 'wise' the feebleness of the 'strong' and the goody-goody follies of the 'good,' may be listened to in the twentieth century, though scores of letters from unknown correspondents in different parts of the round world have convinced me, that they have had some effect even in the nineteenth century.

February 11, 1846, Wednesday—Returned early this morning from the field of Sobraon to Ferozpur; found the whole of the force in motion towards the bridge of boats at the Kanda Ghat; the Attari force had actually crossed the preceding night without any opposition, and everybody was in the bustle of preparation. The effects of the victory of the preceding day had been most complete and there was reason to anticipate, that no opposition of any kind would be offered between Ferozpur and Lahore.

Thursday, 12th—Rode down to see the baggage of the Army crossing the river by the bridge of boats. One of the great difficulties to be contended with in Indian warfare is the boundless quantity of baggage, and the numberless camp-followers, with which the Army is encumbered.

Everybody allows this defect, but no one seems to take one step towards correcting it. The sight I this day witnessed was one, which brought the defect more particularly to my notice. The river between Ferozpur and Lahore is divided into three branches, two of which are fordable; the centre had been spanned by a bridge of boats brought for that express purposes from Bombay. The course of the River varies every season, sometimes encroaching on the North, and sometimes on the South bank; and as the line of the deep stream, from immemorial custom, forms the boundary of the two states, the cultivators on the immediate banks find themselves transferred from being our subjects to become those of Lahore, as the course of the current varies. The soil of the Island is heavy as might be expected. The bridge had been connected in the space of thirteen hours and a half, and an uninterrupted stream of camel was now passing over it. The struggle at the head of the bridge was terrific, as the different lines of baggage converged into the one centre, and it sometimes happened, that in the jostle a camel with its burden was precipitated into the stream. For three days without interruption the line of camels might have been seen crossing the river; a second bridge was in course of preparation to enable parties to recross, which by the single bridge to beasts of burden was impossible. I crossed the bridge, and for the first time stood exulting in the Lahore territory, and beheld our camp rapidly forming upon the main bank, separated from me by a fordable stream. A small party had pressed forward and occupied Kusoor, the first march to Lahore.

Friday, 13th—A day of doing nothing and everything. The chance of baggage being plundered in a foreign territory induced me to leave everything behind, me, which could be spared.

Saturday, 14th—A busy morning spent in making final arrangements. I started about mid-day for the first march to Kusoor, whither the Governor-General had already preceded me. The weather was already waxing warm, and the rays of the sun oppressive. When I arrived at the bridge, I found that the line of camels, which had commenced at mid-day on the 11th, had now well-nigh ceased; the division of the Army had, however, not yet crossed. We found the fordable stream on the Northern side of 24-pounders were with difficulty dragged through them by the two elephants, which on tolerable roads marched along with them with ease. The engineers had decided to remove the bridge to a more favourable spot, higher up the stream. We cantered along the road leading to our halting-place, and as the shades of darkness closed round us, found ourselves in the midst of the vast debris of ruins, which mark the site of the once

flourishing Mahometan city of Kussoor. Here the intelligence met us, that the Maharaja had through his Wazir, Raja Gulab Singh, tendered his submission; that the Wazir was actually in the immediate neighbourhood, and that the first interview was to take place on the morrow. The effects of our victory appeared to have been complete; the spirit of the Khalsa had been effectually humbled, and no further occasion for resort to arms was anticipated; our four battles on the South of the Satlaj had not been without their effect.

Sunday, 15th—The Raja had been expected in the morning but delay succeeded delay, and it was mid-day, ere we started on our elephants to meet him in the usual ceremonious style, about two miles from our tents. Colonel Lawrence, the Agent to the Governor-General, and myself were the party deputed, and a son of Mr. Currie, the Secretary, accompanied us, as an amateur. As we passed out, the lines of our troops appeared to amazing advantage, extending in a vast semi-circle as far as the eye could reach round the town of Kussoor. At the picquet we descried the cavalcade of Raja Gulab Singh emerging from a village, and at length we met, and the Raja transferred himself to the *howdah* of the Agent to the Governor-General, the place of honour, to which his rank entitled him. His appearance was that of stout, heavy-looking man, past the prime of life with nought of bearing or dignity, no spark of Rajput nobility to distinguish him from the common herd. His manner, as that of most Natives in their dealings with Europeans, was cringing. With him were a select though small body of his own horsemen, in brass helmets, and picturesque habiliments. His immediate companions were men well known to me by name, Diwan Dina Nath, Fakir Nuruddin, Sirdar Sultan Mahommed Khan Barukzye, and a few other Sirdars of inferior note, whose insignificance had preserved them from the rage of the Khalsa, and whose good luck had brought them home unscathed by the English bayonet. As our cavalcade swept towards our tent, the whole army turned out to look at us, and the crowd of Europeans swarming round the elephants appeared to startle, if not alarm, the Raja. We conducted him to the tent of the Agent, and after some private conversation, he was handed by the Agent and myself on foot, followed by his attendants, to the Durbar, where the Governor-General was in state to receive him. The Governor-General then informed him of the terms, which were offered to him, which were translated to him by the Political Secretary. Among the party were Dr Martin Honigberger, whose dress and manner led one to suppose that he was an Asiatic, though in reality a European. The whole party then adjourned to Colonel Lawrence's tent

and the discussion of the terms to be imposed was commenced upon. On the side of our Government Colonel Lawrence and Mr. Currie, on the side of the Maharaja, Raja Gulab Singh, Diwan Dina Nath, and Khalifa Nuruddin, were the appointed Commissioners. Outside, under the wide-spreading *Shameana*, were seated the various Sirdars, who had swelled the cortege; and on one occasion, when the Raja went among them, and addressed them, I marked with astonishment how much the man was changed, and how different was his bearing towards his countrymen and towards us. I made acquaintance and conversed with many of those assembled, and the night closed over, ere the discussion ceased; and it was not until one o' clock in the morning, that the Raja could be brought to concede to the hard terms imposed upon him by the Government, and to evade which he brought into play every species of delay, and chicanery, which a Native, and a Native alone, call on such occasions to his assistance.

Monday, 16th—A halt to allow the heavy train come up. I rode in the evening along our widely-spread lines, and surveyed with mingled astonishment the vast Army which we had assembled upon this remote and distant frontier; we had actually with us 23,000 fighting men of all arms. The hospital at Ferozpur and the battlefields of Mudki, Ferozshahr, Aliwal, and Sobraon, had diminished our force by upwards of 5,000; our camp-followers alone must have amounted to 100,000; Beasts of Burden, Elephants, Camels, Horses, Bullocks, Mules, to an amount frightful and incalculables.

Tuesday, 17th—A halt, rode through the ruins of old Kussoor, of an immense extent and very picturesque; ruined domes and solitary arches mark the spot, where once stood the Mosque or place of Sepulture of the old Mahometan Nobility. Time has effaced all other traces.

Wednesday, 18th—The whole force marched this morning in order of battle, forming a vast square of Infantry and Cavalry, in the centre of which was the baggage, heavy guns, and other ammunitions of war. I galloped onwards to the advanced guard, consisting of a detachment of Her Majesty's 3rd Dragoons, and accompanied the Quarter Master-General's Department, by which means I was freed from the dust, which was oppressive to a degree, and was able to see the country through which we were passing, covered with a high jungle of *jand* and *bun*. Arriving at Lulleali, I ascended a high mound, where the villagers were assembled, watching with terror and awe the forerunners of the cloud of locusts, who were preparing to overshadow them. I assured them, that no wanton injury would be inflicted upon them that their village would

be protected, and I stood among them watching the advancing host. At first along the wide plain the only object I could descry was the dust enveloping the squadron of cavalry in the advance, amidst which the lances were glancing in the sun; a dull ominous cloud enveloped the horizon, and at length the distant columns on the wings and the centres discovered themselves, first only by their dust, and afterwards by the black mass, which appeared sweeping down the plain. Onwards they came, fresh parties of Cavalry appearing on the flanks, until the whole was enveloped in one vast cloud of dust; as they neared the village each column turned off to the encamping-ground marked out for them, and the whole plain presented a confused mass of camels and elephants; two hours more, and the whole had subsided into order and regularity, and the white tents, springing upon all sides as if by magic, transformed the quiet fields into the appearance of a thickly populated town. This was the day fixed for the reception of the Maharaja, and I was deputed to proceed to his tents to bring him in; a larger party for different ranks and at different distances were stationed to meet the cavalcade, as it approached the tent of the Governor-General. About two miles from our tents I met their advancing cortege, and was the first European to doff my hat to Ruler of Lahore, Dulip Singh, who had never hitherto been seen by any British subject. He appeared to be a child of an intelligent and not displeasing appearance, tastefully dressed; the expression of his mouth was unpleasant and for a boy of seven years old he was small, of utterance he had no powers. Onwards we swept, receiving at intervals an increase to our numbers, by the different officials deputed to conduct the Maharaja to the Governor-General's Durbar, and we found the great centre street lined with troops, and six 24-pounders drawn up at the end of it. Alighting at the tent we entered in a fearful crush, and so dark and so miserably arranged was the Durbar, that figures were scarcely distinguishable. The whole proved a very bear-garden : officers in uniform and out of it, who had no business to be there, had pressed in, and there was scarcely room for us to spread on the floor the magnificent presents offered to the Maharaja, and his Wazir. The Maharaja departed under a salute from the 24 pounders, which must have astonished the Sikhs.

Thursday, 19th—Continued our march this day in the same order to Kahna Kuchwa. I accompanied the advance as usual, and lay myself down to repose under some delightful trees adjoining the house of a Fakir, on the margin of a tank; here I remained for upwards of three hours until the Army had settled itself, and I amused myself by reading the last number of the *Calcutta Review* and discussed some *Chupatties*

and cold meat. Here I was at least free from the dust and heat, and when I at length emerged from my retreat our camp was in a forward state of preparation. This day was fixed for a return visit of ceremony to be paid to the Maharaja in his tent about two *kos* distant, and we accordingly proceeded thither on elephants. His Highness's tents were picturesquely pitched upon a rising ground, and his small escort so disposed, as to produce an imposing effect. On alighting we entered the *kanats*, or canvas-walls, and beheld a beautiful scene of order, and magnificence. Shawls and Kashmir carpets covered the floor; above were *Shameana* of the same material, and under them were seated the inferior officers of Government. Under the tent was seated in a silver chair the Maharaja, a range of chairs on each side, but the Sirdars were standing behind their Sovereign. We were four in number, and seated ourselves on each side of the Maharaja, while the nobles of the Court, even to the Wazir himself, remained standing; there was no crowding, no confusion. All were handsomely dressed, the carpets were most beautiful and one side of the tent being thrown open, admitted air and light, a view of the country before, and the inferior dependants seated in the distance. On the whole it presented as mortifying a contrast to our Durbar of the preceding day, as can be imagined. Some general conversation ensued, when we adjourned with the Raja and his confidential advisers to his private tent, and, while high matters were being discussed, fruit, pears, grapes, apricots, were handed round. The conference was rather suddenly interrupted by the arrival of a squadron of Lancers, which ought to have accompanied us but arrived late. We returned to camp at a very late hour, and dined with the Governor-General. The main points of the new treaty appear to be the disbandment of the Army, the cession of the Jalunder Doab, and payment of the expenses of the War.

Friday, 20th—Started by daybreak on the march to Lahore. I accompanied the advance as usual, and before we had proceeded far the tall buildings and white cantonments of the Imperial City come into sight, glittering in the morning sun. Our halting-place was to be the plain of Mian Mir, distant about two miles from the walls of the city, but actually adjoining the suburbs. This was the Parade Ground of the Khalsa Army, which we had destroyed. A general air of loneliness prevailed in the extensive cantonments in which not a single soldier remained. Two months previously upwards of 40,000 had gone forth to fight, confident in their own strength, confident of victory, talking of extending their Empire to Dehli, Calcutta, and London, a place of the very existence of which they had no certain knowledge. Where were they now? Dispersed

to the four winds. Many had fallen on the bayonet, or left their bodies, disfigured by the blow of a cannon-shot, to feed the vultures on the Southern bank of the Satlaj. Many perished in the stream, which they had wantonly crossed; the rest were scattered over the land, friendless, houseless, moneyless; their boasted cannons left as a trophy in the arsenal of Ferozpur; an avenging Army taking possession of the Capital, which they had for the last five years disgraced with scenes of outrage and rapine and murder. It would have been impossible for anyone deeply interested, as I had been, in the course of events for the last two years, that had been happening, not to feel a momentary triumph in the hour of advancing with an irresistible Army to take possession of a city, the rulers of which had but two months before been wantonly engaged in plans hostile to our very existence in India. I galloped up to the Tomb of Mian Mir, a beautiful Mahometan building kept by the liberality of Ranjit Singh in excellent repair; and, tying up my horse to a tree, I ascended to the roof of the mosque to watch the advent of our columns; there I remained till the tide of men rolled up to my feet, and I hastened to my tent. The roof of this mosque commands a fine general view of the town and suburbs of Lahore, amidst the towers of which the Residences of Generals Avitabile and Court are conspicuous, with the lines of their respective Brigade adjoining, and the long and handsomely built gun-heads no longer bristling with cannon. In the afternoon it was arranged that a large deputation, headed by the Agent and Political Secretary, the different Staffs, Military and Civil should conduct the Maharaja back to his Capital, and reseat him on the throne of his father, from which he was supposed to have fled to take refuge with us, though, in fact, we had defeated the *de facto* Ruler of the country, the Khalsa, and the Kingdom was at our mercy. We started about two o'clock from the camp, with about twenty elephants, and an escort consisting of two Regiments of Lancers, the 9th and 16th; two troops of Horse Artillery; two Regiments of Native Cavalry; and at Anarkali, where is the house of General Ventura, we met Raja Gulab Singh, and the chief officers of the State. The dust was terrible, and we were all in a dreadful state of disorder; hair, eyelashes, moustaches, etc., all brought to the same dirty white colour. However, there was no help for it, and we waited patiently till the Maharaja and his cortege hove in sight, when proceeded with him up to the walls of the town, and along them till we reached the Roshanai Gate to the North, and immediately adjoining the citadel. The appearance of the city from the exterior is very imposing; the high brick walls, with deep ditch, scarp and counter-scarp, and bastions at intervals, the roofs of

the houses appearing from the inside, the gates carefully covered and flanked, were all calculated to give us a high idea of the strength, wealth, and size, of the Capital of the Panjab. The abundance of trees and gardens in the immediate suburbs made a pleasing contrast, and considerably improved the general effect. The Saman Burj with the adjoining buildings actually in themselves form part of the defence of the town. Arriving at the Roshanai Gate, the Cavalry drew up on the left of the road in double rank, and a right noble appearance they presented; the party on the elephants entered the gates. Passing under the fatal arch, where Nau-Nihal Singh had been killed by the falling of stone upon his head on his return from the funeral of his father, we left the Maharaja at the gate of the Hazara Bagh, which in fact leads to the entry of his Palace; a Royal Salute was fired by our guns, as His Highness entered. We then made the complete outer circuit of the City, and returned rather exhausted, but much gratified, to our tents.

Saturday, 21st—I was despatched in the morning to conduct Raja Gulab Singh to the Agent to settle upon a measure, which was very ungrateful to his feelings, but which had been decided upon by us, viz., the introduction of English troops into two gates of the city, and into the Hazara Bagh, and adjoining mosque. I entered the city at the nearest Gate, and threaded on my elephant the narrow and dirty lanes, with a filthy stream of water finding its way down the centre, not without feeling that I ran a very good chance of being assassinated, as in the character of a hated *Feringi* I was passing as it was in triumph through the Capital, the first European that had done so, since we had entered the Panjab as enemies and conquerors. The city appeared densely populous, and to the inexpressible credit of our system with a vast army in the immediate neighbourhood, no excess of any kind had taken place, and the inhabitants were quietly pursuing their daily avocations, with greater security, indeed, than when at the mercy of a ferocious soldiery. At length I reached the outskirts of the palace, and passing through crowds of scowling soldiery, looking daggers at the *Feringi*, I came immediately under the walls of the citadel of Lahore. Many traces were there of the sieges, which it had twice undergone during the revolutionary struggles of the four preceding years; the high walls were broken in many places, and the battlements, lately repaired, gave evidence of the violence of the attack. Some few pieces of artillery still remained. Passing under the archway celebrated for a most dreadful massacre of the Sikh soldiery during the time of the Revolution of 1840, I entered the beautiful garden of Hazara Bagh, in the centre of which

was the stone building (*Baraderi*) in which the daily Durbars were held. The Garden in square, laid out in formal beds, on one side is the mosque, and immediately facing it is the entrance of the citadel under a lofty arch. Opposite the gate, by which I had entered, was the gate at which we had yesterday evening deposited the Maharaja. Passing under the gate leading into the fort, I found myself in a narrow passage, from which I ascended up an inclined plain into another arch and alighted from my elephant in a small garden. After passing through two more courts, thronged with attendants, I found myself in a small enclosed quadrangle, with a tank in the centre, and balconied buildings surrounding. This was the Saman Burj, and immediately before me were in the chambers occupied by the Maharani. The Raja came forward to meet me, and, taking me by the hand, seated me under a *Shameana* in front of Shish Mahal, a small chamber adorned with looking-glass according to native taste. Diwan Dina Nath, Bhai Ram Singh and Nur-ud-din were present. I told the Raja, that I had come to conduct him to the Agent, and begged him to prepare. He seemed very unwilling to come and began to invent every kind of excuse, commencing a discussion of the whole affair to me, although I assured him, that I had not come to deliberate, but only to conduct him to the camp. He was evidently trying to wear away the time; to put off, if possible, the unpalatable step of admitting our troops into the Fort. The Raja was constantly raising new points, upon which he pretended that the orders of the Maharani were necessary. At one moment he feigned ill-health; at another he was ready to go next moment. At length I got him to start, when he insisted upon taking me to see the Maharaja, who was playing about the quadrangle, dressed as a General Officer; and a nice little boy he appeared. He drew his sword, when I came up, and made a cut at a small boy with a blade. I made my *Salam*, and we proceeded down to the elephants. Here the Raja invented new delays; he would show me where soldiers were to be placed; fresh difficulties were started; he was too weak for an elephant; he must go in a *palki*. I threatened to return without him, which at length induced him to start. As a security of their not giving me the slip I made Diwan Dina Nath come into my *howdah*, and so had one of them prisoners. We then started, and the Raja dexterously managed to take me by the longest route through the city, thus adding considerably to the distance. At length we were clear of the walls, and steadily approaching the camp, when the Raja said that he must stop at a garden-house half way to take a dose of opium, and that he only required

a halt for half an hour. I tried in vain to dissuade him, so I left him, and, drawing off my escort, carried the Diwan to camp, and told the whole state of the case. A message was sent to the Raja to warn him that if he did not come immediately, the troops would be ordered out. This brought him quickly; but he had gained his point, as it was too late to send the troops into the fort that night, although it was settled to do so on the morrow.

Sunday, 22nd— A quiet day at home, free from the Raja, and troubles of ceremony. The troops were introduced without opposition into the Mosque and the citadel to a certain extent covered. The terms of the treaty to be arranged with the Maharaja were beginning now to ooze out; they seemed to comprise chiefly the cession of the Jalunder Doab; the payment by the Maharaja of the expenses of the war, amounting to one million and a half Sterling, the first instalment of half a million to be paid down at once; the disbandment of the Army, who were to receive three months pay at Maharaja Ranjit Singh's rates, and lay down their arms. As yet no signs of any intentions to guarantee the Maharaja have appeared. There is no prospect of a Resident or Contingent Force. The old terms of a treaty of Amity and Friendship seems those now intended to be resorted to; how this can end it sees difficult to say. Total annexation of the whole country, though neither desirable *per se*, and unquestionably difficult as involving the necessity of a fearful increase of our Army, would be in this case undoubtedly justifiable, and would perhaps be the soundest policy, looking to future events, and being unbiased by temporary motives, such as the exposure of the troops to the inclemency of the season, the outcry at home against aggression, etc. Against this the Government have now decided determinately and seem inclined to take a middle course of remunerating themselves by an annexation of territory, of protecting themselves by destroying the Army, which endangered their peace, and leaving the Maharaja to form as good a Government as circumstances would permit, uninterfered with by them. How will this work? We have taken away the cat's claws: how will she be able to gain her livelihood, and keep the mice in order? At present the trumpet of revolt is always ready to sound, and nothing but the formidable Sikh soldiery has kept in awe the Governors of the distant provinces. Who will now control Sawan Mal in Multan, Fathi Khan Towana in the Derajat, the Barukzye in Peshawur, the Sheikhs in Kashmir, the Mahometan chiefs in Mozaffarabad, lastly the Wazir Gulab Singh in the hill dependencies of Jammu? He is now Wazir, but let us suppose his death or has being ejected by intrigues from the

councils of his sovereign. Even now will he control the and distant and detached provinces of Empire? In all human probability, if the English Government follows out the policy stated above, the close of current year will see Multan, the Derajat, Kashmir, and Peshawur, detached from the kingdom of Lahore and forming themselves into independent Governments. However, who can venture to predict coming events? We must be content to look on, and see how the plot develops itself.

Monday, 23rd—Rode in the morning through the extensive cantonments erected for the Sikh infantry, now empty and deserted; comfortable fellows they were, and had erected themselves buildings putting to shame the humble huts, in which the British Sepoy resides; but their numbers and extent were also a subject of surprise. Capital wells were in the centre of each set of buildings and in fact every convenience seems to have been studied for the benefit of the Army ruling the State, and disposing of the Throne with the liberty of the Praetorian Guards. We visited the house built by General Avitabile, as also that by General Court, which bears an inscription to that effect in three languages, French, Persian, and Panjabi, over the gateway. The house built and resided in by General Ventura is considerably to the left, at a place called Anarkali, from the abundance of Pomegranates (*Anar*). It is singular, that the only three dwellings of any distinction outside the town of Lahore, should have been built by, and still be known as, the Residences of Europeans. In the evening I cantered down one of our lines; the infantry are in one vast extended line facing the city, with troops and batteries of Artillery associated with the different Brigades; the bulk of our Cavalry is on our right flank, looking towards the position supposed to be occupied by the enemy in the neighbourhood of Amritsar. A most formidable appearance is presented by the assembled hosts.

Tuesday, 24th—By the blessing of God I have finished my twenty fifth year, and have completed my first quarter of a century; how rapidly the last five years of my life appear to have passed, and how much I have seen during that period. Grateful indeed should I be for the beautiful kindness, by which so many favours undeserved have been showered upon me, and opportunities most desirable offered to me. In my morning ride, I visited the villages to the left of our lines, and was struck by the high state of culture, and the richness of the vegetation, which I found around me. The approaching spring crop will be an abundant one. The abundance of wells renders these villages independent of the elements, and the great scarcity of rain this season has now hit affected

them. The Palm-tree of Bengal here appears in abundance, and I was struck with admiration at the sudden change from the desert, upon which our camp was pitched. Still, our camp-followers like locusts were overspreading the smiling corn-fields and many a complaint was brought to my ears by the cultivators, with whom I conversed. The whole of these villages are occupied by Mahometans, who are hostile to the Sikh rule. However, the state of the villages shows, that they had little to complain of. The whole country appears covered with the remains of Mahometan magnificence, and at every step some visible relic of antiquity attract the gaze, although the generality of Mahometan buildings do not repay a closer inspection. They are picturesque in their general outline, but when fallen into decay there is little to reward those, who penetrate among the ruins, and no sympathy can be awakened in the favour of a people, who built such vast edifices to gratify a momentary pride with no object of public good, nought save a lust of personal distinction to deceased or his family. I made a point of writing to my mother on this anniversary, as doubtless I was not forgotten by her on this day.

Wednesday, 25th—Started again about mid-day to bring in Raja Gulab Singh. Half-way from the town I was met by a Sirdar, who had come thus far to meet me. By some accident, whether purposely contrived or not I cannot say, as I entered by one gate of the town, and proceeded along the narrow streets, the Raja, managed to emerge by another gate. Consequently, when I arrived at his house, the dwelling-place of Raja Suchet Singh, I found him gone, and had to retrace my steps. The town was thronged with our camp-followers, who resorted thither to their purchases. Regularity seemed to prevail throughout, though the bearded Sikhs of the Khalsa were walking through the same streets with the closely trimmed Sepoys. In advance of our camp were strong picquets, to prevent any officers or European soldiers finding their way into the town. Parties of officers were allowed to pass upon an order from the Governor-General's Agent. I hurried back through the streets out of the Delhi Gate, and overtook the Raja, who had been pulled up at the picquets. Of course there was abundance of apologies at the mistake. We conversed together until we arrived at the Camp, and I found him very much more sociable and agreeable than before. I heard to-day that I was to have one of the new districts in the Jullunder Doab, the changed policy in high places having rendered unnecessary a second Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department. There are advantages in this, and corresponding disadvantages. On the one side, I shall lose Simla for my summer residence this year, and shall leave the Department of the Sec-

retariate, into which I had got a footing; perhaps I may not get back again. I shall also have the misery of a hot summer in tents or under imperfectly made houses, perhaps at the price of a severe fever. On the other hand, I shall have active employment, and plenty to do in a stirring and interesting country. I shall make a more intimate acquaintance with the Sikhs and Land-Revenue matters. I shall be able to store in a great deal of useful information, if my health permits. However, all is best ordained for us, and I must show myself to be more than a mere spoiled child of Fortune, and may reasonably put up with some little *contretemps*.

Thursday, 26th—Rode in the morning to our extreme right, and then made a dash towards the city passing through abundance of Mahometan ruins, which form the wonder of the place, and mark the site of ancient Lahore. One building in ruins particularly struck me, as I entered, and stood in admiration under a dome of dimensions, which might rival the dome of Florence, and of a lightness and airiness far superior. I made the tour of the city walls, and was particularly struck with the noble appearance which the Palace presents on the side facing the Ravi. Lahore is indeed a noble city when viewed from the outside, with its high red-brick walls, its battlements, turrets, and flanking towers, its fine broad ditch, with reverted scarp and counter-scarp, and the raveliness covered with trees, which break the line. Second, indeed, it is to none, save Delhi and Agra. I entered at the Roshanai Gate, now occupied by our sentries, and defended by a troop of Horse Artillery. Passing under the gate fatal to Nau-Nihal Singh, I entered the Hazara Bagh exactly opposite to the direction in which I had on a former occasion entered. Changed, indeed, was the scene since then. The measure then debated on had now been carried into execution, and our troops were in full possession, and with that singular assurance and levity, which mark the Englishman, wherever he goes, the officers of the Regiments had converted the small stone building in the centre, where the Durbars of the Maharaja were wont to be held, into their mess house, and were calmly eating pork and beer to the abhorrence and detestation of the late occupants, if they had only known of the defilement. I ascended the steps to the great royal Mosque, long a desecrated building, and gazed with admiration at the vast space enclosed in its ample court, and the lofty dome in the front, and graceful minars at the corners. This was also occupied by our troops, and its defences were being strengthened. I mounted the roof of the cloisters, which encircle the building and it struck me, that I had rarely seen a more beautiful scene than the one which now met my eyes.

A verdant meadow of a luxuriant green unknown to England led down to the Ravi, about a mile distant, on the opposite bank of which rose the minarets of the tomb of Jehangir, at Shahderah, in the midst of palms. The numerous gardens in the neighbourhood added to the richness of the scene. I ascended the highest point of the building over the arch, and looked over the town; the weather was, particularly, favourable. The overland Mail arrived this day, and announced the return of Lord Ellenborough to the Ministry. In the evening I rode to see General Gilbert, the only man, who had accompanied Lord Lake on his previous invasion of the Panjab forty years ago; in the year 1806 we had advanced to Rajpura on the Beas, and at that place made treaties with Jaswant Rao Holkar, and Ranjit Singh, the one our most perfidious enemy, the other our most steady friend. The General remarked, that he had been present at the capture of the three greatest cities in India, Dehli, Agra, and Lahore.

Friday, 27th—Accompanied the Commander-in-chief (Sir Hugh Gough) and a large party to visit the Shalimar Gardens. Taking a an unnecessary circuitous route, we again passed under the walls of the town and proceeded along the rich meadow of the Ravi. We passed several encampments of the Sikh Army, who were now coming in to receive their pay and their dismissal. One spot which we passed deserves notice. A small garden-house with a shrubbery is pointed out as the place, where the late Maharaja Sher Singh was treacherously killed by the Sindhanwala Chiefs, which has led to so much murder and retribution during the last two years. Every place within the immediate neighbourhood of this capital is marked by some act of bloodshed and atrocity; here it was, says the guide, that Sirdar Ajit Singh killed Sher Singh, here he killed Dhian Singh, here Hira Singh killed Ajit Singh, here Hira Singh killed his uncle Suchet Singh, here his rival Kashmira Singh and Uttar Singh[?]. Here Jawahir Singh killed Hira Singh, here the Khalsa killed Jawahir Singh, here the Army of the Company utterly destroyed the Khalsa. Passing outward we at length arrived at the far-famed Shalimar Gardens, surrounded by a high wall. In the interior were the usual straight alleys, fountains, reservoirs, and umbrageous walks, which Natives admire so much. Owing to the waterworks being in disorder the fountains did not play, which took off much from the effect. I returned home by the direct road. This day I again started, about two O'clock, to bring in Raja Gulab Singh, and met him outside the city walls. He was accompanied on this occasion by Raja Lal Singh, and Sirdar Tej Singh, the latter of whom had just come in. These two had been the promoters and

leaders of the late invasion of our territories, and had commanded in the actions against us. Their characters are neither of them good. Men devoid of talent, they sought for power by tuckling to the caprice of the Army, and were hurried eventually into a line of conduct, for which they had not been prepared. Raja Gulab Singh and Raja Lal Singh are bitter enemies, and prepared to proceed to any length against each other. This was instanced remarkably enough at the conclusion of the interview. Raja Lal Singh waited until the rest of the party had started, and then got into his palanquin, which was closely surrounded by men from his own village, who thus prevented any attempt on his life on the part of Raja Gulab Singh from succeeding.

Saturday, 28th—Started early in the morning on a visit to the tomb of Jehangir at Shahderah. It is situated to the North of the Ravi. Accompanied by a couple of Sikh *sowars*, I proceeded under the city wall, and then across the open plain, which divides the city from the river, to the ferry. Here I embarked with my horse in one of the large ferry-boats, and found among my companions some of the soldiers of Ventura's Battalions, whom we had so lately defeated. Sturdy and wiry fellows, they gave me no friendly looks, but entering into conversation with them I found them civil enough. They told me that they had received two months' pay and were proceeding to join their Regiment, which was encamped under the trees before us. Each man had his musket and sword with him. They appeared sadly crestfallen. Landing on the opposite bank, and wading through another and a smaller stream. I found myself in a deep sandy soil, showing that the Ravi, like the other streams of India, was uncertain in its course. Half a mile distant was the tomb of the Emperor. There appeared to be three vast square enclosures of brick work in a sadly dilapidated state; the end one contained the Mausoleum, a large square building of a solid and compact form, with four lofty minarets in the corners; the building was ornamented in the usual Mahometans style with scrolls and patterns in decoration, and the tomb itself was costly and elegant, and in good preservation. The style of the decorations was kindered to those, which have excited so much admiration in the tomb of Shah Jehan at Agra. The buildings, archways, etc., are sadly dilapidated, and the river Ravi, which once flowed actually under its walls, has carried away the Southern wall altogether. What time has spared man had defaced, and Sirdar Sultan Mahommed Khan Barukzye of Peshawur had contributed his share by turning a part of the tomb into his residence for the last six years. To secure the privacy of his *zannana*, he had built up all the stairs but

one that give access to the roof, and then be to the Minarets. I sent my *Salam* to the Sirdar, and obtained his permission to ascend, but I was to confine myself to one side of the building. I mounted to the highest Minaret, which commanded an extensive view of the surrounding country, and of the noble city with its palaces, domes and minarets; appearing to great advantage on the further bank of the stream. My elevated position enabled me to see into the Sirdar's *zannana*, and catch a sight of one of his wives, a dark-eyed beauty. Returning to the ferry, I fell in with a large number of the soldiers of Ventura's Brigade, who, like my other friends, had just received their pay. It surprised them rather to see me among them and alone, but they neither annoyed me nor spoke to me. One remarked in my hearing, that he had seen a *topi* (a hat) like mine at the battle of Ferozshahr. I was glad when I get clear of them as a chance shot from any of their muskets might have finished my story, however, severe a punishment would have fallen upon the offender. Passed by Generals Ventura's and Allard's houses at Anarkali.

Sunday March 1—Rode in the morning to the city, and visited the troops in occupation of the Palace, taking a more leisurely survey of the place. I was, particularly, impressed with the havoc, which had been inflicted on the building during the different sieges. The great arch of the mosque was covered with black shots, where the bullets had struck, and the numberless holes in the masonry and brick-wall told, where the cannonballs had fallen. Our troops had added considerably to the strength of the place during the short time of their occupation, and it was now able to stand a siege; sandbags had been placed round in every direction to furnish secure loopholes for our Infantry, and our guns so disposed as to command the Saman Burj. I entered the Baraderi, a small square building of exceedingly elegant workmanship; the material being marble and decorations in the usual Oriental style, the great defect of which is the shortness of supporting columns, and the absence of solidity to the base. I visited the magnificent *Samads*, or Cenotaphs, now in the course of erection to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Kharak Singh, and Nau-Nihal Singh; the buildings are small and symmetrical, and finished with the exceptions of the dome. In the centre is a marble cenotaph, covered with drapery, over which wreaths of flowers are spread and an attendant standing over it day and night with a *Chauri* while a Priest is incessantly reading passages of the *Granth*. I returned by the road leading round the town, and at the Dehli Gate stopped to look at the Bhangi Gun, an enormous machine, now useless, and placed under a shed, but its possession was a subject of great triumph to Ranjit Singh during the

early stage of his career.

Monday, March 2—The surrendered guns now coming in, though slowly, and a portion of the money is being counted out in camp, great difficulty being experienced on account of the extraordinary variety of coinages. I started again at 1 p.m. to bring in Raja Gulab Singh, and had to proceed as far as his house ere I met him. We then had to wade through the filthy streets amidst the crowds which thronged them, and emerging at the Delhi Gate proceeded towards the camp, being joined outside by several of the Chiefs. An incident occurred on our route, which is characteristic of the time and the place. As we were plodding on in the midst of dust, a shot was heard from the rear, immediately behind us. This brought us all to a halt, and each Chief looked at his rival, and then an inquiry began to take place to see who was the offending party, he was, of course, not to be found, though it was clear, that the object of the party was to take away the life of his rival. Every time I proceed upon one of these missions I feel that my life is in risk, as a chance bullet intended for the Raja is likely as not to hit me. In the evening I rode to General Avitabile's house, which commands a magnificent view of the city and neighbourhood of Lahore. It stands in the centre of the ruins of ancient Lahore, and the surrounding country is dotted by Mahometan buildings in various stages of ruin and decay. The city of Lahore presents a noble appearance, and at the moment, that I stood there, the vast empty cantonments, so lately the residence of these fire eating Khalsa legions, were not the least interesting objects in the scene. In the distance, dimly visible through the smoke which surrounds every evening a large Indian Camp, appeared the tents of the conquerors. In the rear of town I could distinguish the winding course of the Ravi, and the minarets, which mark, the spot of the tomb of Jehangir. The house which commands this view is a small summer house attached to the residence of General Avitabile, and known as *Ayaki Patas*. It stands on one of the old brick-kilns. The dwelling house contains one highly ornamented chamber, with paintings very much superior to these usually found in the works of a Native Artist. The represented Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his court, his sons, and other distinguished members of his Army. The General also introduced a portrait of Napoleon, and of a European lady, to which no name was attached. On each side of the door some most inelegant Angels held scrolls in their hands, with French and Latin Inscription. One was a favourite quotation of Avitabile, and one that has great force in its application to the state of things in an Oriental country.

*"Donee eris felix, multes numerabis amices,
Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris."*

The French quotations were :

*"La Mort jamais surprenait le Sage;
Il est toujours pret a partir"*

and such like. The house was guarded by six soldiers of the General's Brigade, and with them I entered into conversations with regard to late events. They had not shared in the battle having been left behind, but they were keenly alive to the progress of events. They spoke as parties fully aware of what their positions was, and as persons in the habit of discussing public matters. Their manner was civil, yet still independent, and one of them, a native of Nadoun, exhibited a degree of geographical knowledge as to the course of the Beas which I did not anticipate. One of them was a resident of Khythul, and as such under the new Regime, expected his discharge. I asked them what had induced them to attack Ferozpur; they said distinctly the orders of Rani, who had promised them gold bracelets, and assured them of abundance of plunder. After hearing this, it was most provoking to reflect, that we were entirely playing into the hands of the Rani, and that the many brave soldiers we had lost had perished to carry out her plans, getting rid of her own rebellious Army.

Tuesday, March 3rd Sir Charles Napier, Governor of Sind, arrived this day. He had been summoned under the impression, that the campaign would prove a long and a tedious one, but it had long been concluded before he arrived, and he had only to share in the triumph. His Army, consisting of 16,000 men had been halted at Bahawalpur; the Bengal division to move up to these Provinces, and the Bombay to return to Sind. I rode in the evening to Anarkali, Ventura's house and Cantonments. The lines for the troops are admirable, and there is accommodation for four Regiments of Infantry, three of Cavalry, and about twenty Guns. The house of the General is immediately facing, a long and low building attached to the ruins of an old Mahometan tomb, which had been converted by General Allard into a dwelling place. Beyond this I fell in with a dry bed of a branch of the Ravi, and the violence of the torrents here at one time was attested by the ruins of the buildings which had been washed down. One magnificent arch still remains of grand proportions, and adorned with the painted mosaic work which rounds about Lahore : one of the angular minarets had, however, been rent away by the stream. Behind is a space entirely covered with tombs and sepulchral remains.

Wednesday, March 4th—Rode out again to visit the Shalimar Gardens,

and ascended to the summit of the garden house, which commands a fine view of the gardens, and the country surrounding. On my road thither I stopped to view the spot where the gallant but unfortunate Raja Suchet Singh was massacred by his nephew. The place is called the "Mian Baddi Ka Khangah." The Raja had been invited down from Jammu by some of the Brigade, who were dissatisfied with the Government of Raja Hira Singh. In the interval, however, they had agreed to remain firm to the old Government upon the receipt of a golden *butki* (a coin) each. Raja Suchet Singh arrived, and finding no one to join in his party he retired into the building of Mian Baddi, refusing to return to Jammu, but prepared to die. On the following morning all the troops moved out against the Raja, who had with him only sixty men; they all fell fighting bravely, having killed more than a hundred of their opponents. Rai Kesri Singh was with his cousin, and fell by his side. The old building was entirely demolished, but has now been rebuilt.

Thursday, March 5th—Went to the town to meet Raja Gulab Singh, and found him in his house. We had scarcely passed out of the city gates when I received a messenger from Colonel Lawrence, saying that he would not see Gulab Singh that day, but tomorrow a positive answer was demanded on the three points, the payment of the rupees, the cession of guns, and the cession of territory. I explained this distinctly to the Raja, and then took my leave.

Friday, March 6th—Turned out early in the morning to see the grand review of troops. It rained slightly, but not more than sufficient to lay the dust. Sir Charles Napier was with the Governor-General, and a most extra-ordinary figure: a half dress military coat, leather pataloons and a velvet hunting cap, added to an enormous beard and moustach, gave to his narrow and marked features, and pallid countenance, a most grotesque appearance. However, there was something in his appearance, that marked him to be the great man he really was. We all rode down the line; and the Governor-General, when we arrived in front of Her Majesty's 50th, introduced Sir Charles Napier, their old commander, to them in an appropriate speech. After passing down the whole line, we returned to the flag-staff, and the whole force defiled past us. The appearance of the heavy guns, drawn with greatest ease by two elephants, was very magnificent and imposing. The wonderful ease, with which these animals drew along the heavy guns, was astonishing. The whole appearance of the Army was magnificent in the extreme, and the consideration that this Review was now held at the Capital of Lahore added greatly to the interest. I felt that there was nothing to oppose this Army East of the Euphr-

rates. About mid-day I went to meet Raja Gulab Singh; and my old friend Herbert of the 10th accompanied me. I alighted in a pleasant garden outside the city walls to await the coming of the Raja, and talked to the proprietor till the cortege came in sight. Thence I accompanied him to the Camp. In the evening we had a grand dinner at the Governor-General's of 150 people. Speeches succeeded, and after toasting nearly everyone, the Governor-General drank the health of the Political Officers, including me by name. Sir H. Hardinge spoke well, but too much; he gave a general sketch of the campaign, and I only wished that he was really sincere in the passages in which he alluded to the Commander-in-chief. Many of his expressions were exceedingly happy, but his speech lacked sincerity. The Commander-in-chief spoke his thanks from his heart. Sir Charles Napier spoke with ease, and with his accustomed familiarity; his sepulchral voice was heard all over the room. No other speaker was remarkable, save one General Officer, who disgusted all by his loquacity.

Saturday, March 7th—Accompanied Cunningham, Colonel Irvine, and two others in a most interesting excursion over the Palace, for which we had received permission from Raja Gulab Singh. We entered at the Eastern Gate, and found ourselves at once in the spacious court, in the centre of which is the *Diwan Am*, building much resembling the *Diwan Am* of Agra and Delhi. There the Monarch, seated above his people, received their adulations. On the opposite side are rows of gunsheds, occupied now chiefly by plaything guns of the Maharaja and his boyish artillerymen. Passing under the arch called *Rokua Durwaza*, I remarked the spot, where the proud Minister Raja Dhyani Singh fell by the blow of the assassin. Here, turning to the right, and passing through to small courts, we came into the immediate precincts of the *Saman Burj*, to which place I had on a former occasion penetrated. There is a small *Shish Mahal* here, where Ranjit Singh used to hold his Durbars. Inferior English prints have in some instances been introduced, and produce a grotesque effect. They were chiefly portraits of females; but one appeared especially out of place in a Lahore Durbar, a French print of our Saviour in the Agency of the Garden. The windows command a pleasant and fresh view of the Ravi and the country on both sides, amidst which arose the four pinnacles of the tomb of Jehanghir. Standing at the windows of a place, looking over a campaign country and a meandering stream, fancy carried me back to the terrace at Windsor, and I could find a resemblance between the pinnacles of the Emperor's tomb and the spires of Eton College. Above me, at a Window of the *Saman Burj*, the little Maharaja appeared, to have a look at the English

strangers. Raja Lal Singh and the younger son of Raja Gulab Singh, a nice, sweet looking youth, had joined us, and showed us over the Palace. Returning again to the vast courtyard, into which we had first entered, we turned to the right, and saw the door of the Moti Mandir, the receptacle of Ranjit Singh's hidden treasures which the folly of his successors had exhausted. Passing through some ruined and dilapidated buildings, we emerged in a beautiful little courts with marble hall with fretted screens : this was called the *Kwabghur* or sleeping apartment of the Emperor. In the corner of the court was a tall building, which Jawahir Singh had erected for his women during his short incumbency. The style of building showed that the ex-Wazir was not more successful as an Architect than a Minister. Passing under a narrow archway, we came out in another court, part of the apartments of the family of the Emperor, now deserted, or occupied by the surviving widows of Ranjit Singh, his son, and grandson; here was a large pile of buildings, where lived the unfortunate royalty, and was beaten with shoes to death by her slaves at the instigation of her Rival. We then ascended into the apartments immediately to the rear of, and connected with *Diwan Am*. The rooms are small and dark, but elaborately ornamented with looking glass and painting. They were last occupied by Maharaja Kharak Singh, and he died in them under the effects of the slow poison administered to him by his ambitious Minister Dhyani Singh, not, it is supposed, without the privity of his son, Nau-Nihal Singh, who himself perished miserably on the day of his father's funeral, a victim to the same deadly intriguer. In these apartments Nau-Nihal Singh and Dhyani Singh put to death the favourite, Chet Singh, who stood in their way, and the son all but destroyed the father at the same time. One of the apartments open out upon the throne of the Emperor, elevated above the heads of his subjects. In the courtyard below we stopped to watch the distribution of pay among the remnant of the Khalsa Army. The clerks and office-people were squeezing these unfortunates in every way, and reducing the small allowance settled to be given to its very minimum; it was their day now, and they were making the most of it, though like fools, they were laying up coals of fire for themselves, as the moment our troops are recalled, vengeance will be exacted by the exasperated soldiery. This day the Treaty with the Lahore Government was signed : the terms were the occasion of the courtier between the Satlaj and the Beas; the disbandment of the Army; the payment of crore and a half of rupees; and, in lieu of the crore of rupees (million of pounds sterling), the cession *in toto* and *in perpetum* of the

hill countries from the Beas to the Indus, Jammu, Kashmir, Hazara, Rajaori, Bhimbera. This was the treaty with Lahore, with the Maharaja and his Minister, Raja Lal Singh. But what were we to do with these distant countries? A purchaser was at hand; Raja Gulab Singh had resigned the Wazirat of Lahore, and had agreed, in a separate treaty, to pay down a crore of rupees, and accept in lieu the countries alluded to as an independent kingdom. He, who forty years ago, was a poor menial, undertook to pay down in a given period a million of money and he had at the same time so managed matters, that to him the occupation and holding of the country would be feasible.

Sunday, March 8th—Rode to Shahderah with Macdonald. We crossed the Ravi, and on entering the enclosure of the tomb of Jehangir we found two Sikh Regiments on parade, which made us hesitate some time ere we proceeded to the tomb. I visited also the tomb of Nur Jehan, the beautiful wife of the emperor, a building of ninety nine arches, and now occupied by a party of *Ghorchara* horse. I entered into conversation with them, and one showed me an unhealed wound, which he stated he had received at the battle of Sobraon. A lad was brought forward, and introduced as the son of a man who had been killed at Ferozshahr. They spoke without any bitterness, and one man remarked with regard to the Khalsa, *apna kiya paya*. "What they had suffered was the result of their own actions." There is something very free and independent in these *Ghorchara*, and an absence of that grovelling manner, which is the bane of India. Between the tomb of Nur Jehan and, her Lord is a vast dome, which covers the remains of Wazir Khan her brother, which is similarly desecrated by having become the stable of Sikh horses. In the evening I visited again the houses of Generals-Avitabile and Court: the latter fitted up a vast dome, belonging to some Mahometan palace of sepulture, as a chamber for the hot weather, and a most delightful one it would be. This house is also taken care of four *purabi* soldiers of Court's Brigade, with whom I conversed, and found that they were only waiting to receive their pay ere they turned their back on the country and sought service elsewhere.

Monday, March 9th—A delightful ride through the cornfield to the left from the encampment. The whole appearance of the country is rich and fruitful in the extreme, the population is Mahometan to a man, and owing to the neighbourhood of the Ravi the wells are not deep, and are consequently abundant. The whole country, therefore, bears the appearance of the country, upon which our tents are pitched, which were beyond the influence of the streams. This day the governor-

General held a grand Durbar, at which the Treaty was signed. Measures had been taken to prevent the unseemly crowd, which disgraced the Durbar at Kussoor, and a large tent was pitched of an unusual size, and every preparation made to render the Durbar worthy of the head of the Government of India. Ninety officers, staff and field officers, were invited. About two O'clock a party of officers, of whom I was one, started upon elephants and proceeded amidst suffocating clouds of dust to the city gate, at which place we met the Maharaja and his cortege. Joining with them we marched back to the camp, a vast moving body of men, elephants, and horses. On approaching our camp we found the streets lined with a troop of every Regiment of Cavalry, and a Company of every Regiment of Infantry, and the effect was very imposing. At the end of street the Governor-General in the State-howdah, accompanied by Sir C. Napier and Sir Hugh Gough, advanced to meet the Maharaja, who was transferred to the Governor-General's howdah. Crush and confusion then the order of the day, and great difficulty was experienced in admitting the respectable natives to the tent. This was at length effected. The company was seated, the Treaty was sealed and signed by the Governor-General and the Maharaja, and copy was interchanged amidst the roar of cannon which announced the event to the Army and the City. The little boy took up his pen and signed his name in the usual Sikh style, with the greatest gravity and coolness; poor fellow, he little knew that he was making away with one half of his dominions. The Governor-General then made a long speech, explaining the policy of Government, and the motives which had actuated him and each sentence, as delivered, was explained to the Chief Secretary in Urdu. The Governor-General distinctly stated the reason for leaving troops at Lahore, that it was against his own wishes, but consented to on the earnest request of the recognized heads of the State, and that they would be removed certainly at the close of the current year. Presents were then distributed among those, whose ranks entitled them, and the whole party moved back amidst the same pomp and show, which had welcomed their arrival. I accompanied Raja Gulab Singh, who had now turned his back on Lahore, and had pitched his tents within our picquets. He was full of gratitude to the Company, and only regretted that what was now being done had not been effected some ten years ago. In the evening we had a grand dinner at the Commander-in-chief's a less extensive assembly, but the same routine of speeches.

Tuesday, March 10th—I started early in the morning to Raja Gulab Singh's tents to bring him to see the review of the assembled forces.

On my road I met Cunningham with Raja Lal Singh who had donned a complete suit of armour for the occasion. I found the Raja prepared to mount on elephant, to which I objected as most unmilitary; and after assuring him, that neither the Commander-in-chiefs nor the Governor-Generals would, as he supposed, be on elephants, he mounted his horse and we rode onwards to the parade ground. On the Governor-General's arrival, the usual salute was fired, and the whole party, English and Sikhs, moved down the line. It was a curious sight, and every step we stumbled against an ungainly-looking man, the very reverse of what appears to as soldier-like, who was called General Saheb. After riding down the line the troops all passed us; but the dust was so thick that the Cavalry could scarcely be distinguished. Mr. Currie this day informed me, that I was to leave the Secretariate, and have a district in the Doab, with allowances of 1,000 rupees per mensem. I could have wished it otherwise, but have little reason to complain, having been so much the child of fortune; advantages there are, and a share of disadvantages. This was the day for the return visit to the Maharaja in his palace. Under a special pretence of wishing to see whether all was ready, I started in advance of the rest of the party, and thus avoided all dust. I arrived there unexpectedly, and was handed up by Raja Lal Singh, from the doorway to the courtyard under the Saman Burj. Many of the officers of the State were assembling for the Durbar, and I sat conversing with Lal Singh at the windows, which command a lovely view. Lal Singh left me to prepare to accompany the Maharaja to meet the Governor-General at the city gate. I then entered into conversation with some of the venerable old white beards, who sowed round me; they were the officers of the *Ghorchara* and some of them had been with Ranjit Singh in his earliest fights; all spoke of their old leader with enthusiasm. As soon as Lal Singh had started with the Maharaja, I entered the Saman Burj to see the preparations for the reception of the Governor-General. This was the same court, into which I had once before entered to fetch Raja Gulab Singh. It had now been decked out in its finest gear, the *pardahs* had been removed from the apartments in which when I was last there, the Rani had been seated and a magnificent apartment, decorated with looking glass on all sides, was disclosed. The effect was very striking. The ground was covered with carpets of Multan and the shawls of Kashmir, on which it appeared a crime to place my booted heel. Chairs were arranged around in an ample circle, and *shameanas* of shawls in front extended the length and increased the

effect of this brilliant chamber. I was introduced to several of the Sirdars and Generals, who were waiting. The fat old General, Gulab Singh Pohopindia, bothered me exceedingly by his politeness. He had commanded the force, which had accompanied General Pollock's force to Cabul, and pretended to know the habits of the English; he was attired in a costume half English, half Sikh, and was a very grotesque figure, as he handed me about taking hold of the tips of my fingers, in his. Not so, however, were the magnificent figures and features of several of the Sikh of the old school, with whom I exchanged salutations. They spoke sensibly of the last battle, and told me how they escaped by swimming their horses across the stream. Two little boys were brought forward to be introduced to me, the sons of Sirdar Sham Singh Attariwala, who had been killed at Sobraon, one of the last specimens of the genuine Sikh Sirdar. I was then taken into a tent of Kashmir *shawl*, one of the presents designed for the Governor-General a most costly *bijor*. I next ascended to the top of the building, which commanded a magnificent view of the Palace with all its numerous courts, and of the city and the surrounding country. This is the highest point of the Palace and the town. The Padshahi Masjid, and the garden, where our troops were cantoned, lay below us. I had scarcely left the Saman Burj, when a discharge of Artillery from the outer court announced the near approach of the Governor-General, and presently under the arch were seen approaching the Commander-in-chief and the Governor-General, leading between them the boy Maharaja, each holding one of his little hands. After him pressed a crowd of Officers and Natives. We at length found ourselves comfortably seated in the Durbar. Great irregularity had, however, been allowed, and many an uninvited guest had forced himself in without a "wedding garment," who neither added to the comfort nor the appearance of the place. This Durbar was scramble, compared to that of the Governor-General. Everybody was so entirely dusted that the effect was extraordinary; hair hickers, moustaches, and eyelashes, well covered with white powder. The usual presents were distributed, and to my share fell three or four handsome shawls and a jewelled head ornament. According to rules of the Service I could not keep them, and they were made over to the officers of Government. After the Durbar I again visited the roof of the Palace, to enjoy a few moments more the delicious prospect it commands. Upon our first arrival we caught sight of some of the ladies of Palace in a neighbouring balcony; but one of our party making a profound bow to them there was an immediate scuttling to the rear.

Wednesday, March 11th—Visited the city to inspect the buildings

which have been set apart for the accommodation of officers and men in the city; one European Regiment, and eight Native Infantry with three Troops of Horse Artillery, and four heavy guns, are selected for this duty. We visited the house of Raja Dhyān Singh in the centre of which is his *Samad* or Cenotaph. The magnitude and grandeur of the buildings are on a par with the character of the man, who was scarcely content to be the second man in the kingdom. Beneath is a beautiful *tykhanah* for retreat in the hot weather. The Governor-General marched this evening to the Shalimar Garden, and I was disappointed to find, that I was to be left behind to accompany the Commander-in-chief, who would not march for ten days. Bad luck again; I shall miss seeing Amritsar and Govindghur, as the Commander-in-chief will return via Ferozpur. I rode out with Mr. Currie as far as the Shalimar Garden; the band was then playing, and the whole place appeared to great advantage under the sloping rays of the Sun. I visited also the delightful baths, which Sher Singh had prepared in the most luxurious style. They were most beautifully and tastefully ornamented. I returned again to my tent, which was now standing nearly alone, the canvas town around it having vanished. Just before starting I had a few words with Sir Charles Napier, who introduced himself to me as I was talking to his nephews, and I was glad to have the opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of this remarkable man.

Thursday, March 12th—I awoke and found my tent quite alone and my friends and my occupation gone. I made use, however, of the leisure to commence upon an article for *Calcutta Review* on "The Countries between the Satlaj and the Jamna," (This was the first of a series, which has lasted more than fifty years, and which is not ended yet). I had long had it in view, but had never found time to place upon paper the material, which I had already in my head. I joined the mess of the staff Officers at the Commander-in-chief's Camp. I wished very much to accompany Commander-in-chief on an expedition to the town of Amritsar, which was proposed for the following day, but many reasons conspired to determine me not to go, and to put off seeing the town and fort to a more favourable opportunity.

Friday, March 13th—We moved our camp about two miles to our right, and I pitched my tent near the Commander-in-chief's. The force destined for the city moved down to the banks of the Ravi, and as a large force had accompanied the Governor-General to Jalunder, our Army appeared much shrunk and reduced still, a formidable one, as composed nearly entirely of European Regiments. I rode in the evening across the

green cornfields, which were in front of us, to the city, and visited some friends, who were establishing themselves in their new quarters. Those in the house of Raja Suchet Singh seemed tolerably comfortable, and might be made endurable : but how will the other officers fare ? The gates of the town had all been occupied by our troops, and we might indeed, be said to have complete military possession.

Saturday, March 14th—Commenced upon the business of settling the compensation to be granted to zemindars for the injury which their crops had suffered during the time the Army had been before Lahore. Towards evening most tremendous rain commenced, and lasted, with unusual violence, for the whole night.

Sunday, March 15th—Everything appeared drenched and wretched. The camp partially swamped. I was obliged to pick my way as best I could to the mess tent. Rode out in the evening to visit some villages, and inspect the actual loss which they had suffered. No sooner do these people find that our purse-strings are unloosed than they attempt every means of deceiving us, and exacting from us just as much as our simplicity will allow them.

Monday, March 16th—Rode to the rear to inspect the state of four villages, who claimed compensation, and were, indeed, objects of compassion. On the road between Lahore and our last stage all our camp-followers seemed to have systematically plundered; from one of these villages everything was gone, roofs, doors, the grain stored for winter consumption, the seed to ensure the next harvest. Such are the miseries of war. Most of the inhabitants of this unfortunate village had fled precipitately and a few old men were present to point out the place which had once been their home. Such crops as the village had possessed had been ruthlessly cut away, and even the woodwork of the wells had been removed.

Tuesday, March 17th—Stayed at home. Dined in the evening with Commander-in-chief, who had returned much pleased from Amritsar. Severe work, however, they had, as the distance can be little less than forty miles.

Wednesday, March 18th—Out in the morning to see a couple of villages between the camp and the town. I visited also General Ventura's house at Anarkali : the upper rooms are painted in native style to represent the conquests of Multan and Peshawur, the figures are most grotesque, and the absence of all perspective most amusing. Immediately adjoining is a large dome, which has been converted from a tomb to a dwelling place. Rode in the evening to the city to see Colonel Lawrence. We went to visit Sir John Littler's camp, most pretily situated near a garden

of Ranjit Singh; the view of the Palace is very beautiful. On our way we found a poor man, who had just been knocked over, and his legs broken; it was a compound fracture, and the bone was actually protruding through the flesh, and the man was rolling in agony. Even after all the horrid sights, I have lately seen, this almost distressed me more than any. We sent for a Doctor and a *Dooley*; but the man's life or limb will be lost. Slept in the garden of Raja Suchet Singh.

Thursday, March 19th—Up early and rode among the quarters preparing for the European and Native troops. I was astonished at the rapidity and success with which these buildings had been adopted for use; doors had been broken open to admit air, and arches bricked up to exclude sun; filth of centuries removed; the whole thing promises exceedingly well; all the barracks are connected together. The General has taken up his quarters in the Baraderi in the centre of the garden, beneath which is a capital *Tykhana*. Returned across the fields to camp: breakfasted with the Commander-in-chief, who invited me to join his party while with their camp.

Friday, March 20th—Rode into the city, and breakfasted with Colonel Lawrence in his new Residency. Back again to camp across the charming green fields; the crops are now rapidly ripening. The Overland letters arrived to-day: one from my brother Henry with account of a visit to Belton.

Saturday, March 21st—Read the Number of the *Quarterly Review* for June, which had just arrived. A meeting was held today of Officers of the Army, Commissioned and non-Commissioned, to take into consideration the scheme for educating the children of European soldiers in the Hill Stations. The proceedings of the meeting were very irregular, and there was much desultory conversation quite beside the subject. A very serious objection appears to me the determination of the subscribers to introduce such regulations as practically exclude the children of Roman Catholic parents, while in fact the majority of the European soldiers in India are of that persuasion.

Sunday, March 22nd—A most disagreeable dust-storm prevailed throughout the morning, making life scarcely worth having as long as it lasted, as nothing could be done of any kind. Rode in the evening into the town, having sent on all my tents, etc., to the next stage. Slept at Colonel Lawrence's house in the city.

Monday, March 23rd—Off at an early hour, and right glad to leave Lahore, of which I had enough. I had visited every spot of interest more than once, and as the season was advancing I was anxious to be on

the move again, and make my way to my quarters for the hot months. Marched to Kahna Kachwa. In the evening the *Overland Express* arrived, bringing the news of two interesting facts : first, the arrival in England, via Trieste, of the news of the great battles, or rather of a great battle, near Ferozpur, in which we had been victorious. That same mail would convey to Ministers Sir George Arthur's report, founded upon the concise account which Sir Henry Hardinge had furnished him with on his arrival at Ferozpur. Great anxiety was said to prevail in England among those, who had friends engaged in the contest. The other piece of intelligence was Sir Robert Peel's announcement of his intentions regarding the Corn Laws; his speech at the opening of the Parliament, stating his determination, if he remained Minister of England, to remain so unshackled appeared to me to be a very brilliant and eloquent speech.

Tuesday, March 24th—Marched before daybreak to Lulliali. At this place our advance we had suffered very great inconvenience from a want of water, but the heavy rains, which had fallen during our stay at Lahore had removed that inconvenience and we now had abundance, though not of the purest or best quality.

Wednesday, March 25th—Off early before daylight for Khan Kurman : this was the route taken by the over-confident Khalsa, when they started to attack Ferozpur and Calcutta. There is something very grand in the movement of large bodies of troops, especially in the early grey of the morning and I, particularly, remarked it this morning. I was riding in front of the whole force, and, though the landscape was not distinctly in the twilight, I could distinguish the vast war-cloud of dust rising over the advancing masses, a heavy dun cloud. In a few moments the head of the column could be seen clear of the jungle and the flash of a bayonet. On the flanks dense masses of cavalry were half seen, half obscured, a few solitary horsemen in the advance spurring across. All the time was heard that peculiar sound, which can be compared to no other, a suppressed hum of men, and rolling of wheels on the hard soil; occasionally the voice of a trumpet would speak forth; the whole effect, both to the eye, and ear, is such as cannot be produced except by the movement of bodies of men.

Thursday, March 26th—The morning march was rough and broken ground, over or rather through which artificial roads had to be made for the Artillery, brought us down to the banks of the Satlaj, that noble stream so long the boundary of our Empire, and still so in this particular spot. A bridge of boats had been prepared at Nagar Ghat, and a most complete thing it was, with an entrenched *tete du pont*, to defend it against

the enemy. It had a double roadway, so that two Horse Artillery guns could cross side by side. The planks had been well covered with earth, and the effect generally was that of a regular road over a permanent bridge. The road leading to it was kept clear for the passage of troops by lines of troopers, and beyond it two Regiments were drawn up in line to do honour to their triumphant brethren on their return from the Capital of the enemy. The formidable battery of twelve 12-pounders was prepared to salute the Commander-in-chief as he re-crossed the River. In the rear white tents of the Camp were springing up along bank of the noble stream. The scene was strikingly beautiful, as it first presented itself to my sight, on this bright and cloudless morning. I was far in advance of the column, so I passed over and stationed myself on the precipice of the Southern Bank to watch the crossing. I could then see far inland to the trees and houses of the Villages on the opposite high bank, beyond the wide extent of alluvial land that intervened. Presently the 'war cloud' of dust advanced, and, though the columns could not be distinguished, the scenery was obscured. At length the Commander-in-chief and his numerous staff were seen entering the *tete du pont*, and as they stepped on the bridge our guns fired a salute, and the whole party prudently halted lest their horses should be alarmed by the flash and report. The effect of this was capital. When the salute had finished, the Commander-in-chief advanced, followed by an unbroken chain of Cavalry defiling over. After them came the Artillery thundering across; and at length the Infantry columns with band playing and colours flying, commenced the passage; and a more beautiful sight than that, which the bridge then presented, entirely covered with a dense column of European Infantry, their bayonets glittering in the sun, and the line free from any particle of dust, I have never witnessed. Below the bridge another busy scene was going on. No elephants were allowed to cross the bridge, as their ponderous weight would have endangered the security. Each of these vast beasts, therefore, whose number must be counted in this Army by thousands, deposited its burden on the bank, and swam across, while the tents, etc., were conveyed in boats to the other side. As each Regiment crossed, they were drawn up, and addressed by the Commander-in-chief, who congratulated them on their return. Many of these Regiments had been sadly reduced during the campaign, but they loudly cheered their gallant leader. Though late out in the sun, I thoroughly enjoyed the scene. It was the last closing scene of the Army of the Satlaj, which the following morning would see broken up, and it is improbable that these Regiments would ever meet again. In the evening I walked

down again to the bridge. The river was full of European bathers, who were doing justice to the opportunity of a bath. A large party at the Commander-in-chief's of all the Commanding Officers closed the day and the campaign.

Friday, March 27th—Morning march to Khol. Arrived there at sunrise, and immediately accompanied the Commander-in-chief to the battlefield of Ferozshahr, distant about six miles. We passed by Sultan Khanwala, and pursued the same route, which the Sikh Army had followed at the time of their exulting invasion. At length the trees and villages of Ferozshahr, a name, that will not soon be forgotten, came into sight, and we rode over the field, still covered with the bodies of the slain. The month, or rather six weeks, which had elapsed since my former visit, had worked a change, and the shining white skeletons had now assumed the place of the dark decaying corpses, which had met my gaze on my former visit. Still, Time and Decay had been fanciful in their ravages, and many bodies retained their consistency and some their colour. The European was clearly distinguishable from the Native. The long flowing hair marked the Sikh, and the cropped forehead the Hindu Sepoy. Many of our poor fellows had been disinterred, but the buttons of their jackets or the stripe of the pantaloons told us to what Regiment they belonged. Many graves had burst from the expanding of the bodies beneath, the effect of gunshot wounds, and head and legs, and occasionally a grinning skull, were seen protruding from the grave, and produced a most ghastly effect. The people had returned to their fields, and villages, and but for the bones of the slain all traces of the great and memorable fight were being effaced. With what different feelings did we look now on that village to those, with which it first met the gaze of the gallant army, which was prepared to storm its entrenchments. We rode back to camp, much gratified with our morning's excursion.

Saturday, March 28th—By a long detour of some thirty miles we managed to embrace the battlefield of Sobraon in our morning march. Starting at three o' clock, on elephants, we arrived by early dawn at the outskirts of the former position of our Army. The cultivator had now resumed his ancient Empire, and we directed our horses through abundant crops of wheat, which had sprung up during our absence at Lahore. At length we reached the village of Rodawala, then our fortified outpost, now again converted into a village. The inhabitants had returned, and roofs and out-houses were now conspicuous on both sides of the deep ditch and entrenchment which our Engineers had constructed. Passing onwards we came to the watch-tower, or rather the mound on which it had stood.

How changed was the dreary spectacle from the busy scene, upon which my eye had rested when I last stood on that spot. Forty thousand men were then engaged in deadly combat; the valley of the Satlaj was resounding with the roaring of the cannonade, and the rapid and incessant discharge of musketry. Smoke then obscured the apposite bank, and to the rear glistened the swords and lances of our Cavalry. The scene before me now was one of unbroken and uninterrupted silence and solitude. The fields were green with the springing harvest up to the entrenchments of the enemy, which rose in triple and quadruple strength between the spot where I then stood and the River. The opposite bank, too, was silent now. There were no tents whitening the high ground; no busy crowds running about; no guns roaring defiance. Descending from the slight eminence, we moved down to the entrenchments and with difficulty induced our horses to enter them amidst the foetid masses of mouldering and corrupting dead bodies remaining here, not skeletons, as at Ferozshahr. The vultures were satiating themselves, and dogs were gorging with human flesh. All garments had been carried away, and weak mortal frames appeared in every attitude, in every stage of stinking and half-eaten corruption. Who can wish for war, and its glories, after witnessing such a scene. Still, there remained some tokens to remind us, that these miserable remnants of weak mortality had once been imbued with a spirit divine. Lying with outstretched arms, and dark flowing hair, we could pity the fate, we could glory in the defeat, but could not despise the bearing, of our foe, who still seemed to breathe defiance, who showed by the position, in which he fell, that he had fought manfully, and deserted his life rather than his colours. The more we examined into these defences, the more we were struck with the audacious boldness of the Army, which had ventured to cross in the face of our Army. Immediately defending the bridge was a *tete du pont*: this was their first defence to protect their bridge of boats. Immediately after our foolish and unsuccessful cannonade early in January, they advanced and threw up more extensive works, taking in a large circuit. After we had deserted the watch-tower, they erected a third line works, stronger and more formidable than any of the previous ones and these we stormed and took. We advanced down to the River, which I had last seen choked with the dying and the dead. Some corpses lay half in and half out of the stream. The bridge of boats still remained, in a half-sunken state. We crossed the stream in one of the ferry-boats, and were surprised to find the high ground so far from the River. The village of Sobraon was at least two *kos* distant, and the bank, on which were the batteries, was at a

distance which left unprotected the further portion of the camp, which we had supposed to be sufficiently protected, and which was the most daring feature of our attack. We found entrenchments thrown up on the heights for eleven guns; but our guide assured us, that only seven were in position on the day of the battle. Entering our boats again we pushed over the wreck of sunken boats, which formed the bridge and returned as fast as possible to our camp, anxious to escape the heat of the sun, which has now become excessive after nine o' clock.

Sunday, March 29th—Left the Commander-in-chief's camp, and, accompanied by Sir Henry Havelock, marched to Indagurh. Met at Dharamkot the Shikawatu brigade, a force small in numbers, but of all arms. The road to-day was covered with a long train of captured Sikh guns, which were being forwarded on to Dehli. These guns were being dragged along in a species of triumph, three of them yoked together behind oxen, without limbers, and guarded, as if in derision of the Sikh Artillerymen, by a few ragamuffins, burkundazes, and Custom house guards. Joined at this place Christie's Irregular Horse, on their route to Ludhiana.

Monday, March 30th—Off early this morning to Siddhun, at which place we were joined by the Commander-in-chief, who, active old gentleman, had made another long detour to visit the battlefield of Aliwal, where Sir Harry Smith had defeated the Sikhs. We rode on about five miles, and on arriving at the slightly elevated village of Poundri we commanded a fine view of the whole field, and a fairer scene and a prettier plain for an action cannot be imagined, and could not be wished for. The horizon was bounded to the North-East, East, and South-East by a gently swelling line of hills, dotted with villages, and groves of trees, from the midst of them Sir Harry Smith with his force had emerged. To our West was the River Satlaj, on the banks of which the Sikhs had entrenched themselves, but on this occasion, puffed up by a temporary advantage, they had left their entrenchments, and taken up a strong position beyond a sudden drop in the plain from the village of Poundri to that of Aliwal: from this they had been driven their flanks being successfully turned, and had taken to flight towards their Camp, and were cut down in numbers as they recrossed the river. We rode down to the River which in this place had eased to be our boundary, and thence returned by the village of Aliwal. The position taken up by them was very skilfully selected, and was so entirely masked, that till the guns actually opened, our troops in their advance fancied that there was nothing betwixt them and the river. The green crops had now sprung up, and very little traces of

the slaughter could be found, but a few skeletons here and there reminded us that a battle had been fought here. At the door of my tent I found the skull of a European, known to be so by the red hair, and arms and legs were strewed here and there through the encampment, brought thither by dogs. In the evening I again rode over the field, and visited the graves of three young officers, who had been killed in the engagement. The sun was then setting, and melancholy reflections rose in my mind, as I gazed on the three small heaps that marked the last resting-place in a strange land, and a solitary spot, of three young Englishmen. I had seen during the last few months, crowded together in a small space, more scenes of pain and distress, of death and massacre, than often falls to anyone's lot : but all will fade away from my memory, ere I forget those three turfy mounds by the side of the Satlaj, as I then saw them under the evening rays of an Indian sun.

Tuesday, March 31st—Rode into Ludhiana, distant about sixteen miles, to exchange my sword for the pen, and to assume again the peaceful garb of the civilian.

March 1846

"Days of my early youth, I fain would give,
Ere the dark shadows o'er my eyelids close,
All the dull days I'm destined yet to live,
For one of those." — R. N. C. Jan. 1876.

I find from my Journal, and Life Diary, kept day by day, that I stayed at Ludhiana a few days to collect servants and furniture and on the 4th of April crossed the River Satlaj into our newly annexed Province of the Jallunder Doab, the country betwixt the Rivers Satlaj and Beas, the Hysudrus and Hyphasis of King Alexander of Macedon, at the latter of which rivers, he was reported to have erected a Monument, which I searched for in vain, rendered by Latin Authors.

'Ego Alexander huc perveni.'

He came from the West, and I came from the East, and I could record that I, after an interval of two thousand years, had reached to his furthest Eastern point. I took off my hat in honour of the great Grecian King, whom I had learned to know so well at Eton College. It was still at that time an unknown land to European Geographers, and a Fairy land to me, as I rode alone to my first stage at Phagwara on Palm Sunday, 1846 and then, turning off from the great high road to Amritsar and Lahore, felt my way from village to village until I reached, and saw for the first time.

Hoshiarpur

My first district, and, like my first love, never to be forgotten. Here, seated under the trees, I found my great Master and Leader, John Lawrence, whom I was destined to serve for twenty-one years, having been a Member of his Legislative Council when he was Viceroy. Seated with him at that time was Henry Riddle, the Postmaster-General of the Agra Province, and Henry Lumsden, then a young officer, copying John Lawrence's letters : all have been dead many years. Here we issued, under the order of the Governor-General, to the assembled landed proprietors the famous Trilogue :

- (1) Thou shalt not burn thy widows;
- (2) Thou shalt not kill thy daughters;
- (3) Thou shalt not bury alive thy lepers.'

A law which was right and good, and yet after half a century has eventuated in the existence of twenty-two Millions of widows, a large number of unmarried women, a social feature unknown before, and armies of lepers passing and repassing over the country.

A few days after my interview, when I had received my instructions from my superior officer, I was left alone in my new kingdom for days and months, and even years, the happiest period of my life.

London, March 11, 1898.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

II

"Et cujus pars parva fui," 1845-6

At page 1,041 of my *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, Series V, which I published at the commencement of this year, the reader will find a chapter in the History of the Conquest of the Panjab, which I found by accident among old papers dating half a century ago. This chapter commences February 11, 1846, on which we crossed the River Satlaj, invaded the Panjab, and captured Lahore. But during the month of December 1845, and January and the first portion of February 1846, remarkable events had taken place, of all of which I was a witness, and it occurs to me, that another chapter in the History of the Conquest of the Panjab may with profit be published in the Sixth Series of my *Linguistic and Oriental Essays* : the material is under my hand in my journal and it so happened, that in 1887, when the Life of my chief, George Broadfoot, was written by his nephew, I at his request made from my Journals extracts of our proceedings of that momentous period; and as Broadfoot was part and parcel of all that was done up to the day of his death, December 21, 1845, I have only to add the narratives of the events,

which took place after his death up to the date of our crossing the Satlaj on February 11, 1846.

In May 1844, I left Calcutta in a palanquin, and worked my way on the shoulders of my bearers to Ambala, the chief Station of the Protected Sikh States, which were then the frontier Province of India, the Satlaj being the Boundary of the Empire. Although the Maharaja of the Panjab had large fiefs South of the Satlaj, it was a fixed principle, that as regards them he was our dependant, and not a Sikh soldier was allowed under any pretence to cross the Satlaj.

I was appointed Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General, Colonel Richmond, and was employed under Major Leech, a senior Assistant, in discharge, of the Revenue, Civil, and Magisterial, duties of the Ambala District.

In October 1844, Sir George Pollock resigned the post of Resident at Lakhnau; Colonel Richmond was transferred to it, and George Broadfoot transferred from Burma in the South-East Frontier of India to the North-West; he arrived at Ambala October 30. I lived then in the official residence of *Padashahi Bagh*, known as George Clerk's house: Colonel Richmond drove Broadfoot over to this house, and I was introduced. Colonel Richmond had been a mere cypher, and the real power was vested in Joseph D. Cunningham, an Assistant, who had good abilities and experience, but had a favourite native employee, who was a rogue, Bakshullah Khan by name: Broadfoot had known Cunningham before, as his brother was quartermaster of Broadfoot's famous Regiment in the Afghan War. I find in my Journal for November 1, 1844: "Had a talk with Broadfoot about matters, and told him how anxious I was to be attached personally to him: he arranged that I should become his personal assistant."

Broadfoot went off to Simla to see Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-chief, and returned on the third day: on the 20th of November, I began my new duties, and Broadfoot commenced the tour of his Province in tents. Cunningham was still with us: we halted at Ludeanuh, and then at Ferozpur: here, on the 13th November, Cunningham left us for his new post at Bahawalpur, and I was alone with Broadfoot, and scarcely ever left him till his death, December 21, 1845. We travelled leisurely all over the Protected Sikh States. Constant news came from Lahore of murders of Chiefs, and mutiny of troops, but no offence was given to us. Thus ended 1844. Broadfoot never seemed quite well, he worked very hard, and was a great rider. I was a guest at his table, but he never talked about public matters. I copied every letter he sent to the Governor-

General, in order to prevent anything being known in the Office; and, as the Persian newsletters came in from Lahore, one of us translated them as it suited, for we both knew Persian thoroughly : Broadfoot from actual use of it in Afghanistan, and I had just taken a degree of Honour in that language, and preferred it to all others, as I do to this day.

We spend Christmas Day, 1844, his last, at Ludeanuh. The state of affairs at Lahore compelled us to get as near as possible to that city, from which our daily newsletter arrived. We had a grand Durbar at Sirhind of all the Chiefs of the Protected Sikh and Hill States to meet Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. We were all January and February in camp. Good Friday fell on March 21, and on the day following the news reached us at Zirah, on the high road between Ferozpur and Ludeanuh, *that a party of Sikhs had crossed the Satlaj at Talwandi*, not far from us. We sent word to them to go quietly back; in the meantime we collected our forces : H. M. 62nd were encamped close to us, and on Easter Day, 1845, as the Sikhs had not crossed back, we started at daylight with 160 Infantry and 300 Sabres. The sight was a pretty one (I copy from my Journal) :

"Broadfoot and I rode in advance : on arriving at Talwandi we found, that the party had retreated, but had refused to pay for the damage, which they had done : on this Broadfoot and I dashed on with the Cavalry. Arriving at the banks of the Satlaj we espied the party at some little distance attempting to cross the deep stream in boats; on we went, and caught the last boatful which we knew by the standards to contain the Chief of the party, Bhai Bishen Singh : these we seized with their horses and camels : one man was shot in the confusion. The scene was very pretty, just at the junction of the Beas and Satlaj."

This was the first shot of the great Sikh War : within the year I was again at this spot, the scene of the battle of Sobraon, but Broadfoot had been killed many weeks before.

Next morning we met the 62nd Regiment, and the officers all turned out to see our force, for they had known Broadfoot in Tenasserim.

We had to hold the Sessions, and try local cases at all the places at which we stepped. Matters were quiet at Lahore, so we moved to Simla and settled there for the first month. The house belonged to Colonel Furness and was against a rock, and so depressing, that Broadfoot took Gubbins House on Mt. Jacquo, which was magnificent : it was called 'The Craigs.'

We stayed at Simla till November.

Sir Henry Havelock was always with us : Sir Herbert Edwardes and

Lake, both my friends, lived just below us. Broadfoot's friends and guests of that time are dead now, except myself : fifty-three years have passed away.

Prince Waldemar of Prussia, and his A. D. C., Count Grueben and Count Oriolla, dined with us. In September we heard of the sudden illness and death of Major Leech, Assistant Agent to the Governor-General, and I had to go down to Ambala take charge of the District. leaving Broadfoot, my present Chief sick actually to bury my first Chief. Such is life, that I buried the two men under whom I began my career : having taken charge, I had to hurry back to Simla, as Broadfoot needed my service, as I alone copied all his letters and newsletters to be sent to the Governor-General.

In October we went into tents, and travelled into the Hill States, and actually had snow; it was miserable work, but it did Broadfoot's health good. We went to the top of Mt. Huttou, and the Chor.

On our last evening Sir Henry Havelock dined with us, and kept us up late by describing the battle of Maharajpur at the dinner table by the help of walnut-shells. I remember Broadfoot's comment, that Sir H. Gough, the Commender-in-chief, did not sufficiently keep his troops in hand at that battle.

November, 5th—We left Simla finally to meet Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, at Karnal. Broadfoot was never under a roof again. On the road down from Simla one of his Arab horses fell over the cliff and was killed : Herbert Edwardes remarked prophetically, that a Roman would have gone back, if such an omen had befallen him. Sir Robert Sale's sword was stolen from him on the road at a bungalow. Both Broadfoot and Sale were killed.

On reaching Ambala, November 19th, we found fresh rumours of the advance of the Sikh Army to the Satlaj : we all felt that the end was approaching : we got our carriage and supplies for troops ready. Broadfoot and I went to Karnal meet Sir Henry Hardinge : we met him again until the following April, and formed one of his sons were my Eton school fellows, and he himself an old family friend.

We reached Ambala December 3rd. On December 5th, there was a grand ball given by the 3rd Light Dragoons, but those in the secret know, *that the Sikhs had crossed the Satlaj*. Broadfoot was in high spirits, active, busy, and happy.

December 6th—Broadfoot and I left Ambala, he never to return, and the camp of the Governor-General was on the haggar River. The next day we marched to Rajpura : we reached Patarsi on the 9th, and a

letter came from Peter Nicolson, the Assistant at Ferozpur, that the Sikh Army was in strength south of the Satlaj near Ferozpur. Broadfoot at once had a long interview with the Governor-General. I had gone to bed, but I had not been long asleep when I was summoned, and required to take measures at once for the supplies of the whole force stationed at Ambala, which was to march immediately to the frontier. Measures had already been taken to collect at certain places supplies for several thousand men : renewed exertions were now to be made to victual the whole army. Saunders Abbott, one of Broadfoot's assistants, was sent off to the Hills to bring down the Regiments at Subhatu and Kasauli; the Ludeanuh force was ordered to fall back and meet us at Bussean. I was up till late giving all the necessary orders. All the ladies in the camp were sent back to Ambala. My dear friend Captain Napier and his first wife (long since dead) were with us; he became afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala: I witnessed his parting, and shall never forget it. I was off to Sirhind with the Governor-General : there I received orders to go back to Ambala, and accompany the Commander-in-chief. I dined with the dear old man, and he was in the highest spirits at the prospect of a fight.

December 12th--We were off to Sirhind supplies plentiful; met Broadfoot, who had just heard from Nicolson much more serious news. I was ordered to start at nightfall for Bussean, the place of rendezvous of the whole force, by the direct route, with a Regiment of Light Cavalry: it was 45 miles across country but I had sure native guides. We walked foot's pace the whole night : bitterly cold it was, as I had no overcoat. The village had all strong walls and deep ditches, and as we lost our way, we almost determined to blow open the gates of one to know where we were, we got to Bussean at day break, without baggage of any kind. All was right : the fear was that the enemy might cut off our supplies, which were, stored in this place. By night the Ludeanuh force came in : letters were received in the middle of the night from Broadfoot, almost his last with orders which had to be attended to at once.

December 15th--Broadfoot rode in : General Sir Harry Smith took command of the Division : we know that the Sikh were between us and Ferozpur, and the two should have to fight at once. I was up nearly all night writing letters, and much annoyed at being ordered by Broadfoot to stay behind, and bring up the rear-guard. Broadfoot himself was off early to the front with the Governor-General. I was aroused by the Commander-in-chief coming to my tent door and calling for me: I rushed out and answered that we had supplies in abundance, and I begged for a Commissariat Officer to take charge. This was done, and I was free to

go to the front. All the Ambala Infantry had arrived now, and the Cavalry was pushed forward : it was a stiff ride to Wadni : the camp was there, but the town held but against us under a Sikh Governor. I dined with the Governor-General, who was quite pleased about the supplies; he had found me in a *Banya's* shop dealing out grain, etc., to the Sepoys, who had brought their bags, and called out.

"Nothing is below the dignity of an earnest man."

December 17th—We advanced at an early hour ; I pushed on and joined Broadfoot, and we rode ahead with Cavalry to occupy the village of Chirah. We took possession of the fort, and all the stores of grain. Each Regiment came up, and was supplied with parched grain : we opened the grain-pits, and emptied them. We were all very anxious as the army had got far in advance of its supplies. Broadfoot rode on to Bagha Purana to make inquiries : he was the soul of everything : all the army was up now, except the Hill-Regiments, which were two marches behind, under the charge of Saunders Abbott.

December 18th—Off early : overtook the Governor-General having breakfast under a tree : the line was advancing, when a message came back from Broadfoot, that the enemy had opened fire : the Commander-in-chief formed the line : I rode behind the Governor-General, and we sat down under a tree to await the Infantry. The Governor-General remarked : "Will the people of England consider this an actual invasion of our frontier, and a justification of war?" I have often thought of this remark : in the hour of our great danger the good old man thought of home politics and the House of Commons. We all got into Mudki, and finding everything quiet, thought that the alarm was a false one. We had heard a cannonade as we came along in the direction of Ferozpur, and the fear was *that the open cantonment might be overpowered*. I looked after supplies. I found the Governor-General sitting under a tree writing letters : on a sudden we heard that the Sikh army was *advancing in force* : it seemed like a hoke, but it was true : our whole army turned out, *the Sepoys, in their dhoties, leaving their food uneaten*, it was 4 p.m. I overtook Broadfoot and the Governor-General, and stuck to them: we were under a heavy fire. Regiment after Regiment passed by us, and the Governor-General pointed out the direction of the advance. We saw old General McCaskell killed : he had just called out "Cease firing," when he was knocked over. We heard the cheers in the front, when the first battery was taken : we passed through it, saw the dead and dying : we saw Sir Robert Sale lying wounded on a gun, and many friends in the same plight : the firing had now ceased, and we retraced our steps, as the

battle was won. I remember asking Henry Havelock, as we rode back to Camp. Whether this was really a battle or only a scrimmage, and his reply, '*Indeed it was a battle.*' I supped with the Governor-General, and his two sons and I were the only ones present; no one dared to ask, but we knew that several Aide-de-camps were killed, and several wounded. Somerset and Munro were killed.

December 19th—This morning parties were sent, out and the force under arms in line in front of the camp : all was uncertainty : I visited each Regiment and the wounded in the Hospital. Four more regiments came in by double marches in the evening. Saunders Abbott slept in my tent : he came in with them from the Hill Stations, as the Chief Assistant Agent in charge.

December 20th—Still at Mudki : it was settled, that the whole force should advance next morning : all the wounded all camp-followers, all non-combatants were peremptorily ordered to stay behind : this included Mr. Currie, the Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department, and myself. I was very much annoyed at being left behind, and was making plans to evade the order.

December 21st—Mudki. I copy the words from my Journal, as they are sad to read after fifty three years : "Broadfoot sent me early this morning just as he was starting, and peremptorily ordered me to stay behind. I made some answer of a doubtful kind and left the tent : *this was the last time I saw him alive* : God forgive me, that we parted in anger, after all the kindness, that he had shown me, but I felt severely being left behind, which appeared to be dishonourable. Mr. Currie came to see me early in the morning, but none of his reasoning could satisfy me. Unhappy and discontented, I found my way to the fort; the place was full of wounded. Sir Robert Sale had just died : I saw his body." Sepoys were groaning and shrieking in their torments: arms and legs were being cut off on tables in the streets; there was no chloroform then the men shrieked under the pain. Reynell Taylor, and Herbert Edwards were both wounded; other of my friends lay dead. I sat up all the night and was with my dear friend Dashwood of the Artillery as he died: he made his will and made me executor. All this time the battle of Ferozshahr was going on, and though five miles off, we seemed to be in the midst of it : the cannonade went on all night : we knew, that we had no chance of escape that unless we gained the battle, none of us would get to the rear, but all would be massacred.

December 22nd—News came from the Governor-General that our attack of yesterday had failed, that affairs were desperate, that all State-

papers were to be destroyed, and that if the morning attack failed all would be over : this was kept secret by Mr. Currie, and we were concerting measures to make an unconditional surrender to save the wounded : the part of the news that grieved me most, and even when my own death was propable, was that dear Broadfoot was killed. Old Brigadier Wheeler, who twelve years afterwards was massacred at Cawnpore during the Mutinies of 1857, was in command, and he said bluntly, that he did not care where his old body fell : his fate was reserved for 1857. While we were discussing, a letter came from old Colonel Benson with the news of a glorious victory, the capture of many guns: we sent off supplies to the camp. Poor Dashwood died that night as I lay by his side, worn out with fatigue : when I saw that he was dead, I went to Mr. Currie's tent ; the whole sight was awful; I can scarcely bear to read the details of my journal.

December 23rd—Mr. Currie and I received orders from the Governor-General, at once to proceed to Ferozpur, to meet him. I buried poor Dashwood in the fort, in a hole under his bed, poor Munro, one of the Aide-de camps of the Governor-General was laid upon him : they were buried in their military cloaks. We got on our horses, and rode over the battlefield of Mudki to Ferozpur. We passed heaps of dead bodies : some barbarians had cut off the heads of the English soldiers. We skirted the scene of the battle of Ferozshah : the village was burning: we overtook hundreds of stragglers of our broken Regiments, for, without doubt, we suffered a defeat in the afternoon attack. In front of Ferozpur we found the camp of General Sir John Littler. The Cantonments were empty, and the women in the Fieldwork : I went with the Governor-General to visit this and struck by the admirable arrangement, I visited Saunders Abbott, who had been severely wounded. Peter Nicolson, Assistant Agent at Ferozpur, had been killed. The news was confirmed that Broadfoot was dead : "He was shot by the side of the Governor-General, and thrown off his horse : he looked very pale, and although the Governor-General begged him to retire, with the assistance of his two Afghans he again mounted his horse, and had not proceeded much further, when another bullet pierced him to heart, and he fell quite dead. Peace be with him; it will be long ere I find so kind a friend or the Government so zealous, gallant, and talented, an officer."

Our camp equipage in a few days come up, and was pitched : there were Broadfoot's tents as he left them, and his property, and his horses and his servants : I almost expected to see him ride up, as we had a gipsy life meeting and parting, parting and meeting; and he did come,

for soon a camel stood at the tent door laden with two bodies, rolled up in canvas on each side : Broadfoot, and Captain Hore, an Aide-de-camp of the Governor-General. "I hastened to take steps to bury Broadfoot with military honours, and determined to gaze once more "upon the features of one, with whom I had lived so intimately for more than a year. His body was stretched on a table, which supported also the body of Captain Hore : it was indeed a painful sight : there was stretched before me, laid low by a violent death, one, whose ambition was boundless, whose talent were of the highest order, who was gifted with energy and fertility of resource which no circumstances could overpower : there lay he, prime mover, by many considered the cause, of this war now commencing, the most hated by the enemy, whom were opposing, and the most feared with his great talents he possessed a singular kind heartedness, and sweetness of temper. He had a wonderful command of foreign languages, and a universality of knowledge scarcity equalled. His face still preserved its of calm composure : tears insensibly found their way down my cheeks, as I gazed on this sad spectacle, though the end he had met with was one which he had often counted, and would have preferred "to any others."

I had only just left Eton, and I had Virgil always in my thoughts :

"Purpureos spargam flores, animamque Magistri

His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani Munere."

(*Aenied*, Book VI.)

Edward Lane was sobbing by my side, and cried out : "I shall never find such a friend again." Yet fortune was good to us both for we both found in John Lawrence, the totally unknown to us, one better even and greater far, than the friend, whom we had lost.

We had coffins made for the two bodies out of boer-boxes, and any other rouge wood available. Lake and I placed Broadfoot in reverently, and nailed the top down. The Governor-General and staff had proceeded the Burial Ground, and I started with the bodies in conveyance : it was quite dark and I entirely lost my way, and felt, that there was a kind of ill-omen attending me, as I was wandering about the maidan with the coffin of my poor master, looking in vain for his grave. At length by good luck I found way, as the Governor-General had ordered the band to play loudly : the service was performed by the Chaplain, Mr. Coley, and three rounds fired over the grave Captain Hore was buried in the same grave.

Thursday, Christmas Day, 1845—We had service in the Governor-General's tent, and very solemn it was : at night we buried Somerset and

Sale in the same grave : there were no English private soldiers to carry the coffins in either case from the gun-carriage to the grave, so we had to do it ourselves : we staggered along, and some of nearly fell into the grave. Among the many duties thrust upon us at this moment was that of the 'Undertaker,' and a curious incident happened. The officer commanding the funeral-escort had got everything ready in his department, and remarking a long box, which might pass muster for coffin, at the door of Somerset's tent, with a military cloak over it, he ordered it to be hoisted on to the gun-carriage and we all fell into behind, and proceeded down the great street of the tents, when suddenly there was a cry from the rear and the procession halted : an officer rushed up and cried out that the body of Somerset was still lying on the bed in his tent the rather important detail of placing the body in the coffin having been overlooked. Four of seized the coffin and hurried back, reverently placed us the body into its receptacle, and replaced it on the gun carriage : it would have amounted to a disaster had the Governor-General returned to his tent on the completion of the ceremony, and found the body of his Military Secretary still in his tent. (N.B. Major Arthur Somerset was the eldest son of Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who ten years later commanded the British Army in the Crimea, and was created Lord Reglan.) With him in the same grave we lowered the coffin of dear good old Sir Robert Sale : we had brought his body in from Mudki, where he died. I wrote account to Lady Sale of his moments, and his burial, and I received a characteristic note from the old lady, which has survived to this day among my letters : "Thank you for your kindness to my dear old Bob."

On December 26th I rode over to the Commander-in-chief's Camp at Sultan Khanwala : breakfasted with His Excellency, and had an interview with Colonel Parsons, the Head of the Commissariat. Visited Herbert Edwardes, who was getting on well inspite of his wounds, and who was to be moved to our camp. Rode back in company of the Commander-in-chief, who visited the Governor-General. A cousin of my own visited me this day, who had arrived in India just in time to serve with the 54th Regiment of Native Infantry at the battle of Ferozpur, and was in high spirits at having got a medal in the first year of his service : he died poor boy, at the age of 21, in the house of Sir Henry Lawrence at Lahore, the following year, with my cousin in my tent door stood a remarkable young man, beautiful in his youth, charming in his manners, Hogson, destined to remembered as Hodgson of Hodgson's horse : he had a letter of introduction to me, and he had been trained by Arnold of Rugby : I was delighted with him, and saw a great deal of him. He died

during the siege of Lakhnau in 1858 : his history is well known to all.

On December 27th, I was engaged in collecting and arranging Broadfoot's official papers. I rode in the evening to see the captured guns, which had been drawn into the field work : their number was seventy-four, but the guns captured at Mudki amounted to seventeen : these were still at the bottom of the wells, into which, in our hour of peril we had thrown them.

Another incident has here to be recorded. During the hot months at Simla, Prince Waldemar of Prussia, accompanied by two Aide-de-camps, Count Oriolla and Count Grueben, and a German Doctor, Hoffmeister, had been the guests of the Governor-General and had been very popular with the English residents. In an evil hour they were tempted to accompany the Army to the frontier, passed unscathed through the battle of Mudki but in the terrible night of the 21st at Ferozshahr the German Doctor was killed, and the three survivors fled to Ferozpur, and worked their way down the East bank of the Satlaj to Bahawalpur; it took them a very long time and on their arrival there they heard from the British official of the great Victory, which they might have shared : they were soldiers, and did not continue their flight to Karachi, but returned to Ferozpur, and were received by the Governor-General with the same cordiality : no questions were asked, and two of the captured Sikh guns were made over to Prince Waldemar to be presented to his cousin King William of Prussia.

On the 28th, I rode early in the direction of Bahawalpur to help one of the Staff Officers to select a suitable spot for a Division of Cavalry : it being proposed to divide the force into Divisions until every arrangement had been made for the advance to Lahore, which could not take place for some weeks, when the additional troops from Delhi and Mirat had arrived. The idea was then conceived for the first time of annexing the whole of the Panjab as far as the Khaibar Pass : the notion seemed very wild then, though it has been a fact for half a century now.

The year 1845 closed upon us : after so much excitement every thing had become stagnant : our policy was to wait. I used to visit daily one large tent, in the four corners of which on a bed were stretched four of my friends, all wounded : Colonel George Gough, nephew of a Commander-in-chief;

Reynell Taylor, destined for employment on the frontier;

Saunders Abbott, who lived nearly half a century later;

Herbert Edwardes, well known to fame.

All are dead now : Field-Marshal Sir Fred. Paul Haines reminded me

a few weeks ago, after reading my other chapter of the History of the Conquest of the Panjab, that he was wounded in another tent, and that I used to come and visited him also. Except our two selves, I cannot recollect the name of anyone, who was present on the frontier at the close of 1845. In these comparatively quiet days at Ferozpur I was tempted to add to the poem of the day of Death by Archbishop Trench the following lines in English and latin :

Shall I on the battlefield,
'Twixt reging brand, and clanging shield,
Midst ories and groans my spirit yield ?
Or after that dread fight is o'er
Unfriended, thirsting, stained with gore,
Rejoice to sleep, and wake no more ?

And to my own Latin translation :

*Inter homines pungnates,
Scuto gladios sonantes,
Sensus cedam anhelantes ?
Aut post pungnam tristiore,
Solus, nudus, per cruorem,
Gaudens ineam soporem ?*

It is an awful thing for me as an old man approaching eighty to think of the bright young spirits, full of life and promise cut off before my eyes more than half a century ago. It is from the Lord : let Him do what He deems best, but humanly speaking those deaths deprived the State of Brilliant services, and sent a feeling of desolation into distant homes. The cry was heard : "when so many were unhurt, why was my loved one called away ?" In my old age I reply : "When so many fell, why was I spared?"

1846 January 1st—The New Year commenced with a bright sunshiny day, a bright omen for the future. I despatched my overland letters describing the battles. I was much gratified at being informed by Mr. Currie, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, that my name had been mentioned in the dispatch of the Governor-General to the Secret Committee of the East India Company, and possibly, though a Civilian, I may be allowed a medal, as I have been on active service, and smelt boold. Some of my contemporaries led the troops : I fed them.

January 2nd—Rode down to see the Ferry Boats at the Ghaunt. While the Sikh army was this side of the Satlaj River, these boats had been sunk to the bottom of the stream, and all the materials of the

Bridge had been carried to the field-work. The boats had now been raised to the surface, and fastened to the Eastern or British Bank.

January 4th—A horse belonging to my friend Dashwood, to whose will I was executor, had been wounded under him at Mudki, and was pronounced incurable : order were given to kill it, and it was struck in the chest by a Cavalry-sword, which went deep into his body; the noble beast reeled under the blow, and after considerable effusion of blood dropped down dead.

January 7th—The Mirat-force with twelve 12-pounders is now near at hand; the heavy train, six miles in length, has started from Delhi, but it will take time ere it arrive. Under orders I am purchasing for eight annas each, all the English cannonballs brought in by the villagers from Ferozshahr : it is calculated that each shot from the Arsenal costs one rupee before delivery at Ferozpur. The hammered shot of the Sikhs are useless to us.

January 10th—Major Mackeson, one of the Assistant Agents arrived to day from his station : he is to take charge of the protected Sikh States distinct from those reserved for Major Henry Lawrence, who succeeds Broadfoot. I received my orders to accompany the Army to Lahore, and for the time transferred to the post of Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department : this was satisfactory step of promotion : I shall always look back with a degree of affection to the countries betwixt the Satlaj and the Jamna, in which a year and a half ago I commenced my career. I was to have 1,000 Rupees per mensem, or £ 1,200 per annum, not bad pay for the age of 24, but I had risked my life to get it, and had to risk it further to hold it : perhaps it would have been wiser to stay down in Lower Bengal for away from the din of arms.

January 11th—Sunday service in the tent of the Governor-General. From this day a small party of us formed a separate Mess, there being great inconvenience in being always a guest at the table of the Governor-General, the greatest which was that I had no means to entertain guests, or strangers, who suddenly dropped in upon me, the *vespertinus hospes* of dear old Horatius Flaccus. Major Mackeson started to-day with a considerable force to occupy the fort of Mokitsar, the only one still holding out against us East of Satlaj. Captain Robinson had failed in his attack with the Sirsa force, so we sent out an over-whelming force with supplies of sharpshooting and bags of powder.

January 12th—I accompanied J.D. Cunningham on an Expedition on Riding Camels to the camp of the Commander-in-chief about twenty miles distant. We passed Attari, where the Division of Sir John Grey

was encamped to Mallowall, a strong fort, and the evening closed around us ere we reached the camp of the Commander-in-chief, pitched to the rear of the grand line of the encamped Army. I got a corner in the tent of the Hon. Capt West, on His Excellency's staff. (He afterwards became Earl of Delawar, and died many years ago. I dined with the Commander-in-chief, up at daylight on the 16th, and galloped to the rear of General Gilberit's Division, a Brigade of which was then in motion to occupy Talwandi, on which Sir Harry Smith's Division rested. On Easter Day last year Broadfoot had pursued through the village the Sikhs, who crossed the River under Bishen Singh at Hari ke Patan. We galloped on to Cureton's Brigade of Cavalry, the extreme right of the force in sight of the fort of Mokko, which commands the point of junction of the Rivers Satlaj and Beas. I returned home in front of the Army, and fell back to breakfast at the Commander-in-chief's tent. Mounted a fresh horse, and visited Sir John Grey's Division and the Artillery with the park of heavy guns. From this point I rode forward to the advanced Brigade in position at the entrenched village of Rodawala : here I found the 12-pounders in position with entrenchment, and a look out tower, whence the movements of the enemy could be distinctly watched. I was struck with admiration at the beauty of the scene. The Western bank of the Satlaj from Hari ke Patan downwards is much loftier than the Eastern : on this high bank, commanding the ford and ferry of Sobraon, which lay before us, were the hosts of the enemy, who had formed a bridge connecting the two banks, and a *tete du pont* on the Eastern side. Through a telescope from the watch-tower all this visible, and he could see the Sikh soldiers swarming about like ants on an ant-hill : we kept up a brisk interchange of shots with some of their sharp shooters : the embrasure of their guns was distinctly visible in their entrenchment. We galloped on to another advanced outpost, behind which was another brigade with guns : it had only been occupied this very day, and the Engineers were still at work : the same order of things prevailed here, and a detachment of light infantry was there to protect the Sappers at their work. Signs were visible of a battery of heavy guns of the enemy in preparation to bear upon the watch tower. I visited the Park of Heavy Guns, and then dined with the Commander-in-chief.

January 17th—A large force under the command of Sir Henry Smith left the camp this morning to take the fort of Fatehghar, and Dharamkot, and to open the country betwixt that place and Jagraon and Ludeanuh. I had some thoughts of accompanying it, but eventually determined to return to camp, for the lull of public business might suddenly be interrupt-

ed. I rode out once more to the outposts : I visited the park of Artillery to see the batteries of 12-pounders, drawn by two elephants, tandem fashion, which had just arrived from Delhi, a sight which I shall never forget. I saw also the unfortunate 12-pounder, the cascabel of which had been blown off, rendering it useless, two days previously when the Commander-in-chief was playing at long balls with the Sikhs. I then mounted my camel and reached Ferozpur about dark, I had a message from the Commander-in-chief to the Governor-General, so I found my way to his tent, and being admitted, found him in bed. His habit was to take all his clothes off, get into his night gown every day about 6 p.m. take a cool bed-bath for half an hour, and then dress for dinner. He was then 61 years of age, and hale and lived ten years longer. He put his one arm out of the sheets (he had lost the other at Quatre Bras), and took the letter out of my hand, and listened to my description of what I had seen in the last two days with deep interest. I retired, made myself comfortable, and went back to dinner.

January 18th—Service in the tent of the Governor-General. The Indian Newspapers, which now began to find their way up to our camp published a report, that I and Charles Hardinge son of the Governor-General had been killed in one of the battles. An old college-friend from Calcutta had written to an acquaintance in camp (no other than this very Charles Hardinge), to ask him to seal up my books and papers, and forward them to him to be transmitted to my family : the rumour had reached my father in England, and good Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, had written to him a letter of condolence : but a letter came from the India Office, reporting that I was alive and well. By singular chance, two years later a rumour reached me, that my College friend had been killed by the explosion of his gun. I at once wrote to Charles Hardinge, then in Calcutta, to find out the truth, and he replied that the rumour was false.

January 20th—The Governor-General had heard from me and others of events in the Commander-in-chief's camp, and he determined to make a personal inspection, and I accompanied him. We rode out to the advanced posts : matter had intensified in the last few days : the circumstances of the tower which on my former visit I had entered with comparative security, and had seated myself with my telescope on the parapet, were now entirely changed. On riding up I was saluted with a couple of bullets from a Camel Swivel, which passed over my head, and warned me to retreat, unless I was ambitious of the end, which overtook Charles XII of Sweden :

"A petty fortress and an unknown hand."

The place was still occupied by a party of Infantry, but the Brigade had fallen back into entrenchments. I rode thence to the other watch-tower, at which the same kind of sniping was going on.

January 21st—Major Henry Lawrence arrived to-day having left the Residency of Nepal, to take charge of the duties of the frontier Agency, vacated by George Broadfoot. I was introduced to him by Mr. Currie, and took him into the empty tent of his predecessor, where he installed himself and I brought him the office boxes, and pointed out the correspondence, which had to be attended to. He had not much personal luggage with him, as he had ridden on a camel from Karnal: he wore leather breeches, which did not fit him, and he explained that he had stayed with his brother, John Lawrence, Magistrate and Collector of Dehli, on his road up, who had insisted on his borrowing his leather garments for the long ride. He stood thus before me in his brother's breeches; but he was not desined to occupy them long, for in a few weeks that same John Lawrence, Magistrate of Delhi, become Commissioner of the Jhelundhar Doab, in a few years member of the Lahore Council of Three; another year he had supplanted his brother Henry, and become Chief Commissioner, and as years rolled on Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, and Viceroy of India, to return home as a peer of Parliament; while the elder brother's before whom I now stood as his personal assistant. perished by a violent death at the seize of Lakhnau, about eleven years later.

I rode down the lines, and visited the extreme left, the headquarters of the Irregular Cavalry Regiments, 8th and 9th: had a chat with my good friend Christie of Christie's Horse. Dined with the Commander-in-chief: after dinner there speechifying.

I accompanied Major Lawrence to visit the field of Ferozshahr: passing Mallowall we entered high jungle, and on our road met the large convoys of supplies despatch from Delhi for the Army: we galloped across country, and soon came upon marks of the wheels of Artillery, and at length sighted the village of Ferozshahr, surrounded by a radius of cultivated land. The village itself was the centre of entrenchment, which had evidently been constructed by unskilled hands and in extreme haste. We rode round, passing over the bodies of dead men and horses. Our course lay to the right hand till we got behind the village, where the greatest charnage had been; there lay in masses the bodies of men of the 9th and 62nd Regiments, who had fallen in the charges on the enemy's guns: they had been insufficiently buried, and their arms and

legs protruded, leading us first to suppose, that death had been caused by the explosion of a mine. I cut a button of the sleeve of a man in each heap, and by the number knew which Regiment attacked this particular spot. Moving onwards, we passed the space, which intervened between the column of Sir John Littler moving from Ferozpur, and that under the Command of the Commander-in-chief moving from Mudki. Here fresh graves marked the place where the man of each Regiment had fallen and the numerous bodies of Sikh laying with one little hole pierced through their middle, reminded us how fearfully in this place the British bayonet had done its duty. Here also was a slight clearing in addition to the entrenchments; and the still unburied, prostrate bodies of the 3rd Dragoons, men and horse, marked the spot where their gallant charge had taken place: the enclosure was filled with the bodies of Sikhs, men of gigantic mould, with long beards: the whole sight was painful, but deeply interesting. It was a dearly won field by the loss of so many gallant soldiers, and yet at the same time a lesson to the people of India of the superiority of Englishman, and his weapons.

January 24th—I made my will to-day, disposing of all that I possessed, and made it over to my friend Agnew, the Assistant whom we were going to leave behind in charge of Ferozpur, when we crossed the Satlaj to take Lahore. I thought him safe, while I was in danger: he was killed at Multan in 1848, and my will came back to me many years afterwards, when his chattels had been collected and his affairs settled. I remember writing a poem on his untimely end.

Sunday, January 25th—Service Governor-General's tent. Great anxiety was now felt as to the position and circumstances of Sir Harry Smith, who had started towards Ludeanuh with a strong force. No tidings had been received from him, but sufficient time had elapsed to enable him to dispose of his Sikh antagonists, who were threatening Ludeanuh. On the 28th the Governor-General went over for a couple of days to the Camp of the Commander-in-chief. I remained at Ferozpur. All manner of rumours were current as to a disaster attending Sir Henry Smith's force, and it was officially reported, that all thier baggage, and medical stores, had fallen into the hand of the enemy: we were all full of evil forebodings, and hanging on the mouth of every new arrival, when on the 28th before breakfast, I was started by a salute of cannon; the news of the preceding day had prepared us to hear of camp being attacked, and, half in earnest. I stepped out of my tent to see where the round shot were failling; but it proved, on inquiry to be a Royal Salute in honour of a great victory won by Sir Herry Smith at Aliwal,

not far from Ludeanuh. He had at last succeeded in getting up to enemy, and had at entrenchments. Some of the Sikh Regiments actually come out to them : the action was sharp, but decided, in the end we drove them from their post, capturing upwards of fifty guns, which were scattered all over the field : our loss was not severe. One officer of Irregular Cavalry did a very gallant act : he crossed over the Satlaj with his horse-men, and spiked some guns on the opposite bank.

Sunday, February 1st—Service in the Governor-General's tent. I rode down to the Ghaunt to see the progress of the Bridge of Boats and Pontoon train. Many of the boats have been fastened together, and show what kind of bridge is to be formed.

Wednesday, February 4th—The Governor-General went out to Camp : as there seemed to be a possibility and probability of some active measures being taken. I accompanied him. Next day I rode about the Camp : the great line had been considerably altered, and the advanced posts given up; the village of Rodawala had been entrenched, and was held by a Brigade. There seemed to be little or no chance of anything being done, so the Governor-General returned to Ferozpur next day, and I followed. No attack was to be made by our troops until the arrival of the heavy guns on their road from Delhi.

Sunday, February 8th—Service in the Governor-General's Camp. News from England of the resignation of Sir Robert Peel, and the futile attempt of Lord John Russel to form an administration and the return of Sir Robert Peel to power. These events were happening in England at the end of December 1845, while we in India were hurrying up to relieve Ferozpur.

Monday, February 9th—The Governor-General, with all his official party stated today to Camp, as the heavy guns had arrived, and it was determined to attack the enemy in their entrenched position on the following morning, February 10th. The attack was to commence by a severe cannonade from our iron howitzers and mortars : the trenches were then to be stormed, and the guns of the enemy taken. The only question was, how we were to hold this position when once taken, as it was supposed to be commanded by the enemy's heavy guns upon the elevated bank on the opposite side of the Satlaj. I dined with the Governor-General and heard the whole question discussed at length. I went up afterwards to my friend West's tent (Earl of Delawar, see p. 54) and got a plan of the attack, and a general idea of the operation of the following morning. The main part of the scheme was, that same evening, to throw our bridge of boats across the Satlaj at Ferozpur, and make good our passage of the

river before the enemy recovered from the shock of their defeat at Sobraon to-morrow.

Tuesday, February 10th—I was up by 4 a.m. and moved down towards Rodawala : fell in with my friend Prince Waldemar of Prussia, and his suite, and accompanied General Gilbert's column. Leaving them we darted across country to Rodawala, where we arrived before daylight : it was then occupied by the 73rd Native Infantry; the rest of the brigade under Colonel Ashburnham, had advanced to beat out the picquets of the enemy at the tower, and prepare the batteries : picquets, they found none, and the batteries were ready before dawn. Those on the right opened first, and at the first report we heard the 'tomtoms' giving the alarm in Sikh Camp : there was then a pause, and both batteries commenced in earnest a brisk cannonade, which was returned with equal spirit. The Governor-General had assumed the office of Second in Command under the Commander-in-chief. They both remained at Rodawala for upwards of an hour, when it became apparent from the enemy's batteries being less regular, that an effect had been made. The Governor-General then mounted his horse, and I accompanied him. We rode forward under the cannon-shot to a spot where one battery of our mortars was placed, which were now silent as their ammunition had been exhausted. The Commander-in-chief, on our left, then gave orders for the attack in that quarter by the division of General Dick. The Governor-General then prepared to advance, upon which I left him, and proceeded towards the left. I here fell in with the 9th Lancers, and further on with the 3rd Dragoon, and the Cavalry on their flank was pushed forward to support them. The wounded were being brought to rear : one officer begged my assistance to find a doctor : he had just been struck on the head by a cannon-ball, but was only severely bruised. I then returned to Rodawala, and could distinguish the columns advancing into the trenches in three divisions. The cannonade on one side had ceased. I mounted my horse again, and rode to the mortars and howitzers, and passing them, rode forward to the entrenchments, where repeated volleys of musketry told me how busy matters were going on there. I rode towards our right, passing over the lines of General Gilbert's and fell in with the 9th Lancers; a man fell in their ranks while I was there. I could see the smoke of guns from the entrenchments, and the British line steadily advancing : an old School friend of mine Eton, named Beale, was in one of the Regiments (I think the 10th Infantry) : he was very tall indeed, and his head appeared above the line of the troops, and that poor head was knocked off by a cannon-ball. I met an officer, whom I knew well, named Becher, hurrying back

to the rear.

I stood a while watching the progress of the fight, then at its height, volley after volley; the smoke enveloped everything; it was a magnificent sight, and the surroundings of the scenery were so striking. As the roar became fainter, and the cannonade almost entirely ceased, I advanced with the Cavalry to the trenches : the firing had ceased entirely, and I found General Gilbert's Division halting in the trenches, and learned that the day had been triumphantly won. I had some difficulty in getting my horse up the trenches, as they were steep and admirably defensible; but I mounted them, and passed through the dying and the dead, and pushed onwards to the spot where our Artillery still kept up a cannonade. Here I met the Governor-General, and congratulated him : he was hastening out of the trenches, as mines were exploding all around us. He advised me to hasten towards the River, which I did, and what a sight met my eye ? The stream was blocked with the dead and dying : the sandbanks were covered, and bodies were floating leisurely down : they would have to open our bridge of boats at Ferozpur to let the ghastly mass pass down. Our Regiments were drawn up in different directions, and our Artillery just outside the trenches, which were too high for the guns to enter, was pounding into the fugitives, who had got across the bridge to the opposite bank : it was an awful sight, a fearful carnage : the dead Sikh lay inside his trenches; the dead Englishman marked too distinctly the line which each Regiment had taken in the advance, and, proud and triumphant sight; the living Englishmen in possession indicated that naught could resist the invincible bayonet. I fell in with the Commander-in-chief, and, as the place was becoming dangerous from the explosions of mines, we passed out of the trenches, and rode along the dry *nalah* that surrounded it, and took notice of the strong defences, which the enemy had thrown up, and which we had captured. I looked into some of the canvas coverings of the Sikh soldiers, and noted how they had bivouacked.

Sixty-six guns and two hundred Camel Swivels were reported as captured. Our loss was heavy, and the ground was strewn with slain, among whom I recognized a fine and handsome lad, whom I had well known : there he lay, his auburn hair weltering in his blood; his forehead fearfully gashed; his fingers cut off : still warm, but quite dead. He had been cut down in the advance, when a momentary check to our column encouraged some desperate Sikhs to rush out, sword in hand, before their trenches, and attack us.

On my road home I joined the Governor-General, who had escaped

all injury though he had advanced to the trench with Gilbert's Division, and had been much exposed to the musketry. It was remarkable, that none of the Sikh guns on the opposite side of the Satlaj opened upon us, when we were in possession of the entrenchment. We could not have got at them, as they had destroyed the bridge, and they could take our position. The spirit of enemy seemed to be entirely broken. The plunderers on our side were now busy on their vocation, and all the camp followers of our force seem to have poured themselves into the entrenchment to get what they could lay hold of.

I accompanied the Governor-General to his tent, and a few of us sat down with him to get a little *tiffin*, which we well deserved, having fasted since daybreak. The Governor-General was very silent : too great an achievement had been accomplished that morning to give room for talking. We had just done *tiffin*, when in walked the Commander-in-chief alone, and sat down on a chair by the side of the Governor-General. The two old Peninsular heroes looked at each other, and the Governor-General patted the Commander-in-chief on his knees, and said, "Well done; Sir Hugh" : there was a simplicity and nobility in their greeting, which I shall never forget.

The Governor-General returned to Ferozpur to superintend personally the completion of the bridge across the Satlaj, and the Reserve Force at Attari was ordered to cross that very night to the opposite bank, which action meant the "Invasion of the Panjab." In the evening, I rode down at leisure to visit the trenches : commencing on the enemy's right, I noted where each English division stormed the entrenchment, and marked where the gun of the enemy were in position : to their right I found upwards of two hundred camel swivels. Their guns were in embrasures; the trenches were triple and quadruple in number; pits had been dug in front to cover musketry; holes to hinder charges of cavalry : every device had been put into practice to make the position defensible. Mines were now loudly exploding, or rather the gun-powder buried by the side of each gun became ignited by the fire spreading over the enclosed Camp : Little plunder was to be found: the Sikhs had nothing with them but their arms. The guns were now nearly all removed to our Camp : our dead were being collected and buried : a sad sight was the rows of English corpses prepared for sepulture as fast as graves could be dug. I followed the entrenchment until I again reached the stream, and as the interior was now unsafe. I returned to my tent : the explosions were terrific, and the white clouds of smoke curling up were visible from Ferozpur. Thus ended the day of the third battle, at which I had been present.

Ferozpur, February 11th, 1846—It is a solemn occupation after the lapse of fifty-two years to read and copy the above pages from my Journal of December 1845, and January and February, 1846. The greatest wonder and cause for thankfulness is, that I am alive to do so. The figures of those great heroes, and kind old men, Hardinge, Governor-General, and Gough, Commander-in-chief, come back to me, and I am lost in amazement at the condescending kindness, with which I was uniformly received by both. The death of my Master, George Broadfoot, at Ferozshahr, and the death or disablement by wounds, of nearly all his Assistants, had left practically the whole executive business of the Frontier agency, consisting of the Districts of Ferozpur, Ludianah, Ambala, Khytul, and of four great independent Chieftains, Peteala, Ladwa, Nabha and Jhend, in my hands. At the age of 24, I was fortunate to be so circumstanced : I knew the language of the people : I knew the representatives of the Native independent Chiefs, and all the Native officials, and knew what independent Chiefs, and all the Native officials and knew what Broadfoot's views, and practice, were, and until the arrival of his successor, Major Henry Lawrence, was able to carry on business. I was in excellent health, had all my own and Broadfoot's horses at my disposal; but I shall never forget the considerate courtesy of the two kind old men, for I was in and out of their tents at all hours, and I welcome guest at the table of both. Perhaps I was of a little use to them: I hope that I was so : at any rate, I was intensely happy.

Another thought suggests itself. I wonder how during such a two months has elapsed between December 11th, 1845, and February 11th, 1846, we were able to eat, drink, and sleep, with the memory of our dead friends always coming back to us. If a difficulty arose in some letter, the thought arose, that I would run across to Broadfoot's tent, and ask him to clear it up. There was his tent, standing empty. Think only of the dining table of the Governor-General, with six members of his official staff gone. Youth, Fearlessness, not Racklessness, Sense of Duty, High Spirits, and, above, all the impossibility of escaping from our environment, sustained us.

More sad it is after the lapse of half a century to think of what has become of so many of the survivors. Henry Lawrence, killed in the Lakhnau Residency; Hodgson of Hodgson's Horse shot down in the streets of Lakhnau; the great Christian Soldier, Havelock, dying just outside the walls of that city; John Nicolson, killed at Delhi; poor old Wheeler thrown, with his kind old Eurasian wife, into the well of Cawnpur; Mackeson, cut down by an assassin; Agnew, killed within two years at Multan; Brigadier Cureton, killed at Ramnuggur; Henry Durand,

crushed to death on his elephant under an archway, and many others, whom I met at every turn in those weeks at Ferozpur or at Lahore. Some disappeared as time went on, some lived to a good old age. Arthur Hardinge was quite a boy in this campaign : I met him last when he was Governor of Gibraltar. In a few years all will be gone.

London, October 15th, 1898.

Zamindar Cultivator Relations and the Struggle Over Rent in the Punjab (1849-1901)

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During the second half of 19th century the numerous body of tenants in the Punjab constituted a very significant portion of rural population. Their relationship with the village proprietary body was of a very complex nature and it mainly centred around the problem of rent. Incidentally, this period also witnessed the enactment of two successive tenancy legislations attempting to regulate the rate of enhancement of rent; but the struggle over rent, however, continued even afterwards. Indeed, towards the close of the century it constituted, as the official record reads, 'the most burning question of the day.' This struggle over rent also did effect some striking changes in their status in the rural society while their relations with the *zamindars* underwent a distinctive change. Here an attempt has been made to throw light on some of these aspects of this problem.

1. Zamindar-cultivator relations under Sikh rule :

In the rural society under Sikh rule, actual cultivators were variously known as *vasi*¹ (as in Sialkot) and *bootmar*² (as in Amritsar). They helped the village proprietary body in various ways in connection with the cultivation of their lands. Many of them were even descendants of persons who assisted *zamindars* in the foundation of new agricultural settlements. Their status was usually inferior to that of the proprietary body. They of course shared the revenue demand of the state for land they held under their cultivation and enjoyed the right to hold that land so long as they paid the revenue on it.³

These cultivators were not a homogeneous group. They included all resident and non-resident cultivators. Many again were village servants,

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1. *Sialkot District Gazetteer 1883-84*, pp. 53-55.

2. Reply from Major Mercer, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, *Parliamentary Papers, 1870*, vol. 53, p. 458.

3. *Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah S. R., 1883*, para 259, p. 105.

itinerent cultivators or persons who, from a variety of reasons, might have temporarily abandoned their chief occupation, such as tanning and weaving. They usually received from year to year such portions of land as they needed, sometimes from the community, but more often from individual members on condition of becoming responsible for the corresponding portion of the revenue. Sometimes the *Zamindars* received a trifling amount of dues by virtue of their superior rights over lands, but more frequently they shared the produce according to the agreement into which the cultivators entered at the time of taking lands. These cultivators were at liberty to give up the land when they pleased and were also removable at the will of the community or landlord.⁴ There were, however, many other cultivators who were generally not ejected so long as they continued to occupy their lands and to pay their share of the government revenue.⁵ They shared equally with the owners of lands in the proceeds of the common lands, such as the sale of firewood or grass, or grazing dues paid by other villagers. The title of the landlord was preserved by 'the form of demanding the *sirihah* or one-fortieth of the produce,' which usually amounted to only 'a few grains' 'granted as an acknowledgement of holding the land from a superior.'⁶ In some other cases they paid practically no fee, but simply submitted their due shares of the village expenses through their landlords in recognition of their rights over village lands. These cultivators did not claim the 'right of sale or transfer' of their cultivated holdings though 'their right of cultivating possession' could be transmitted to their descendants.

The customary rights enjoyed by these cultivators, however, varied greatly in different parts of the province. In Jullundur, for example, Elphinstone, the Deputy Commissioner, while recognising that 'a specially favoured non-proprietary class of cultivators existed before the introduction of British rule' admitted that the *zamindars* practically enjoyed an 'unlimited and unrestricted' power of evicting them in favour of others. This power was, however often restricted by the interference of the *kardars*, who prohibited the ejectment of industrious cultivators.⁷ In Rawalpindi, on the other hand, these cultivators had no recognised rights. The proprietor was all powerful, ejecting them or changing their holdings

4. *Ibid.*, para 257, p. 103.

5. *Sirsa S. R.*, 1884, para 228, p. 342.

6. *Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah S. R.*, 1883, para 259, p. 105.

7. Reply from H. Elphinstone, Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1870, vol. 53, p. 460.

at pleasure.⁸ Kitchin, in connection with his settlement operations in this part of the province, found that they were completely under the control of their owners.⁹ In Ludhiana also it was in the power of proprietors to evict them. But this was hardly exercised against the cultivators of old standing or those who had broken up uncultivated village lands and had shared with the proprietors the payment of various fines inflicted on the village.¹⁰ Similarly in Lahore, while the proprietors had always the right of evicting a tenant whenever they chose, this was seldom exercised unless the cultivator 'made himself obnoxious.' However, the proprietor was obliged to provide for the efficient cultivation of the land, since otherwise the removal of the cultivator was opposed by the *kardar*.¹¹

In this connection it would be no doubt interesting to investigate the emergence of a 'rent-receiving' group of proprietors and the change in their relationship with the cultivators over the years. In some parts of the Punjab the land revenue demand of the Sikhs was often so high that it practically left no margin for 'rent' and in such cases we do not come across the presence of that group. Again in a few south-eastern districts like Karnal, Delhi and Rohtak, where proprietors and cultivators were often closely related by ties of blood, rent was practically unknown. In Rohtak, when the cultivators were relatives or friends, cultivating the land of a brother, no rent was usually demanded. Similarly in Delhi, in greater part of the area held by tenants, no real rent was paid to proprietors.¹²

However, in other parts of the province where proprietors and cultivators had no kinship ties, the former often received some dues from the cultivators. In Ambala, the settlement officer found that proprietors received 'a trifling recognition of their proprietary right in the form of a *ser* or two in the maund from the produce.'¹³ These dues were often paid under the name of *biswi*, *maliki*, *ismi* and they were mostly taken in produce.¹⁴ In some parts of the province cash dues were also in vogue. In the *Khalsa* villages of the Gujranwala district, the settlement officer found that 'owners who had larger holdings than they could cultivate,

8. Reply from J. E. Cracroft, Commissioner, Rawalpindi Division, *Ibid.*, p. 462.

9. Kitchin's report quoted in *Attock District Gazetteer, 1907*, vol. XXIXA, p. 229.

10. Reply from C. P. Elliot, Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, *Parliamentary Papers, 1870*, vol. 53, p. 461.

11. *Lahore S. R., 1860*, para 51, p. 8.

12. *Delhi S. R., 1889*, para 5, p. 4.

13. *Ambala S. R., 1893*, para 145, p. 78.

14. Reply from Captain Hawkins, Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Muzaffargarh, *Parliamentary Papers, 1870*, vol. 53, 466.

generally let out the excess to tenants for a cash rent equivalent to the State demand.¹⁵

During Sikh rule the status and position of these cultivators and the dues paid by them to their proprietors thus varied greatly from district to district. In the extreme north-western districts like Rawalpindi and Attock, they were under the control of their landlords, while in the south-western districts like Montgomery, where cultivation was insecure and land abundant, they were practically masters of the situation receiving regular advances from the owners. Further, the cultivators had the privilege to hold their lands as long as they paid the revenue to the state, though they were also subjected to eviction by the proprietors. In the submontane and central districts they paid a few dues to their landlords, while in the eastern tracts, they could often evade the same owing to their kinship ties with the *zamindars*.

2. Changes in the position of the cultivators during the early years of British rule :

This situation, however, underwent a gradual change shortly after the annexation with the introduction of British land revenue settlements in the province. Early British revenue officials had practically very little experience about the Punjab land system and they sought to apply to the Punjab the notions about the rights and privileges of cultivators which they had formed in the North-Western Provinces. It seems to have been fairly common in the North-Western Provinces to admit twelve years' uninterrupted possession of a holding at the same rate of rent as a sufficient proof of occupancy rights. This twelve years rule¹⁶ was generally adopted in the early Punjab settlements in districts like Ambala,¹⁷ Lahore,¹⁸ and Gurdaspur,¹⁹ though in many other districts this period was often lowered or raised. Naturally in the absence of definite rules every settlement officer decided such cases as came before him according to his own view of what was right and proper. But many experienced officials held that this length of occupation should not be regarded as the sole criterion of occupancy rights since it was not wholly suited, if not entirely alien, to the customary laws of the province. They, there-

15. *Gujranwala S. R.*, 1894, para III, p. 55.

16. The rule sometimes took the form of twelve years occupation before annexation. *Punjab Settlement Manual* (Lahore, 1899), p. 60.

17. *Southern Parganahs of Ambala S. R.*, 1859, para 311, p. 73.

18. *Lahore S. R.*, 1860, para 50, p. 7.

19. Cust's report on Shakargarh Parganah, Gurdaspur, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1870, *Ibid.*, vol. 53, p. 486.

fore, pointed out that factors like quality or nature of this occupation and local custom of the respective districts should also be taken into account in this matter.²⁰ Consequently, it became an established practice among the settlement officers to draw a distinction between resident cultivator (to whom the term *asami* was sometimes exclusively applied) and non-resident (*pahikast*) cultivators, and to accept twelve years possession as sufficient in the case of the former and twenty years in the case of the latter.²¹

This introduction of this principle of 'occupancy tenancy' was a new thing in the Punjab. During Sikh rule security of possession of holdings on the basis of mere length of occupation was nowhere admitted. Proprietors enjoyed almost an unrestricted right of evicting cultivators of long standing. Most of the early settlement officers were also fully aware of this situation and they, therefore, described this twelve years rule as 'not indigenous' in the Punjab.²² They further pointed out that proprietors in many districts expressed their willingness in getting these cultivators recognised as 'occupancy tenants' in the settlement records and allowed them to hold their lands at the same revenue rates as their own. They were even ready to forego their *malikana* with a view to keeping these cultivators tied to their lands. This happened in many of the central and western Punjab districts across the Chenab during the early years of the first regular settlement. Gujranwala was one such district and the settlement officer also admitted that *malikana* 'is the exception, not the rule, and it rarely, if ever, exceeds 6½ per cent, or one anna in the Rupee.'²³ Besides thinness of population in the context of abundant cultivable land, there were other factors which also led to the granting of occupancy right to cultivators. Soon after the end of Sikh rule the prices of agricultural produces were very low and consequently the proprietors found it difficult to pay in cash the land revenue demand of the summary settlements.²⁴ They were then naturally glad to induce any of their cultivators to share this burden of money demand. Subsequently, when the first regular settlements were introduced, the market for agricultural

20. R. Temple, Financial Commissioner, Punjab's No. 1010, 11 December, 1855, p. 490.

21. *Punjab Settlement Manual*, p. 91.

22. *Jullundur S. R.*, 1851, para 302, quoted in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1870, vol. 53, p. 485.

23. *Gujranwala S. R.*, 1860, para 83, p. 55.

24. Memorandum on the question of hereditary tenants by P.S. Melvill, Offg. Commissioner, Amritsar division, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1870, vol. 53, p. 524.

produces still remained dull and the consequences of the summary settlements still persisted. Actually, in some districts (for example, in Muzaffargarh and Montgomery) where land was abundant and labour scarce, the landlords were eager to concede to the cultivators an occupancy title over their cultivable land.²⁵

During these early years of British rule, the position of these cultivators was further strengthened when the government forbade any alteration of the existing rent rates of cultivators with occupancy rights during the term of settlement. It then frequently appeared that many cultivators only shared revenue on equal terms with the proprietors. In many other cases the landowners also received from cultivators under the name of *malikana*, *biswi* or *ismi*, a trifling share of the produce. The Settlement officers more or less regarded their existing rates of payment as adequate and refused to alter them during the term of the settlement. A general provision to the same effect was also inserted in the Punjab Civil Code.²⁶ 'And the landlord's great distrust of their ability to pay a money demand regularly, no doubt, often led them to willingly acquiesce in these proceedings.'²⁷ In many cases, even no *malikana* was fixed unless the cultivators were shown to have been in the habit of paying *sermani* or some other proprietary due.

As a result of all these measures the position of these cultivators (now often regarded as occupancy tenants) was thus greatly strengthened. Now they were not only entitled to security of possession of their holdings, but also protected against any enhancement of rent during the term of settlement. This favourable position of the 1850s was largely due to the willingness of the proprietors to make cultivators share in the burden of a money demand of the state which they all feared they would fail to pay in the context of a general fall in the prices of all agricultural produces. This condition, however, did not last long. In the early 1860s the cultivators had to face a very different treatment at the hands of their proprietors. The reasons for it are not far to seek.

3. Official attitude to tenancy question in the post-Mutiny years

In the 1860s the internal and the external market of the Punjab's agricultural produces was slowly expanding. The brisk demand brought

25. Muzaffargarh S. R., 1882, para 21, p. 95.

26. 'The rent of the hereditary cultivator cannot be enhanced within the term of settlement beyond the fixed sum or rate, nor can he be ejected so long as he may contract to pay rent.' Punjab Civil Code (1854), Part I, Section XXI, Clause 13, quoted in *The Punjab Settlement Manual*, p. 91.

27. *Ibid.*, para 201, pp. 91-92.

in its train a steady rise of prices of different agricultural produces. There was no longer the general glut that characterised the provincial grain market in the 1850s. Naturally the proprietors were much less anxious now to make cultivators share in the benefits of the system of grain dues paid by the cultivators in recognition of proprietary rights. Consequently, in the context of the rising agricultural prices they were keen on receiving these grain dues wherever they still existed.²⁸

During these years it is, therefore, apparent that a definite shift had taken place in the attitude of the proprietors towards their cultivators. Richard Temple, a veteran Punjab official, while explaining these changes, pointed out that in the early 1850s there was competition for tenants rather than for land; proprietors were then only too happy to record them as occupancy tenants. Subsequently, when the competition 'was coming to be for land, rather than for tenants, the landlord might probably have changed their opinions.'

Many experienced settlement officers during the post-Mutiny years also came to the conclusion that the first regular settlements had largely been erroneous, being based upon Thomason's *Directions for the Settlement Officers* (Agra 1844), intended for the North-Western Provinces and, therefore, largely irrelevant to the Punjab. They believed that the settlement officers of the 1840s constructed the record of rights without reference to the past history and that, by ignoring the existing relationships within the agricultural community, they had committed very real injustice. In the North-Western Provinces two groups of cultivators had been generally recognised—*maurusi* or occupancy or hereditary cultivators and the *ghair-maurusi* or non-hereditary cultivators. The former's status was usually determined by twelve years occupancy, and the officials in charge of the first Punjab settlements recognised many cultivators of twelve years standing as *maurusi*. Since this was inconsistent with the local custom in the Punjab, they wanted this practice modified.

In this background, Prinsep, Settlement Commissioner of the Amritsar Division, started a revision of settlement (1865) in three districts—Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Sialkot. He carried on a detailed investigation into the position of cultivators in these districts and was convinced that a great error had been committed in the matter of recording of hereditary cultivators during the period of the first regular settlements in the early 1850s. He pointed out that out of 60,000 cultivators recorded as 'occupancy tenants' in the old records in these districts, only one in four actually

28. *Rawalpindi S.R. 1865*, para 305, pp. 135-36.

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enjoyed this status. He concluded that the rest were, 'without doubt, erroneously entered;' and 'at this settlement they sought to be rectified.'²⁹ He accordingly sought official sanction to rectify these errors which the statistical tables that he prepared indicated.

Table 1

Actual classification of cultivators (enjoying occupancy rights in Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Sialkot districts by the first regular settlement) as revealed by Prinsep's enquiry.

Classes	Total number	Area in acres
1	2	3
1. Shareholders in village ownership	8,430	35,381
2. Long resident tenants	14,563	89,264
3. Mere village servants	14,498	68,727
4. Relations of proprietors	1,402	9,389
5. Persons holding mortgages	955	7,714
6. Paheekasht or non-residents	10,555	49,335
7. Jagheerdars or revenue free holders	287	1,593
8. Mafeedars	8,038	23,161
9. Religious places	1,758	7,644
10. Trustees and Managers	128	620
Total	60,114 (?)	2,82,788 (?)

Sources : Report by E.A. Prinsep, Settlement Commissioner, Amritsar Division, on the tenant-right question in three districts of Amritsar Division, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1870, vol. 53,p.532.

Table 2

Changes introduced in the status of these cultivators under Prinsep's settlement.

Classes	Number	Area in acres
1	2	3
A. Declared to have occupancy rights	15,547	62,094
B. Lease holders and having no occupancy rights	29,558	1,26,609
C. Tenants-at-will	12,592	55,252
D. Tenants made proprietors	1,253	7,228
E. Tenants who have voluntarily thrown up their holdings	1,935	9,515
Total	63,409 (?)	2,69,445 (?)

Source : Same as Table 1.

29. *Annual Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, 1865-66*, para 77, p. 81.

Prinsep's measures tended to bring about a remarkable change in the position and number of hereditary cultivators in these three districts. He defended his stand on the ground that by granting occupancy rights to nearly 60,000 cultivators the early settlement officers conferred a benefit upon them which was hardly in existence during Sikh rule. This 'conferment' also caused a great harm to the proprietary interest. He pointed out that cultivators (No. 1, 3, and 6 in Table 1), aggregating upwards of 33,000, and cultivating $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of acres, 'are admitted universally to have no rights adverse to the proprietors who gave them their fields to cultivate, under whom they are village menials, and the power to evict whom was always vested in the proprietor by a general local usage, which usage is unmistakable.' Similarly, the cultivators belonging to the group 4 in Table 1, Prinsep pointed out, could hardly claim this occupancy right for they held land on a permissive tenure from proprietors: 'it was expressly agreed that there was to be no surrender of the lands for reasons mutually understood and acknowledged.' Further the group 5 in the same Table 'being merely holders under special terms of mortgages and management, occupancy rights could not arise out of the tenures on which they held such lands.' Under these circumstances the same authority had little hesitation in pointing out that out of 60,000, 36,000 were 'erroneously entered as having right of occupancy,' in the first regular settlement records. His enquiry, however, also suggested that *jagirdars*, *mafidars* and holders of lands attached to various religious institutions could have some claim to occupancy rights. Their holdings amounted to about 10,000 with an aggregate area of 41,000 acres or about one-sixth only.³⁰

While rectifying these errors, Prinsep divided these cultivators into five distinct groups (described as classes by Prinsep in Table 2) and little over 15,500 could claim rights of occupancy (Class A in Table 2). In 'Class B' 29,558 cultivators, holding $1\frac{1}{2}$ lac of acres, were declared to have no permanent occupancy; and in order to prevent their sudden eviction they were brought under leases for fixed periods. In 'Class C,' 12,592 cultivators were found to have been mere tenants-at-will and many of them were *pahikast* or tenants living in neighbouring villages. In 'Class D,' cultivators holding superior status of proprietorship were now placed in their rightful position for they held 'a hereditary property from which they could not be evicted.'³¹ In 'Class E,' tenants occupying 1,935 holdings voluntarily threw up their lands.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*, para 76, p. 81.

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In connection with his enquiry, Prinsep also drew attention to the fact that out of 60,000 holdings nearly 25,000 were recorded as paying no rent since the days of the first regular settlement.

Table 3

Changes in the payment of rent under the first regular settlement and revision of settlement.

Details of how many paid rent and how many did not	Number	Area in acres
1	2	3
By former settlement : Who paid <i>rent</i>	35,407	1,74,872
: Who paid <i>no rent</i>	24,707	1,17,916
By this settlement : Who pay rent in <i>cash</i>	50,209	2,07,916
: who pay rent in <i>grain</i>	7,320	36,762
: who pay <i>no rent</i>	6,490	25,929

Source : Same as Table 1.

This was largely due to two reasons : (i) in many *parganas* the government demand at summary settlements was often inordinately heavy and did not leave sufficient margin for rent; (ii) after the introduction of the first regular settlement the Punjab Civil Code prohibited any enhancement of existing rent rate during the term of settlement. Consequently, the proprietors were made responsible for government revenue while they were practically prevented from securing anything from cultivators in recognition of their rights over lands. Prinsep, therefore, concluded that proprietors faced an extreme economic hardship.³² He accordingly sought to change this state of affairs. He asked a little over 50,000 cultivators to pay rent in cash, 7,320 in grain. Only 6,490 were exempted from rent charges for following reasons : either they were cultivators under the category 3 or 9 in table 1, village servants holding small plots of 1 or 2 acres in lieu of rations and rendering services to the proprietors or they held lands attached to religious places which normally paid no rent. Prinsep thus sought to make good much of the pecuniary losses suffered by landlords since the inception of British rule in the Punjab.

Following Prinsep, Nisbet (Settlement officer) sought to give effects to same principle in Gujranwala. Like Prinsep, he also believed that a

32. *Ibid.*, para 81, p. 81.

great harm was done to the proprietary interests in this district during the period of the first regular settlement and sought to rectify those errors.

Table 4
Abstract of inquiry into the rights of hereditary cultivators
in Gujranwala district.

Name of Tahsil	Tenants recorded as hereditary at last settlement	Number whose status has after inquiry been maintained	Number who have acquired proprietary right	Number declared to have lost the status of hereditary cultivators, who can only hold hereafter as inferior tenants without a protective lease for a term of years
1	2	3	4	5
Gujranwala	1,955	271	1	1,683
Wazirabad	1,897	154	8	1,635
Hafizabad	650	30	...	620

Source : Same as Table 1.

These changes in the status of non-hereditary cultivators have interpreted by some scholars in terms of 'an aristocratic reaction'³³ or of 'an extensive growth of landlord sentiment'³⁴ in the Punjab, as in other Indian provinces, in the post-Mutiny years. According to them Prinsep's intended rectifications of the record of rights of the first regular settlements in the three districts of the province placed him squarely in the tradition of the 'aristocratic reaction' as the Punjab equivalent of Wingfield in Oudh. As far as the Punjab was concerned these remarks were based on an inaccurate reading of the contemporary official records. There is little doubt that Prinsep supported the cause of the landlords as against that of their tenants in the Amritsar Division. But in this tract the word landlord or *zamindar* universally stood for small peasant proprietors with an average of six acres of land at their disposal and tenants held

33. Hambly, G. G., 'Richard Temple and the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1868,' *The English Historical Review*, vol. XXIX, No. CCCX, January 1964, pp. 53-54.

34. Metcalf, T. R., *The Aftermath of Revolt 1857-1870* (Princeton, 1964), p. 202; and also T. R. Metcalf, 'The Struggle over Land Tenure in India, 1860-1868,' *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXI, No. 3, May 1962, p. 307.

only four acres of land. Prinsep, unlike Wingfield, can thus hardly be described as the champion of 'landlord sentiment.' He was more truly a supporter of the small peasant proprietors against their non-hereditary small cultivators and not of landlords akin to big Oudh *talukdars*.

On the other hand, these intended rectifications of the records of rights of the first regular settlements soon 'galvanised' many experienced officials into action. A group of officials headed by Colonel Lake,³⁵ Financial Commissioner and Melvill,³⁶ Officiating Commissioner of the Amritsar Division, were particularly bitter in denouncing these moves. Melvill, for example, could hardly support the revision of tenancy rights contemplated by Prinsep. He had already gathered much experience in tenancy matters in connection with his settlement duty in the southern part of Ambala district. He pointed out that these cultivators bore the difficulties created by the revenue demand in cash in the early years of British rule and proprietors also then showed 'not-uncommonly' an inclination to accord to them 'the perpetual occupancy' status. It would then be grossly unjust, he argued, to withhold those rights which they enjoyed for nearly twenty years and to place them at the capricious and arbitrary whims of their landlords at a time when rising prices made land quite valuable.

While this debate was going on in the Punjab official circle, the Government of India under the Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence took note of it. He openly denounced Prinsep's intended rectifications of the errors of the first regular settlement, of which the main beneficiaries were the cultivating tenants with whose cause he had formerly identified himself in opposition to his brother's (Henry Lawrence's) aristocratic proclivities of the early 1850s. He then strongly favoured settlements of land revenue with peasant proprietors as far as practicable. Naturally now as the Governor-General he was keen on confirming the original aims of the government in the Punjab and he could scarcely ignore the destruction of his life's work in the Punjab. He, accordingly, sought to put an end to this controversy at the earliest possible opportunity. He felt that it would be inexpedient to allow revenue officers conducting the revised settlements in this province to make any radical change in the status of

35. Memorandum by Colonel E. Lake, Financial Commissioner, Punjab, on the 'status' of cultivators in the Amritsar division, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1870, vol. 53, p. 435.

36. Memorandum by P. S. Melvill, Officiating Commissioner, Amritsar division, *Ibid.*, pp. 525-26.

such cultivators as were recorded as having a right of occupancy at the last settlement.³⁷

4. **The Punjab Tenancy Act (Act XVIII of 1868) and the struggle over rent :**

Against this background the Punjab Tenancy Act (Act XVIII of 1868) was passed. Its intention was three-fold—first, to define occupancy right; secondly, to regulate the enhancement of rent; and thirdly, to provide compensation for the eviction of cultivators.

According to the provision of this Act cultivators hitherto recognised as possessing rights of occupancy were presumed to possess such rights until contrary was proved by landlords in a regular suit in a court. In this way although aggrieved landlords could regain their lost rights, only few of them challenged the presumption immediately. The Act further provided that the rent payable by a cultivator with an occupancy right could only be enhanced by a decree of the court. But two clauses protected the interests of *zamindars* : in the first place, no right of occupancy could be acquired by mere lapse of time and secondly, eviction of cultivators with occupancy rights was permitted on payment of compensation.

One immediate effect of the Act was that it nullified the changes in the status of cultivators resulting from the measure of officers like Prinsép and others. Steps were accordingly taken to restore the entries of the first regular settlements; they reinstated in five districts (namely Amritsar, Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore and Sialkot) 63,000 persons to the position of cultivators with occupancy rights who had, under the revised settlement proceedings, been reduced to the position of tenants-at-will.

The significance of this right of occupancy can perhaps be better understood in the context of regional variations of agrarian economy. In some of the south-western districts of the Multan division, agricultural operations were marked by an insecurity of nature, abundance of land and thinness of population. Here cultivators were of a migratory nature and always ready to desert their holdings. As early as 1853 this type of migratory character of these cultivators became a subject of deep anxiety of the revenue officers in the Montgomery district.³⁸ In order to keeping them tied to their lands, proprietors had to provide them with advances at a very liberal rate throughout the year. Again, in many cases, proprietors were also obliged to agree to a lower rate of rent.

37. Note by Sir John Lawrence, Viceroy of India, 30 August, 1866, *Ibid.*, pp.426-28.

38. *Montgomery District Gazetteer, 1883-84*, p. 76.

Even then these cultivators declined to record themselves as hereditary cultivators owing to the insecurity of cultivation. They, as the Commissioner of the Multan division reported, 'do not covet the distinction and prefer to keep themselves free, and sometimes put themselves up to the highest proprietary bidders for their services.'³⁹ Consequently, it would not be wrong to conclude that in this part of the province the granting of occupancy right aiming at security of tenure to cultivators was of little value to them.⁴⁰

On the other hand, in most of the south-eastern districts like Sirsa,⁴¹ Hissar and Rohtak the situation was different. Many of them were descendants of persons who in the past assisted the proprietary body in the foundation of new villages. They were often closely related to the proprietary body by ties of kinship and were allowed to hold land at a nominal rate of rent. Speaking generally, their relationship was quite cordial and they assisted one another in repelling the attacks of common foes during early years of British rule.⁴² But here, with the enforcement of the Tenancy Act of 1868 their relationship gradually changed leading to ill-feeling between them. In this connection, Sirsa district deserves our special attention.

During the first quarter of the 19th century almost the whole of the Sirsa district was a waste land with very few permanent villages. The same field was seldom cultivated for a long time by the same family. However, shortly after the establishment of British rule, cultivators from neighbouring regions gradually started moving there and brought these lands under the plough. These colonists, on first settling in the uncultivated land, were entirely free to cultivate any piece of land that they liked and also to extend his cultivation by breaking up more of the waste land within his township. The only obligation of a cultivator in such new settlements was to pay his proportionate share of the government dues and the common village expenses.⁴³

At the first regular settlement (1852-64) proprietary rights were, however, conferred only on those handful of persons who were selected arbit-

39. Remarks by Colonel G. F. Graham, Commissioner, Multan division, *Extracts from Revenue Report, 1875-76*, p. 35.

40. *Ibid.*

41. It was subsequently abolished and this tract was included within the districts of Hissar and Ferozepore.

42. Memorandum by H.C. Fanshawe, Offg. Junr. Secy., Punjab, Proceedings of Govt. of India, Revenue and Agriculture Dept. (Revenue Branch), May 1885, 20A.

43. *Sirsa S. R., 1884*, para 212, p. 321.

rarily by the Settlement officer from among the general body of cultivators, having an active part in colonising this region. Further it was also decided that 'all land brought under cultivation before 1852 was declared to be held by the cultivator with right of occupancy.' It was then recorded that the area under cultivation 700,289 acres of which only 27 per cent were held by men declared proprietors while nearly 66 per cent were under cultivators with rights of occupancy.

Another important step taken at the time of the first regular settlement was to confine 'the right to break up new land in the prairie, which had hitherto in most villages been exercised by all cultivators indiscriminately, to the few individuals who were declared to be the proprietors of the whole township.'⁴⁴ It was now announced that henceforth no cultivator might bring new land into cultivation except with the consent of the proprietors, who might fix any rent they thought proper. During this period nearly two-thirds of the area of the district was still uncultivated. Consequently, in the next ten years after the settlement about 2,000,000 acres were brought under cultivation. At first proprietors having a moderate demand of the state to meet were glad to see the uncultivated land brought under the plough even at a very light rent, as this meant an addition to their income and they, therefore, imposed no restrictions on the breaking up of the waste by the cultivators. But with the decline of the village waste and the rise of the value of land the proprietors gradually asserted their right and forbade the cultivators to bring more lands under the plough without their prior approval.

In this background the Tenancy Act (1868) was enforced in Sirsa. At first it made no great difference in the state of things. Section 6 of the Act protected all cultivators who at the previous settlement were recorded as having a right of occupancy in the land held by them and, as a matter of fact, till 1870 no cultivator had been evicted from any land held by him so long as he paid the customary rent.⁴⁵

But an important effect of this Act was that it put a stop to the growth of occupancy rights, except by a 'special agreement between the proprietor and the tenant' which was a difficult phrase to interpret. It, however, explicitly declared that a right of occupancy could not be acquired by mere lapse of time, thus forming a marked contrast to the law⁴⁶ in force in the North-Western Provinces (to which Sirsa formerly

44. *Ibid.*, para 225, p. 337.

45. *Ibid.*, para 227, p. 340.

46. E. G. Wace, Settlement Commissioner, Punjab's No. 195, 9 July, 1881, *Report on Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, 1880-81*, Appendix A, para 16, p. vii.

belonged) according to which continuous possession for 12 years gave a cultivator a right of occupancy. But cultivators of this tract were practically unaware of the changes in their position brought about by this Act. They did not know that this legislation had placed a positive check on their right to break up new waste without the prior consent of their proprietors. Their past experiences of the regular settlement period created an impression that in the forthcoming revision of the settlement they would be granted occupancy status over lands they had brought under the plough in the post-regular settlement period. On the other hand, the proprietors were also becoming aware of their new rights under the Tenancy Act. They were (i) the right to withhold sanction of breaking up of new waste lands by tenants; (ii) the right to fix any rent they thought proper over lands recently brought under cultivation after the regular settlement; and (iii) the right to evict tenants on their failure to pay the required rent for the lands they held.

This Act, therefore, deprived the cultivators of some of the important rights hitherto enjoyed by them in connection with the colonisation of this tract. It caused considerable hardship to cultivators who were originally induced to settle by promises of occupancy rights, but who were now unable to produce satisfactory proof of the agreement.⁴⁷ Practically the Act not only strengthened 'the position of the proprietors as regards the uncultivated land and the land broken up by the tenants after the Settlement,' but also prevented 'the growth of occupancy rights in such land, except by express agreement between the proprietor and the tenant.'⁴⁸

One finds here the elements of a potential struggle between proprietors and their cultivators. The latter on the basis of experience claimed occupancy right over lands they had brought under cultivation after the regular settlement, while the former, besides refusing this claim, even contemplated asserting their rights under the Tenancy Act. Proprietors, therefore, claimed the right to enhance rent which 'they thought proper' over the recently broken-up wastes, and, if necessary, to follow up the Tenancy Act regulations in matters of evicting cultivators on grounds of their failure to pay their rent for the lands they held since the days of regular settlement. Their rights had already become quite valuable in view of the rising prices of land, the steady decline in the size of cultivable waste and the competition among cultivators for acquiring these lands.

47. *Ibid.*, 1878-79, para 33, p. 13.

48. *Sirsa S. R.*, 1884, para 227, pp. 340-41.

The approach of a new settlement in 1872 brought this conflict to a head. At the time of the regular settlement, proprietors remembered that there was nearly a 'wholesale grant of occupancy rights' 'to almost all the tenants in the land they then cultivated;' they now 'feared that a similar course might be adopted at the revision of settlement.' They were, therefore, determined to evict their tenants-at-will and thus 'establishing beyond doubt their true status.'⁴⁹ Naturally, under section 23 of the Tenancy Act of 1868, a large number of notices of ejectment were served on the cultivators at the instance of the proprietors. But many cultivators hoped that like the first regular settlement, this revision of settlement might give them occupancy rights over land they held for years. In the neighbouring Native States of Patiala and Bikanir, from which many of the cultivators had come, no one usually thought of ejecting them from the lands they cultivated so long as they paid their required amount of dues. Further the general feeling of the country-side, the settlement officer reported, also discouraged the ejection of a cultivator 'from the land he cultivated, especially if he or his father had broken it up from the prairie.'⁵⁰

All these factors emboldened cultivators. Now they contested by civil suit as the following table shows, (under section 25 of the Tenancy Act) many of the notices of ejectment served on them.

Table 5
Extent of conflict between proprietors and tenants from
1870-71 to 1880-81 (first quarter) in Sirsa district.

Year	Number of notices of ejectment served	Area from which tenants were ejected in acres	Number of suits to contest liability to ejectment
1	2	3	4
1870-71	43		
1871-72	59		
1872-73	92		
1873-74	288		
1874-75	369		
1875-76	394	6,380	254
1876-77	540	9,928	319
1877-78	417	9,797	275
1878-79	366	7,209	215
1879-80	1,031	18,295	589
1880-81 (first quarter)	1,131	12,922	

Source : Report on the position of tenants in the Sirsa district, 15 October, 1880, Proceedings of Govt. of India, Revenue and Agriculture Deptt., (Revenue Branch), June 1882, 4A.

49. *Ibid.*, para 228, p. 341.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

During a period of six years (1875-76 to 1880-81 first quarter), notices of ejectment served on cultivators thus affected 64,531 acres or a sixth of the land held by cultivators without right of occupancy. These numerous ejectment disputes greatly unsettled the cultivators throughout this district and embittered their relationship with the landlords. This bad feeling naturally led to many quarrels and prompted some of them to leave their lands which they had brought under the plough. In many cases after the ejectment proceedings had been concluded in the proprietor's favour, cultivators were allowed to remain in possession of the land at a higher rent,⁵¹ or at a rent in kind instead of in cash, or were given other land in place of that from which they had been ejected. The following verse clearly expresses the grievances and miseries of these cultivators.

*Raiyat malika shah di hoi bahut hairan
Khus gaya hak assamiyan hoiya zulm tamam
Wakif na kanoon de ahe eh anjan
Agge kisi na badshah aisa kita kam
Is ilaqa vich sa eh riwaj pachhan
Jo koi vahe zamin kabja usda jan
Hala hissa devanda oh rahe madam
Lakkar sota ghas bhi jo sarkari kam
Dende zamidar san varo var tamam
Manji juli devande te sarkar godam
Eh raiyat sarkar di haigi khas ghulam
Itni hairani utha ke hon kirti hairan
Kabja kasht khohna haiga bara ziyan.⁵²*

[The Queen's subjects are much distressed. The tenant has been deprived of his rights, great injustice has been done. Alas ! these ignorant people were not aware of the law. Hitherto no king has acted so. In this neighbourhood this was the rule that whoever broke up land should hold it, regularly paying rent in cash or in kind. The tenant gave, each in his turn, wood and grass and whatever was required, sleeping-cots, bedding and supplies. These are Sarkar's subjects and serfs. After enduring such hardship they are now distressed. It is indeed great injustice to take away land from the tenant.']

51. Remarks by Trafford, Deputy Commissioner, Sirsa, *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, 1881-82*, Appendix A 6, para 12.

52. *Sirsa S. R.*, 1884, para 228, p. 345.

The struggle over rent between proprietors and their cultivators was scarcely confined to Sirsa. To have a better understanding of this problem three important districts may be selected—two from eastern Punjab (viz., Gurgaon and Hissar) and one from the submontane tract, namely, Hoshiarpur.

In Gurgaon, for example, before the revision of the settlement (1872) the great majority of cultivators paid their rent at the customary rate (this was often below the revenue rate). This had its origin in the days when land was plenty and cultivators were scarce. The government land revenue demand was then often so high that proprietors in many villages were glad to get cultivators to join them in cultivating the village lands and allowed them to share in all the profits of the farm on condition of sharing in all the losses. In most cases they were recorded as cultivators with hereditary status, but often they were termed as non-hereditary cultivators.

But with the rising value of land, proprietors of most of such villages seized the opportunity of the expiry of the regular settlement to get rid of these cultivators and to assume all the responsibilities and advantages of the farm themselves.⁵³ Under the revision of the settlement there was now an increase in the revenue demand from land. The proprietors in consequence insisted on a higher rate of rent.⁵⁴ They were particularly active in Palwal *tahsil* where the value of land had greatly risen owing to the opening of the Agra Canal. 'The Deputy Commissioner remarks that the landlords are in consequence attempting to eject as many old tenants paying at customary rents as they can, in order to lease their lands to new tenants at higher rents.'⁵⁵ Besides demanding a higher rate of rents, there is also evidence that rents in kind were giving place to cash rents in all the five *tahsils* of this district.⁵⁶

This attempt on the part of proprietors was naturally disliked by cultivators holding lands at privileged customary rents. They were reluctant to admit the demands of the proprietors and 'a conflict between landlords and tenants has accordingly arisen.'⁵⁷ Consequently in 1875-76 proprietors resorted to ejectment suits against them.⁵⁸ In the

53. *Gurgaon District Gazetteer, 1883-84*, p. 60.

54. *Gurgaon S.R., 1882*, Section 90, p. 71.

55. *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, 1877-78*, para 30, p. 15.

56. *Gurgaon S.R., 1884*, para 57, p. 91.

57. *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, 1875-76*, para 96, p. 35.

58. *Ibid.*

succeeding years also proprietors continued to stick to this policy and it was only in the late 1870s, that the number of notices of ejectment tended to decline when these cultivators agreed to come to terms on condition of paying higher rate of rent. In 1883 the Settlement officer found that a general increase of average rent had taken place in almost every circle of this district. He then also found that much land entered at the settlement as paying rent in kind, was then paying rent in cash; and 'that much land which then paid rent varying directly with the land revenue now pays a lump rent or one fixed without much reference to the assessment.' Thus in 274 villages at the settlement (about 1876), 80,326 acres rents aggregating Rs. 1,78,289 and averaging Rs. 2-4 per acre, and in 1881-82 in the same villages 81,903 acres paid rents aggregating Rs. 2,01,042 and averaging Rs. 2-7.

In Hissar also the conflict between proprietors and cultivators came out into the open when the tenure of the regular settlement was about to end by the close of the 1880s. During this period large number of cultivators had been in possession of their holdings for long and considered their status to be little less than that of cultivators with occupancy status. Landlords remembered the somewhat summary creation of occupancy tenures in the settlement of 1863. Now when the revision of the regular settlement was about to be undertaken, they feared that many cultivators might claim a superior status because of their length of occupation, prejudicing their own interests. They also feared that the land revenue demand would be considerably enhanced in this new settlement. The result was that they thought it best to enhance rents wherever they could, and at the same time, by issuing notices of ejectment, and thereby getting an enhanced rent, they sought to prove that the cultivators had no occupancy rights. On the other hand, many of these cultivators objected to an enhancement of rent.⁵⁹

During these years preceding the revision of settlement (1887), the largest number of ejectment notices occurred in the district of Hissar. But cultivators could successfully contest the claims of the proprietors only in a limited number of cases. In 1882-83, for example, cultivators were ejected from 41,611 acres; 61 suits to contest ejectment were decided during the year, but only in one did the tenant succeed.⁶⁰ Similarly in 1884-85, the area from which cultivators were ejected without resort on

59. Remarks by A. Anderson, Commissioner, Hissar division, *Extracts from the Revenue Reports, 1888-89*, p. 45.

60. *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, 1882-83*, para 93, p. 39.

their part to the court was 1,09,799 acres, while the area from which ejectments were made after suits brought unsuccessfully by cultivators to contest their liability to ejectment was only 1,009 acres⁶¹ (or less than 1 per cent). Taken as a whole, during these years, as the settlement officer noted, nearly 75 per cent of the ejectment notices of this period were settled against the tenants⁶² and naturally in most cases it led to enhancement of rents.

Table 6
Number of notices of ejectment issued in Hissar
from 1878-79 to 1886-87

Year	Punjab	Hissar	Acres from which ejectment were made
1	2	3	4
1878-79	4,780	606	...
1879-80	5,782	1,347	18,722
1880-81	7,996	3,116	43,168
1881-82	10,659	3,213	45,336
1882-83	9,483	2,872	41,611
1883-84	7,842	1,359	18,249
1884-85	14,364	7,627	1,10,808
1885-86	9,265	2,368	...
1886-87	15,246	6,847	...

Source : *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab 1880-81*, para 50, p. 23; *Ibid.*, 1884-85, para 82, p. 27 and *Ibid.*, 1886-87, para 32, p. 14.

Table 7
The extent of rise of rent of wheat per acre during the decade
(1874-75 to 1884-85) preceding the revision of settlement in
Hissar (the highest rates compared).

Year	Irrigated			Unirrigated		
1	2			3		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1874-75	6	0	9	1	2	0
1884-85	7	8	0	6	0	0

Source : *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, 1874-75*, *Ibid.*, 1884-85, Table XXIXA.

61. *Ibid.*, 1884-85, para 82, p. 27.

62. *Hissar S. R.*, 1893, para 108, p. 57.

This striking success of the landlords in raising their rent was due to several circumstances. In the first place, the revision of the settlement resulted in an increased land revenue demand; the proprietors felt justified in revising their existing rental demand at the approach of a revision of settlement. Secondly, many of these ejectment notices were served on tenants with whom the proprietors had no ties of kinship which might have operated as an important constraint on the increase of their rental demand. Finally, during this period years like 1878-79, 1879-80 and 1884-85 were marked by a general scarcity, crop failure and famine in districts like Hissar and Gurgaon. Naturally cultivators in distress thought it prudent to come to terms with their proprietors and to prevent their actual dispossession from their land by submitting to an enhancement of rent.

Almost during the same period in Hoshiarpur, proprietors, however, had to face stiff resistance from the cultivators in their attempts to revise the rental demand. It soon gave rise to a protracted conflict : it generated so much of 'a deep class hostility'⁶³ that tenancy became 'a burning question of the district.'⁶⁴

During the period of the regular settlement (1850-52), Hoshiarpur district was exceptionally situated in respect of the number of holdings with occupancy right and paying rents at revenue rates (with or without the addition of a cash *malikana*). There were in the district 47, 778 holdings of this kind with an area of 90,000 acres. Reckoning by holdings, this was nearly one-seventh of the whole number of occupancy tenancies paying rent in this manner which existed in the Punjab.⁶⁵ A fourth of these tenancies paid no rent except the government's demand viz., revenue, cesses and local rates on their holdings. The remaining three-fourths only paid a small *malikana*, not usually exceeding two annas per rupee of government revenue, and generally only half of this.⁶⁶

These tenures included a large portion of the richest lands in the district, and their holdings were among the sturdiest and most skilful of the agriculturists, namely, Jats, Arains and Sainis. Many of them had proprietary rights in other lands and in order to eke out a livelihood they added to their holdings by undertakings the cultivation of the surplus

63. Remarks by Colonel H. W. H. Coxe, Commissioner, Jullundur Division, *Extracts from the Revenue Reports, 1872-73*, pp. 7-8.

64. *Hoshiarpur S. R.*, 1885, para 165, p. 155.

65. Settlement of the Hoshiarpur district, Proceedings of Govt. of India, Revenue and Agriculture Dept. (Revenue Branch), May 1890, 30-32A.

66. *Ibid.*

land of the larger proprietors. They were peculiarly tenacious of the rights over land they held for long at privileged rates. It was perhaps largely due to the fact that here in this district 'the class of landlords and tenants' was 'one and the same,' and there was practically no 'sharply defined class of tenants from the landlord class.'

In Hoshiarpur, as it was in other districts, the approaching termination of the regular settlement leading to new assessment (1879-85), the rising value of land and the steady competition among cultivators to add to their holdings placed proprietors at an advantageous position to deal with them. It was feared that with the introduction of a revised land revenue settlement, landlords would no longer allow these cultivators to pay the existing rate of rent. Actually the 'great majority of occupancy tenants all over the district' hitherto 'paid only nominal rents, viz., at revenue rates plus 10 or 12 per cent on the revenue as *malikana*.' But the 'ruling cash rents in all the plain *tahsils*,' reported the settlement officer, 'are now so high that it will be difficult to avoid decreeing the proprietors a rent in which *malikana* will amount to 200 to 300 per cent on the Government revenue.'⁶⁷ Naturally the landlords in general sought to enforce their claims to this higher rent; and cultivators on their part resisted such claims as far as possible. Already in the early 1870s their relations had become strained over their respective rights to the produce of the trees grown on the lands of the cultivators.⁶⁸

In this background the landlords' attempt to enforce a general enhancement of rent was expected to lead to further ill-feelings. The existing Tenancy Act empowered the landlords to raise the rents of the occupancy tenants by about 15 to 50 per cent which the latter did not hesitate to challenge at the earliest possible opportunity. It was estimated that by 1882-83 already 619 tenancy cases were pending for disposal while many more were expected to come very shortly. The Commissioner of Settlement feared that a prolonged litigation would follow and that 'the courts would be flooded with hundreds, not improbably thousands, of these cases.' In many cases, however, an enhancement of more than 66 per cent was already decreed in favour of proprietors and these cases were often settled in the district courts in a very perfunctory manner

67. Note by Captain J. A. L. Montgomery, Settlement Officer, Hoshiarpur district, *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, 1881-82*, Appendix A 4, para 8.

68. Remarks by Colonel H. W. H. Coxe, Commissioner, Jullundur division, *Extracts from the Revenue Reports, 1872-73*, p. 8.

causing an immense hardship to 'scores of tenants with valuable occupancy rights' and many of whom even left the district for Native States.⁶⁹

The local revenue officials, being greatly alarmed, drew the attention of the government to all these cases. They pointed out that agricultural prosperity of this district largely depended on the 'maintenance of harmony between the several classes composing the agricultural population,' whereas these litigations had produced 'a state of uncertainty which prevents things from settling down.' Accordingly they, including the Commissioner of Settlement, wanted the government to intervene. 'It is obvious that,' it was pointed out, 'unless the law is altered, same difficulties will arise in other districts now under settlement as those which have arisen here.'⁷⁰

5. **The Punjab Tenancy Act (Act XVI of 1887) and subsequent phases of enhancement of rent :**

The new Tenancy Act was soon put into effect. Under the provision of this Act the measure of enhancement of rent was fixed by a scale expressed in terms of the land revenue assessed on the holding varying from a maximum enhancement of 2 to 12 annas per rupee of land revenue according to the class to which each occupancy tenant might belong. The wording of the third ground of section 11 of the Act of 1868 left so much room for disputing in individual cases that the matter could scarcely be governed by a few decisions at court. Now the provisions of the new Act as amended (Section 22, Act XVI of 1887) afforded little ground for dispute or for appeal from the courts of first instance. It was, therefore, assumed that when a few test cases had been decided, landlords and their cultivators would find it to their advantage to come to terms on the basis of the scales of enhancement laid down in this Act. Accordingly, these tenancy cases of Hoshiarpur district were settled under the provisions of this new Act. In 1889, for example, 6,408 suits for enhancement of rent were decided out of which decrees of enhancement were given in 6,241 cases.⁷¹ The rents of 14,423 holdings of cultivators with occupancy rights were fixed by these decrees and their rate of enhance-

69. Remarks by Lieutenant Colonel Gordon Young, Commissioner, Jullundur division, *Extracts from the Revenue Reports, 1882-83*, p. 49.

70. Extracts from the Abstract of the Proceedings of the Governor-General of India, assembled for the purpose of the making Laws and Regulations, June 23, 1886, Legislative Department, October 1887, 126-163A.

71. According to another estimate the correct figures would be that 6,405 suits were decided, out of which in 6,233 cases enhancement was decreed. *Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer, 1904*, vol. XIII A, p. 125.

ment varied from 1 anna to 12 annas per rupee.⁷²

This process of enhancement of rent practically continued till the close of the century. One of its striking features was the way in which cash rents were displacing kind rents in many circles, such as the Sirwal and Bakkar circles of the Hoshiarpur and Garshankar *tahsils*. According to the Settlement officer this increasing popularity of cash rents was 'a sign of prosperity and of competition among tenants for lands to cultivate as they are paid irrespective of the season and quality of the crops.'⁷³ The following statement prepared at the time of the second revised settlement (1910-14) compares the average normal cash rent per acre in each circle with what it was at the last settlement (1879-84).

Table 8
Changes in average rent rate per acre in each circle in three
tahsils of Hoshiarpur district during the period
from 1879-84 to 1910-14.

Name of the circle	Dasuya			Hoshiarpur			Garshankar		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
	a	b		a	b		a	b	
1	2	3		4	5		6	7	
Sirwal	9 0 9	18 8 0		11 5 5	19 14 9		11 7 4	20 14 3	
Rakkar	None	2 15 9		7 15 0	14 9 2		7 8 6	14 14 7	
Kandi	None	4 3 0		2 15 0	4 8 7		6 0 10	10 3 4	
Maira	3 2 3	6 9 0		...	...		...	...
Bet	3 4 0	10 4 0		...	...		5 13 10	14 8 7	
Bit	...	...		...	...		2 15 10	6 8 9	

a. first revised settlement.

b. second revised settlement.

Source: *Hoshiarpur S. R.*, 1915, para 34, p. 26.

Within a period of 30 years, generally speaking, cash rents thus nearly doubled in all the circles of this district by the time of the second revised settlement. The widespread migration of landowners to canal districts leaving their ancestral holdings in the hands of cultivators at cash rents had perhaps much to do with this. It is also interesting to note that, in the case of the Dasuya *tahsil*, the same period witnessed a gradual decline in the per centage of area cultivated on cash rents in every

72. Settlement of the Hoshiarpur district, Proceedings of Govt. of India, Revenue and Agriculture Dept. (Revenue Branch), May 1890, 30-32A.

73. *Hoshiarpur S. R.*, 1915, para 25, p. 20.

circle except Sirwal. This was generally ascribed to the relatively greater backwardness of this *tahsil* and the greater prevalence of the unenterprising owners of land with large holdings. They were Gujar, Pathan and Rajput *zamindars* who preferred kind rent because of a general rise in the agricultural prices. Further in this *tahsil* a considerable amount of cultivable holdings passed into the hands of money-lenders, universally regarded as avaricious grain dealers of this tract over many years. They also must have found it convenient to collect rent in kind with a view to carry on their grain trade in the rural society.

Rent rate also rose steadily in other parts of the province. In Hissar, for example, towards the close of the century there had been rise in the rates of cash rent since Anderson's settlement (1887-92). As early as 1891-92 it was found that in four *tahsils* (Hissar, Hansi, Fatehabad and Bhiwani) of this district the average cash rent on irrigated land was Rs. 1-1-7 per acre while in 1897-98 it averaged Rs. 2-12-0, or the rate nearly doubled in course of these years. This steady rise of cash rent was explained by the Deputy Commissioner in terms of the increase of irrigated area as well as of the improvement in canal alignments⁷⁴ which brought in their train an additional security of cultivation in an insecure tract.

In Rohtak both produce rents and cash rents increased steadily since the settlement (1890). At the settlement the former varied from one-fourth to one-third according to the class and quality of the land; but at the close of the century one-third to one-half was generally taken, the latter being the rate for *chahi* and *nahri*, the former for *barani*. During the same period cash rents also increased from 4 to 8 annas to Rs. 1-2-0 per acre.⁷⁵ While reviewing its causes, the Deputy Commissioner found that owing to less recruitment as well as to the disbandment of some Jat regiments the demand for land had greatly increased and this led to a general rise in the rent rates in the district.⁷⁶

Similarly in some of the central districts of the province, rent rate, more particularly the grain rent, showed signs of a definite increase towards the close of the century. In Amritsar, for example, the District Officer found that this increase was more marked since 1895-96 when famine and scarcity compelled many cultivators to pay, in place of cash,

74. Remarks by P. D. Agnew, Deputy Commissioner, Hissar, *Extract from the Reports, 1897-98*, p. 39.

75. Remarks by Captain P. Burton, Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak, *Ibid.*, 1897-98, p. 39.

76. Remarks by Lieutenant Colonel Rennick, Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak, *Ibid.*, 1891-92, p. 56.

a produce rent. He furnished the following statistical table showing the increase of the area under produce rent since the time of the revised settlement in 1892.

Table 9
Increase of the area under produce rent in acres.

Year	Irrigated area of tenants paying rent in kind	Unirrigated area of tenants paying rent in kind	Total area of tenants paying rent in kind
1	2	3	4
1892-93	80,744	49,243	129,987
1893-94	80,377	50,914	131,291
1894-95	81,910	53,027	134,937
1895-96	87,426	55,284	142,710
1896-97	91,156	57,360	148,516
1897-98	94,346	58,401	152,747

Source : Remarks by W. Chevis, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, *Extracts from the Revenue Reports, 1897-98*, p. 40.

6. A few constraints in the rise of rent in some parts of the province :

In spite of this general rise in the rate of rents, however, landlords had not a few constraints to face in this. In the first place, insecurity of cultivation due to irregular rainfall operated as a definite check to the rise of rent in some of the south-western districts of the province. In Montgomery, for example, cultivators were regarded as masters of the situation⁷⁷. They were universally of a migratory nature and were ready to desert their holdings whenever there was a failure of the *sailab* from the Ravi. In many cases *zamindars* were obliged to take a lower rate of rent from them and extend advances, both in kind and cash, in order to keep them in good humour.⁷⁸ Similarly in some parts of the Pathankot *tahsil* (Gurdaspur district) proprietors had to proceed very cautiously in dealing with their tenants who were mostly immigrants from Jammu or *Shakar-garh tahsil*. The Chak Andhar circle of this *tahsil* was particularly known for its unhealthy climate (often causing malaria) and the improvident habits of the proprietors (who were mostly Rajputs). It was surrounded by

77. *Montgomery S. R.*, 1899, para 37, p. 28.

78. Remarks by P. J. Fagan, Deputy Commissioner, Montgomery, *Extracts from the Revenue Reports, 1893-94*, p. 30.

the Bet Ravi and Maira Kiran circles of the Gurdaspur *tahsils* where lands were more fertile and protected by good well-irrigation. Naturally the lands of Chak Andhar were comparatively in little demand among cultivators. The proprietors of this circle, therefore, by way of inducement, had to allow them to hold lands at a lower rate of cash rent than it was prevalent in other adjoining circles of the same district.⁷⁹

Secondly, the customary relations between *zamindar* and cultivator also often tended to check an increase, of rents in a number of districts of the province. In some parts of Rohtak where cultivators were closely related to the proprietary body by ties of kinship no rent was practically taken till the revision of settlement. Their relation was generally cordial and they assisted one another in repelling the attacks of common foes during the early years of British rule.⁸⁰ In a number of north-western districts like Rawalpindi and Jhelum, the District Officers came across a widespread prevalence of customary rent even towards the close of the century when the rent rate was steadily rising elsewhere in the Punjab. Thus speaking about the rent rate, the Settlement officer of the Jhelum district pointed out that the present cash rent of this district had not reached the pitch which the Tenancy Act permitted in other districts like Hoshiarpur. Competitive kind rent was hardly known in this district. It was fixed by custom and uniform over large areas. No one even attempted to enhance the existing customary rate of rent and it was always the same for 'all classes of tenants.'⁸¹ Occasionally, however, their relationship became strained, when landlords tried to enforce on the cultivators an appraisement of the value of the produce, which the latter did not consider fair. In such cases trouble could be avoided if the landlords gave up the practice of *kankut* or appraisement and agreed to divide the actual produce on the threshing floor. Apart from these cases their relationship was 'fairly good'⁸² and this perhaps largely explains the continuance of customary rent in Jhelum even at the beginning of the present century.

In Rawalpindi also, in view of closer cooperation and understanding with their cultivators at the different levels of rural society, the proprietors could scarcely afford to be avaricious and grasping in relations to

79. *Gurdaspur S. R.*, 1912, para 40, p. 19.

80. Memorandum by H. C. Fanshawe, Offg. Jr. Secy., Punjab, Proceedings of Govt. of India, Revenue and Agriculture Deptt. (Revenue Branch), May 1885, 20A.

81. *Jhelum S. R.*, 1883, para 203, p. 152.

82. *Jhelum District Gazetteer*, 1904, vol. XXVIA, p. 233.

their cultivators. They shared their misery and happiness⁸³ and usually did not try to disturb the existing rate of rent prevailing in this part of the province. In some cases, however, avaricious money-lenders were trying to raise the existing customary rent rate and this was particularly evident in Talagang *tahsil* where they held a considerable tract of land. But this process of change was a slow one and, therefore, yet to become the established pattern of agrarian relations between *zamindars* and their cultivators in this part of the province.

Finally, the new canal irrigation in the central Punjab *bar* lands also had an important restraining influence on the rise of rent rates in the adjoining *tahsils* or districts. In districts like Gujranwala canal irrigation brought in its train an increased security of cultivation and a sudden influx of cultivators from the neighbouring tracts. Towards the close of the century this migration occurred on such a big scale that even in some parts of the densely populated submontane districts like Jullundur or Hoshiarpur landowners occasionally faced difficulty procuring sufficient number of cultivators to plough village lands. They, 'as a rule, are only too anxious to keep them on, specially in Jullundur and Hoshiarpur, whence large numbers have emigrated to the Chenab Canal tracts, tempted by better prospects, and rents are falling in consequence.'⁸⁴ Similarly the progress of colonization work attracted cultivators in great numbers from the Charkhari circles of Gujranwala and Sialkot; a large scale emigration of *zamindars* (being selected as peasant colonists), also took place during this period. This had a significant effect on the rise of rent in this part of the province. Previously here in the more densely populated and highly cultivated villages the competition for land among cultivators was so great that it enabled landlords to increase rent considerably. They claimed rents which were in some cases as high as six maunds of wheat per acre, which could only be paid in full in good years. Now with this large scale migration of cultivators towards the canal tracts, the competition for land decreased to a great extent. Consequently, the rents also 'have shown a tendency to fall' owing to the diminished supply of cultivators.⁸⁵

7. Concluding remarks :

It is, therefore, evident that the rise in rent rate was subject to a number of constraints towards the close of the century. However, in

83. Kitchin's report quoted in *Attock District Gazetteer, 1907*, vol. XXIXA, pp. 229-30.

84. Remarks by Colonel C. M. Massy, Commissioner, Jullundur division, *Extracts from the Revenue Reports, 1895-96*, p. 73.

85. Remarks by O' Dwyer, Deputy Commissioner, Gujranwala, *Ibid.*, 1891-92, p. 57.

general rent rates were steadily increasing in most of the districts of the province in consequence of the high prices and the increased competition for land towards the close of the last century.

The rise in rent presumably increased the income of *zamindars*. However, to what extent they invested a part of this income in the cultivation of their own lands, is extremely difficult to conclude. The capitalist grantees of the Chenab Canal Colony, for example, ultimately turned out to be absentee owners and mere rent-receivers in their colony holdings. Originally they were given land to promote by example and precept, as well as by the outlay of money and brains, the commercial development of this new colony tract.⁸⁶ However, nowhere did they make genuine effort to invest their capital or to exert their energy in the improvement of the central *bar* lands. They were practically a parasitic group of landholders and 'came to regard their colony holdings as nothing more than a source of profit, upon which as little as possible was to be expended.'⁸⁷ As far back as 1895 Captain Popham Young, Colonization Officer, found that these owners usually lived away from their holdings and paid very little attention to their cultivation, and that their relations with the cultivators were marked by endless dissensions and ill-feelings. Under these circumstances, he concluded, they could hardly be expected to be natural leader of this tract or to play the role of enterprising landlords which the government expected from them. Similarly in very many cases *sahukars*, who occupied a sizable area of the alienated holdings in the submontane districts, had also no better performance to their credit. They were often grain-dealers, bankers of the towns and chiefly kept themselves busy in their trade. They showed very little interest in the improvement of cultivation. Their favourite idea, as the Settlement officer of Gurdaspur put it, was to leave the old proprietor, especially if the latter belonged to some good cultivating groups, in possession, as they knew that, to avoid expropriation, the old owner would pay a higher rent than a new cultivator, who would 'only pay a customary rent prevailing in the neighbourhood.'⁸⁸ In the Jagadhri *tahsil* (Ambala) also *sahukars* were mostly bankers of the town and they were equally greedy and unenterprising and had no plans for the improvement of cultivation. Naturally the

86. *Chenab Colony S. R.*, 1915, para 8, p. 5.

87. *Ibid.*, para 132, p. 65.

88. L. W. Dane, Settlement Collector, Gurdaspur's No. 4, 4 January, 1889, Proceedings of Govt. of India, Revenue and Agriculture Dept. (Revenue Branch), December 1891, 10-11A.

future of this *tahsil* appeared bleak to the Settlement officer.⁸⁹

However, the landholders were not invariably a mere parasitic group. The Punjab was a land of small peasant proprietors and in the greater part of the province, the bulk of the land was held and cultivated by the proprietors themselves in whole or in part.⁹⁰ Unlike the capitalist grantees of the canal colony or the *sahukars* of the submontane districts, they showed a keen interest in the better management of their holdings. Broadly speaking, proprietors belonging to the Jat, Arain, Ahir and Mahatom communities were almost universally regarded as enterprising *zamindars*, many of whom amassed a considerable amount of wealth through various channels, viz., trade and money-lending, which they often invested in land. Of all these proprietary communities, the Jats in particular dominated the land market of the central Punjab districts like Ludhiana, Ferozepore and Jullundur towards the close of the century. In many cases these enterprising Jat *zamindars* also did not hesitate to take up the lands of other unenterprising *zamindars* to supplement their income from lands and thus could manage 'to reap the profits both of landlord and of cultivator.'⁹¹ On the other hand, the unenterprising Rajput *zamindars*, who were often too proud to till the land themselves, 'but cultivated through the agency of servants,'⁹² or leased out their land to tenants, could not expect to enjoy the full benefits of this rent-rise. Their cost of cultivation was naturally always higher and frequently they had to part with a large share of the out-turn of their fields by way of payment of different expenses.⁹³ In the submontane districts they were by common consent, writes Darling, the worst cultivators, while in the eastern hills their prejudice against the plough was so great that they took to it only in extreme urgency. The supineness of the Rajput owners prompted them to collect rent often in cash⁹⁴ thereby depriving them of

89. *Karnal-Ambala S. R.*, 1891, para 30, p. 19.

90. *Punjab Administration Report, 1872-73*, para 30, p. 11.

91. *Jullundur District Gazetteer, 1883-84*, p. 39.

92. This practice of leaving out cultivation in the hands of servants caused a great economic loss to proprietors and this finds mention in the following proverb :

Uttam kheti ap seti, madam kheti bhai seti,

Nikhid kheti nokar seti, vigar gai tan bala seti.

[Farming is best if the owner himself looks after it;

It is middling, if his brother looks after it;

It is the worst if a servant looks after it;

If it is damaged who cares ?]

93. *Hoshtarpur District Gazetteer, 1904*, vol. XIII A, p. 54.

94. *Gurdaspur S. R.*, 1912, para 40, p. 19.

the possible benefits of grain rent in the context of the rising prices of different agricultural produces.

The increased rental income thus did not necessarily lead to an increased investment in the improvement of agriculture. The capitalist grantees of the canal colony or the *sahukars* of the submontane districts solely kept themselves satisfied with receiving this high rent rate and did practically nothing toward making any improvement in cultivation. Similarly the unenterprising Rajput *zamindars* of the eastern hills could hardly benefit by this rise in rent, for they had to give away a sizable portion of the out-turn of their fields in payment of various expenses incurred throughout the year. But unlike the *sahukars* of the submontane districts or the capitalist grantees of the Chenab Canal Colony, the enterprising proprietary communities like the Jats were not always parasitic groups. Many of them invested a part of their additional income in land purchase or trade in agricultural produces.

The Kukas A Millenarian Sect of the Punjab

W.H. MCLEOD

During the first four decades of the nineteenth century Sikh fortunes prospered. The anarchy which had afflicted the Punjab during most of the preceding century had given way to the strong centralized dominion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Ruling in the name of the Sikh community and ostensibly as its servant, Ranjit Singh had extended the boundaries of his Punjab kingdom as far as Kashmir, the Khyber Pass and Multan. These conquests were completed by 1824 and for the remaining years of Ranjit Singh's reign the Punjab enjoyed an unaccustomed peace. Throughout the turbulent years of the eighteenth century the Sikh community (the Khalsa) had been sustained by the confident assurance that 'the Khalsa shall reign' (*rāj karegā Khālsā*). ...

Others, however, were troubled. The ascent to military and political power seemed to them to have been accompanied by a corresponding decline from the true glory of the Sikh faith. The Sikh Gurus had insisted on absolute primacy of devotion to God. Where now was the fervent, regular remembrance of the divine Name upon which they had laid such unyielding stress, and where the disciplined purity of life which must inescapably characterize the true believer? These questions became increasingly acute as the Sikh kingdom slipped into confusion and defeat during the decade following the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839.

One of the troubled was Balak Singh, a resident of Hazro in the north-western corner of Ranjit Singh's domain. Balak Singh had been influenced by another teacher, Jawahar Mal. Like his master, Balak Singh exhorted his followers to return to the simple religious message of the Gurus and in accordance with this message he taught a strict doctrine of salvation through meditation on the *nām* (the divine Name). The sect which was established in the manner has been known by a variety of names. Whereas Balak Singh evidently referred to his followers as Jagiasis,¹ their modern descendants prefer the title Namdhari,

1. *Jagiasi*, 'worshipper,' from *jagya* or *yaga*, 'sacrifice,' 'offering.' In some references the title used is *Abhiasi* (*abhiasi*, 'students' 'one who meditates or devoutly repeats a sacred *mantra*,' from *abhis*, 'study, meditation, repetition').

'Adherents of Divine Name.' Between the earlier and later periods, and particularly during the sect's brief years of prominence, the term most commonly used (at least by outsiders) was Kuka, or 'Crier.' The impact of Balak Singh's personality was evidently considerable, for by the time he died in 1862 he had been recognized by his followers as the eleventh Guru.² At his death he was succeeded as leader of the sect by Ram Singh, a disciple who had fallen under his spell while serving as a soldier in the army of Ranjit Singh's successors.

Ram Singh transferred the Kuka centre from Hazro to his own village of Bhaini in Ludhiana district and at once the sect began to grow rapidly, both in the numbers and in prominence. Barely six months after Balak Singh's death, the Assistant District Superintendent of Police at Attock drew attention to the sudden change.

Though the sect seems to have failed in the neighbourhood of Hazro since Balak Singh's death it has thriven in the most remarkable manner in the district adjoining the home of his more energetic successor.³

In his comments on this and other police reports Mr. T.D. Forsyth, Officiating Secretary to the Punjab Government, mentioned that Ram Singh's activities had first been detected in April 1863.⁴ Eight years later

2. According to orthodox Sikh belief the unbroken succession of Ten Gurus extending from Nanak (1469-1539) to Gobind Singh (1666-1708) represented the embodiment of a single divine spirit in ten human bodies. Gobind Singh's sons had all predeceased him and according to Sikh tradition he had declared that at his death the spirit which had inhabited the ten bodies would thereafter dwell in the corporate community and in the sacred scripture. The belief which emerged amongst the followers of Balak Singh assumed a resumption of human form by the divine spirit. In Sikh usage the title 'Guru' signifies this divine spirit and within the community it could not be applied to a mere mortal, however, pious or enlightened he might be.
3. From a report dated 12 June, 1863, included in *Memoranda regarding Gooroo Ram Singh, of a new sect of Sikhs, 'Jagiasis'*, compiled by J.W. Younghusband, Officiating Inspector-General of Police, 28 June, 1863, reproduced in Nahar Singh, *Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1965, I, 1. Nahar Singh's work is a comprehensive collection of government documents covering the period 1863-1881, most of them drawn from the National Archives of India in New Delhi. The other major depository of official documents relating to the Kuka sect (India Office Library, Judicial-Public files and Punjab Government records) largely duplicates the material provided by Nahar Singh. The collection consists of three volumes published by the compiler (vols. I and II, New Delhi, 1965, 1966; Vol. III, Sri Jiwan Nagar, 1967). The collection is cited hereafter as NS.
4. Minute on Younghusband's *Memoranda*, NS, 1, 10.

Mr. Forsyth was to play a leading role in the episode which so abruptly arrested the sect's rapid rise to prominence. In this, the first of his recorded comments, he noted that Ram Singh's numerous converts were 'confined chiefly to the lower classes.'⁵ This vague remark was clarified four years later by Major Parkins, District Superintendent of Police at Ludhiana, who observed in a report on the Kukas that 'converts are chiefly made from Juts, Tirkhans, Chumars, and Muzbees' (i.e., Jat agriculturists, carpenters, and outcastes).⁶ He added that very few Khatris, Brahmans, or Banyas had been attracted to the sect.⁷

This caste-occupational constituency is of fundamental importance for any understanding of the sudden acceleration in the sect's popularity, and it deserves careful analysis. It was not, however, the aspect which primarily interested the Punjab Government. Sedition was the danger which it perceived and which prompted its investigations. In 1863, memories of 1857 were still vivid and any movement which combined rapid growth with a promise of militancy could scarcely escape official attention. This attention it received in abundance. Police officers were instructed to observe members of the sect carefully, informers were employed to report on its activities from within, and narrative accounts of its beliefs and customs were prepared for the guidance of administrators. As early as June 1863, Ram Singh's movements were restricted to Bhaini,⁸ a decision which was reversed only when it was realized that this endued him with martyr qualifications and thereby increased his popularity.⁹

Police reports and the narrative accounts based upon them provide much detailed information concerning the sect. The reports are, to some extent, vitiated by the fears and suspicions which prompted them, but the damage is slight and due allowance can be made for it. It is the contemporary analysis which is so commonly awry, not the actual details collected by police officers and their informants in villages with Kuka concentrations. The description of the sect which emerges from their efforts is one which in its essentials is confirmed by later materials produced within the Kuka community,¹⁰ and by recent works dealing with

5. *Ibid.*

6. NS. I, 30. The Tarkhan, or carpenter caste, occupies a low ritual and economic status. Chamars are outcaste leather workers (known as Ramdasis when they become Sikhs). Mazhabis are members of the Chhuhra (sweeper) outcaste group who have become Sikhs. Ram Singh was himself a Tarkhan.

7. *Ibid.* 8. NS. I, 11. 9. NS. I, 60.

10. Notably Dhian Singh, *Sri Satguru Bilas* (Bhaini Sahib, 1942), Nidhan Singh Alam, *Jug Paltau Satguru* (Delhi, 1947) and Santokh Singh, *Satgur Bilas* (unpub.). For quotations see Fauja Singh Bajwa, *Kuka Movement*, Delhi, 1965, *passim*.

the remnant which survives today.¹¹

All agree that the Kuka sect had begun as a religious reform movement within the Sikh community and that in spite of its suspected inclination towards sedition it still preserved this emphasis. Ram Singh, following his master, looked for a return to the pristine purity of the doctrines taught by the Sikh Gurus. In its negative aspect this took the form of vigorous polemic directed against the corruptions of the contemporary Sikh community. Positively it found expression in a rigorous insistence upon the devotional practice of *nam simran* (meditation on the divine Name) and upon a strict puritan ethic. Kukas were to rise between 3 and 6 a.m. and having bathed they were to repeat passages from the Sikh scriptures. Virtue and continence were enjoined and to those who abused or struck them they were to respond with meekness.¹² A comprehensive report prepared by the Inspector General of Police at the end of 1867 acknowledges the high ideals of the Kukas. Having sampled the opinions of 'the Native officers of one of our frontier regiments,' he concluded :

They all seem to have a great respect for tenets of the sect, and agree that it is an effort to restore the Sikh religion to its original purity, and to do away with the innovations which have crept into it, such as consulting Brahmins as to the proper day for marriages, etc., from what they say, the belief of the sect appears to be a pure disension. They hold that God is one, not made or born, but existing by himself, and they appear to hold in utter reprobation the Hindoo belief of various incarnation of the diety. They inculcate a very strict morality, condemning most strongly lying, theft, and adultery, and appear anxious merely to revive the Sikh religion in its original state of purity and to eradicate the errors which have from time to time defiled it.¹³

To this extent Ram Singh sought nothing more than a revival of the Guru's teachings and it is scarcely surprising that at this stage the sample of Sikh opinion taken by the police should have been generally favourable towards the Kukas. Even the vigour with which the Kukas urged the

11. Fuja Singh Bajwa, *op. cit.* M.L. Ahluwalia, *Kukas*, Bombay, 1965. Ganda Singh, *Kukian di Vithia*, 2nd ed., Amritsar, 1946. Nahar Singh, *Namdhari Itihas*, Delhi, 1955. Summary accounts of Kuka history and belief are given by Stephen Fuchs, *Rebellious Prophets*, Bombay, 1965, pp. 192-97; and Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Princeton, 1966, II, 127-35. A brief notice appears in S. Gopal, *British Police in India 1858-1905*, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 98-101.

12. NS. I, 26.

13. NS. I, 66.

cause of cow protection brought no serious objections until it led to the murder of Muslim butchers in Amritsar and Raikot. Although the Gurus had not attached any evident importance to the issue the ancient tradition died hard and Sikhs who supported it would not thereby mark themselves out as deviants.

It was, of course, inevitable that distinctive beliefs and practices should soon emerge within the sect, but initially even these did not alienate the Kukas from the bulk of the orthodox Sikh community. At first they were regarded as little more than the harmless peculiarities of religious enthusiasts, and protests against them appear to have been largely confined to those members of the Sikh community who were the particular targets of Ram Singh's reforming strictures.¹⁴ The most prominent of these differences was evidently responsible for the appearance of the word Kuka. On important occasions members of the sect would assemble for a ceremony called '*Chandī kā Pāth*' literally 'A reading of the Epic of Chandi.'¹⁵ The ceremony was not, strictly, a reading in the literal sense, although passages from the epic were evidently recited as a part of it. Recitations of this and other passages from the Sikh scriptures were conducted antiphonally around a slow-burning bonfire. Gradually enthusiasm would mount amongst the participants until eventually ecstasy would overtake some of them. In this condition they would cry out, and from the noun *kūk*, 'a shriek,' the sect received its characteristic name.¹⁶ Another distinctive custom was the practice of tying turbans horizontally across the forehead.¹⁷

None of this bothered the Punjab Government unduly, nor did it generate serious concern within the Sikh community until it became evident that the Kuka movement could be an agent of social disturbance as well as religious reform. Even the Kuka disposition to desecrate Hindu temples and Muslim tombs seemed to be no more than the iconoclasm of a few fanatics whose activities were disowned by their leader.¹⁸ What did bother the British from the very beginning of Ram Singh's tenure was the evidence which they soon perceived of territorial organization. This seemed to add substance to their vague suspicions of sedition, particularly, when they began to learn more about the precise

14. NS.I, 56-7.

15. *Chandi di Var*, or 'The Epic of the Goddess Chandi, is a work ascribed.

16. NS.I, 31.

17. Orthodox Sikhs wrap their turbans upwards from each ear to a central point of convergence immediately below the hair-line.

18. NS. I, 72.

identity of Ram Singh's subordinates. In dividing the Punjab into Kuka districts Ram Singh was merely following early Sikh precedents, the only significant difference being the title attached to the district leaders. To each district designated in this manner there was appointed a trusted disciple bearing the title of Subah. Ram Singh might be innocent of sedition, but could the same be said of his Subahs? The police were satisfied that there was sufficient smoke to warrant a strong suspicion of fire. A particular mistrust was attached to Sahib Singh, the heir-apparent of Ram Singh, and to four others 'all more or less truculent and ill-desposed to the restraint of constituted authority.'¹⁹

As time passed, however, their fears subsided. By the end of 1868 Kuka influence appeared to be waning,²⁰ a trend which seemed to be confirmed by the reports received during the following year.²¹ A Kuka riot which had occurred in Ferozepore district during that year did nothing to disturb this confidence.²² Some fresh suspicions were aroused by Kuka enlistments in the army of the Maharaja of Kashmir and by the despatch of an emissary to Nepal, but nothing more than a continuation of regular surveillance seemed to be required.²³

This crisis began eighteen months later. Although the deeper causes of the outbreak must defy any summary treatment at this stage, at least the immediate issue was plain. This was the Kuka abhorrence of cow killing. In July 1871 a party of Kukas attacked the Amritsar slaughter-house and escaped after murdering four of the butchers. A month later the incident was repeated at Raikot, near Ludhiana. One of the culprits apprehended after the second raid turned Queen's Evidence and as a result of his disclosures several arrests were made. All were Kukas and three of them were Subahs.²⁴ At once the tone of the police reports changed. No serious outbreak was yet envisaged, but the growing tendency to treat the Kukas simply as harmless religious fanatics came to an abrupt end.

The climax followed soon after. On 14 January, 1872, a party of Kukas from Bhaini attacked the obscure fort of Malodh in Ludhiana district and then, with augmented numbers, attempted to force their way into the town of Malerkotla.²⁵ Having failed in their objective, the dispirited party retreated into Patiala territory, where sixty-eight of them surrendered at the village of Rurr. Meanwhile Mr. L. Cowan,

19. NS. I, 77.

20. NS. I, 98-99, 102.

21. NS. I, 111-12, 114.

22. NS. I, 105-11.

23. NS. I, 115, 119.

24. NS. I, 123-27.

25. The number of attackers, originally estimated to have been 500, appears to have been at most 125. NS. II, 12.

Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana district, had hastened to Malerkotla, and when the prisoners arrived there he proceeded to blow forty-nine of them away from guns without trial. This he did in spite of an earlier caution which he had received from Mr. T. D. Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambala Division, and a second letter from Forsyth which arrived while the last batch of prisoners was being lashed to the guns. One other prisoner attacked him and was cut down. Two of the total were women, leaving sixteen whom Cowan proposed to execute the following day.

In the letter which arrived during the course of the executions, Forsyth had explicitly ordered Cowan to proceed according to legal requirements. Having received Cowan's report, however, he approved the action. He then proceeded to Malerkotla and after a summary trial blew the remaining sixteen prisoners away from guns. Four more prisoners captured during the earlier attack on Malodh were executed the following day.²⁶

The result of this episode was a furore. Two separate issues had to be decided and one at least generated a considerable controversy. Cowan had plainly transgressed the bounds of established legal procedure by executing without a trial, and Forsyth had compromised his earlier rectitude by subsequently approving his action. The method of execution was, moreover, irregular and the manner in which Forsyth had tried the second batch of prisoners was not beyond suspicion. Cowan argued vigorously that dangerous situations require impressive remedies, and that because he had been prepared to act with such expedition 'a rebellion which might have attained large dimension was nipped in the bud.'²⁷ Forsyth supported this claim,²⁸ and so too did the Anglo-Indian press, with the notable exception of the *Friends of India*.²⁹ Many amongst the landed and the titled of Punjab society declared their appreciation of Cowan's action³⁰ and even the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab

26. A summary narrative of the episode is given in NS. II, 57-72. This narrative, prepared in the Judicial branch, represents a collection of all relevant correspondence received upto 8 April, 1872. For the documents upon which it is based see NS. II, 2ff. One error in the summary narrative is the statement that Forsyth executed the batch of sixteen prisoners by hanging them. It was not until 21 May, that the Punjab Government realized that Forsyth had followed Cowan's example and had the prisoners blown away from guns. NS. III, 75.

27. NS. II, 34. Also II, 105, 168-9, 175 ff.

28. NS. II, 97. G.R. Elsmie, *Thirty-five Years in the Punjab*, Edinburgh 1908, pp. 163, 164.

29. NS. II, 227 ff.

30. NS. III, 164 ff.

demonstrated an evident willingness to concur.³¹ The Government of India did not, however, concur. Cowan was dismissed from the service and Forsyth was transferred to Oudh.³² This decision was subsequently confirmed by the Secretary of State for India.³³

The second major question concerned the treatment of Ram Singh and his surviving Subahs. In this instance the primary issue was not one of guilt. It was assumed by the Lieutenant-Governor and doubtless by many others that Ram Singh, as leader of the sect, must assuredly have been implicated in the attacks on Malodh and Malerkotla,³⁴ but it soon became clear that an accusation of complicity would stand little chance in a court of law. The available evidence actually pointed to his innocence. Ram Singh claimed that he had attempted to dissuade his headstrong followers from their rash course, but that they had refused to listen to him. Having failed to convince them of their folly he had immediately visited the Deputy Inspector of Police at Sahnewal and warned him of their intentions.³⁵

Forsyth suggested that this action had been no more than 'a ruse on his part to try and escape the responsibility of the acts of his followers,' that he merely had to wait until they were on their way in order to cover himself without affecting their chances of success.³⁶ This patently failed to provide evidence upon which a prosecution might proceed. The suggestion was alien to the known character of Ram Singh and had the police officer at Sahnewal acted promptly the entire episode might well have been averted. Ram Singh was probably innocent, and even if guilty of complicity there could be no chance of establishing the charge. The same result would obviously have followed an attempt to establish his complicity in the earlier murder of the Amritsar and Raikot butchers. The possibility of instituting proceedings against him had been giving careful consideration at the time by the Lieutenant-Governor, but had been reluctantly rejected.³⁷

Against the Subahs there appeared to be a strong case, for depositions had been obtained which, if sustained in court, would probably establish their guilt. The situation was reviewed by the Government of India and eventually it was decided not to proceed.³⁸ The principal objection of the Council was expressed in a note by Sir Richard Temple:

I am against trial if it can be avoided. I say this with great regret but there is no overlooking the fact that whenever a trial for political

31. NS. II, 125, 151, 194-98. 32. NS. III, 18 ff, 29-30, 30-31. 33. NS. III, 138.

34. NS. II, 14-15. 35. NS. II, 4, 134. Sahnewal is six miles from Bhaini.

36. NS. II, 50. 37. NS. II, 149. 38. NS. II, 187-8.

crimes takes place there are unhappily found English Barristers, who not content with justly defending their clients which is quite right, go beyond all legitimate bounds, and raise a sort of political excitement, very detrimental to the minds of native people.³⁹

The decision did not mean that the Government of India was prepared to let Ram Singh and his Subahs go free. There was an alternative, one which was speedily adopted in the case of Ram Singh and with greater reluctance in the case of his Subahs. The Government's principal objective was to deprive the Kuka sect of its leadership 'until the movement has lost all vitality and had perished beyond all chance of resuscitation.'⁴⁰ An alternative method of securing this purpose was provided by the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, a measure which was designed to cover occasional circumstances which :

render it necessary to place under personal restraint individuals against whom there may not be sufficient ground to institute any judicial proceeding or when such proceeding may not be adapted to the nature of the case or may for other reasons be unadvisable or improper.⁴¹

Indefinite detention could thus be imposed on the prisoners without trial. E.C. Bayley, Secretary to the Government of India, offered a justification.

The opinions expressed above may seem harsh and it may perhaps be deemed a strong measure to use Regulation III of 1818 to the extent contemplated. But it is to be remembered that almost beyond moral doubt all the prisoners have been concerned in crimes which would have subjected them to transportation for life if proved conspiring to wage war against the Queen, seditious preaching and teaching, abetment of murder and of rebellion with murder. These are the offences with one or more of which every one of the prisoner is atleast on strong grounds charged. It seems probable now that if it were politic to bring them to trial, proof even for legal conviction (as for example against Burma Singh) could easily be obtained. There seems accordingly no practical injustice inflicting upon them under the Act, for reasons of policy, restriction of their liberty which they really deserved by their breaches of the criminal law. It seems only necessary to discriminate between those who as active leaders will be dangerous under any circumstances so long as inflammable marks of ignorance and fanaticism exist in the

39. NS. III, 115.

40. NS. III, 107.

41. NS. II, 111.

Punjab and those who are dangerous only in connection with the present movement.⁴²

Faced with a choice between Regulation III and freedom, the Viceroy's Council had already invoked the regulation in Ram Singh's case and despatched him to Rangoon.⁴³ Bayley's argument was accepted in the case of the Subahs and in October 1872 the eleven who were regarded as dangers to peace and security were distributed to various British jails, most of them outside peninsular India.⁴⁴

The subsequent history of the Kukas may be narrated very briefly. Religious preaching continued and a few members of the sect endeavoured to sustain a convert agitation against the Government. One of them, a Subah named Gurcharan Singh, actually reached Samarkand where he established a fitful contact with the Russian governor of Turkestan.⁴⁵ The political phase was, however, soon to come to an end. Brief contact with the restless Maharaja Dalip Singh marked its terminus.⁴⁶ Although the Kukas continued to look for the prophesied return of Ram Singh, their activities following the death of Dalip Singh in 1893 occasioned no further concern to the Government. During the present century they have been distinguished only by their continuing insistence upon reform of the Sikh religion, and notably by their refusal to permit lavish weddings or dowries. Their horizontal turbans are still to be seen in the Punjab and although their numbers are now few, the message which issues from Bhaini and Jiwan Nagar remains a vigorous one.⁴⁷

This summary narrative of the rise and decline of the Kuka sect must serve as a basis for our analysis of that rise and decline. The basic facts are clear. A sect which began as a religious reform movement within the Sikh community multiplied rapidly, came into conflict with British administration in the Punjab, and then dwindled into insignificance. The questions which confront us concern the reasons which account for the

42. NS. III, 107.

43. NS. II, 204, 226. In 1878 Ram Singh was transferred to Mergui when it was discovered that clandestine communications were being passed between Rangoon and the Punjab. NS. III, 368.

44. NS. III, 156-68, 187-88.

45. For this episode see P. C. Roy, 'Gurcharan Singh's Mission in Central Asia,' *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings*, XXXIV, 2 (December 1958); and 'Sikh Emissary in Russian Turkestan' *Indo-Astian Culture*, 3 (July 1968).

46. Fauja Singh Bajwa, pp. 167-70.

47. The present headquarters of the Namdhari sect are located in the village of Sri Jiwan Nagar, district Hissar, Haryana. The Guru continues to reside at Bhaini.

sudden increase in Kuka popularity, for the sect's confrontation with the Punjab Government, and for the decline which took place thereafter.

Two theories have already been advanced, both of them based upon interpretations which stress the political motivation of the Kukas during the brief period of Ram Singh's leadership. The British administrators who had to deal with the Kuka disturbance quickly produced a theory which, they claimed, was justified by the decline which followed so closely upon the banishment of the Kuka leaders. The events of Malodh and Malerkotla were viewed in the setting of recent military history. Only a quarter of century had passed since the might of British arms had destroyed Sikh rule in the Punjab. Sikh rule meant, above all, the glories of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and it was but natural that the Sikhs should look back to the recent past with an ardent longing. There was, moreover, the conviction amongst the Sikhs that their defeat in the Sikh Wars had been the result more of treachery than of British power and the events of 1857 had demonstrated the extent to which that power could be successfully challenged.

And so the Sikh, or many of them, dreamt of driving the British out of the Punjab. Ram Singh provided a focus for this ambition and with the aid of his territorial Subahs he set about preparing for the battle. Unfortunately for him, his headstrong Subahs moved too soon and provoked a clash which was easily suppressed. The clash proved highly advantageous to the Government, for it provided it with sufficient grounds for suppressing the movement before it became a serious problem. Mr. Cowan's methods were wholly irregular, but at least they succeeded and the name of British justice was redeemed by means of disciplinary action. All that was required in order to cripple the movement was to deport its leader. When this was done Kuka numbers and influence declined rapidly. The simple analysis had evidently been correct.⁴⁸

The second theory is a modern nationalist interpretation, and specifically a Punjabi interpretation. During the uprising of 1857-58 the British had received welcome assistance from Sikh troops. This assistance subsequently proved to be an embarrassment to Punjabi participants in the independence struggle and prompted an effort to prove that the Punjab had been as loyal to the ideal of freedom as any other part of

48. For an example of the British interpretation see David Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, London, 1883, pp. 225-26. See also *Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District*, 1888-9, Calcutta, pp. 67-9.

India. On the one hand it was claimed that the help had been rendered not by the people of the Punjab but by the princes, and on the other it was suggested that amongst the people, as opposed to the princes, independence movements were already afoot.

The Kuka episode has in recent years been advanced as proof of the second claim. Although indications of this theory appear as far back as 1913 in the propaganda literature of the revolutionary Ghadr Party,⁴⁹ the interpretation did not win instant acceptance. Fifty years later R. C. Majumdar, the historian of the Freedom Movement, could still dismiss Ram Singh with a brief comment.

He gave military training to his followers and organised the sect.

There is, however, no adequate evidence to support the view that the

Kuka movement ever aimed at the subversion of the British rule.⁵⁰

In making this comment Majumdar had, however, noted a growing tendency to regard various local disturbances as freedom struggles.⁵¹ The tendency eventually emerged in a coherent form when in 1965 two books appeared in support of the freedom-struggle thesis. M. M. Ahluwalia's *Kukas* is significantly subtitled 'The Freedom Fighters of the Panjab,' and Fauja Singh Bajwa is equally explicit in adding to his *Kuka Movement* the subtitle 'An important phase in Punjab's role in India's struggle for freedom.'⁵²

Much of this modern nationalist interpretation is curiously similar to the earlier theory advanced by the British administrators, differing only in points of emphasis. There is, for example, a behaviour stress upon the claim that the British owed their earlier victories to treachery within the Sikh ranks, and much attention is understandably devoted to the punitive measures taken by Cowan and Forsyth, and later by the Government of India. The principal difference derives from the attempt made by the two authors to relate the Kuka outbreak to the wider struggle for independence. According to their interpretation it was an early phase of the larger struggle, and because the struggle ultimately succeeded the Kuka sacrifice did not go in vain. Whereas the early British theory had treated the outbreak as an isolated, insignificant, and somewhat sordid failure, the modern interpretation regards it as a heroic setback on the road to ultimate triumph.

49. N. Gerald Barrier, *The Sikhs and their Literature*, Delhi, 1970, p. 100. For the Ghadr Party see Khuswant Singh, II, 181-92.

50. R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Calcutta, 1962, I 282-83.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

52. See above n. 11.

The primary purpose of this essay is to suggest a third interpretation, one which shifts the focus of attention away from the political aspects of the Kuka outbreak to the social conditions within which it developed. This is not to deny the existence of political issues, nor their importance. Clearly the Kuka outbreak must in some measure relate to the annexation of the Punjab by the alien British, and it has already been shown that its sudden emergence took the form of political action. There were, however, issues at once more important and more obscure. An examination of these issues raises the possibility that the Kuka movement may be interpreted as a distinctively Indian example of the millenarian pattern. The movement develops within a disturbed social environment; it gathers around the person of a religious leader; it generates a glorious vision of future; and in pursuit of this objective it moves towards an ill-defined expression of political protest. These features prompt the suggestion that a comparison with characteristic millenarian processes may perhaps lead us to a deeper understanding of the Kuka outbreak.

Protest movements assuming a millenarian form normally pass through four distinct and successive phases of development. The first involves the spread of social discontent within a particular geographical area with the consequent emergence of a substantial group of disoriented and frustrated people. This is followed by the appearance of a holy man, one regarded as inspired and perhaps as divine. The third phase results from a junction of the leader and the group, a connection which produces a fraternity fortified with a social myth adapted to their needs. Finally, the fourth phase issues in 'a frantic urge to smite the ungodly,' an irresistible impulse to strike out at the person, the group, or the institution identified as the source of falsehood and oppression.⁵³

The possibility that this pattern may enlarge our understanding of the Kuka movement arises from an obvious correspondence of three of these phases to the known pattern of Kuka development. Correspondence at three points suggests the possibility of correspondence at the fourth also. In the case of the Kukas it is the first of the four phases which is obscure, the phase which concerns the origins and motivation of the

53. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, Paladin rev. ed., London, 1970, p. 60. For a Summary of the characteristic pattern of millenarian belief in medieval Europe see *Ibid.*, p.13. See also his essay 'Medieval Millenarianism' in S. Thrup. ed., *Millennial Dream in Action*. The Hague, 1962, pp. 31-43. The literature dealing with millenarian movements in different parts of the world is now immense. One work which deserves particular notice is Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, London, 1957.

sect. As we have already seen, the causes of the sect's brief popularity have hitherto been interpreted in political terms as a conscious desire to shake off the British yoke. A comparison with millenarian movements elsewhere implies deeper causes. The political aspects of the sect's activities are not thereby denied, but are instead to be understood as essentially incoherent responses to an underlying social discontent.

The second of the phases outlined above is at once obvious in the case of the Kukas. Ram Singh of Bhaini was the holy man around whom a following rapidly gathered. The fact that Ram Singh evidently disapproved of the violence of his followers does nothing to disturb the pattern. A holy man can serve as a focus for discontent without necessarily sharing the discontent itself or participating in the actions which it provokes.

The third of the four phases is well illustrated by a document which the police acquired in 1863.

The Sakhi of Guru Govind Singh

I, Guru Govind Singh, will be born in a carpenter's shop, and will be called Ram Singh. My house will be between the Jamna and Sutlej rivers. I will declare my religion. I will defeat the Faringhis and put the crown on my own head, and blow the *sankh*. The musicians shall praise me in 1921 [1864]. I, the carpenter, will sit on the throne. When I have got one lakh and twenty-five thousand Sikhs with me, I will cut off the heads of the Faringhis. I will never be conquered in battle, and will shout 'Akal, Akal.' The Christians will desert their wives and fly from the country when they hear the shout of 1½ lakhs of Khalsas. A great battle will take place on the banks of the Jamna, and blood will flow like the waters of the Ravi, and no Faringhi be left alive. Insurrections will take place in the country in 1922 [1865]. The Khalsa will reign, and the rajah and ryot will live in peace and comfort, and no one shall molest another.

Day by day Ram Singh's rule will be enlarged. God has written this. It is no lie, my brethren. In 1922 [1865], the whole country will be ruled by Ram Singh. My followers will worship Wahaguru [God]. God says this will happen.⁵⁴

54. NS. I, 6. This document was supplied by an informer who had been sent to Bhaini by the Cantonment Magistrate of Jullundur in June 1863. The informer reported having received it from the leading Kuka Subah, Sahib Singh. The word *sakhi*, means 'testimony.' Guru Gobind Singh, the last of the personal Gurus recognized by orthodox Sikhs, died in 1708. The years 1921 and 1922 are dated according to the Indian Vikrami era. They correspond to A.D. 1864 and 1865.

The parallels with other millenarian movements are self-evident, Guru Gobind Singh (who died in 1708) has declared that he will be reincarnated in the person of Ram Singh the carpenter. To him the righteous of the Khalsa will flock. The enemy is identified (the Faranghi, i. e., the alien, Christian British). The final conflict is imminent, the battle will be bloody, and following its inevitably triumphant conclusion the Khalsa will rule a world transformed, an earthly paradise in which ruler and peasant will dwell together in perfect harmony. All this is expressed in terms derived from the Sikh past and specifically from the period of Gobind Singh, the warrior Guru. It is the Khalsa (the brotherhood founded by Guru Gobind Singh) which will fight the battle. Its forces will number one and a quarter lakhs (125,000), the figure traditionally associated with the triumph of Khalsa arms. The battle will take place on the banks of a river closely connected with the life of Guru Gobind Singh, and the war-cry to be raised will be one of the Sikh names of God (*Akal*, or 'the Eternal One').

Other characteristically millenarian features appear in later police reports. Discontent was directed against the privileged classes and found expression in an attempt to restore traditional values. The targets may have been Brahmans rather than bishops, and the most compelling of ancient traditions may have been the distinctively Indian reverence for the cow, but the pattern was essentially the same as elsewhere. Religious leaders who were attacked duly retaliated,⁵⁵ and so too did the larger landholders when they perceived the social implications of the movement.⁵⁶ Amongst the stock criticisms applied to Ram Singh and his followers accusations of sexual immorality figure prominently.⁵⁷ Other resemblances are the more striking for being less predictable. The Kuka versions of the *Sau Sakhis* offer a parallel to the Sibylline Books both in their actual usage and in their convenient mutations.⁵⁸ A Kuka equivalent of the Heavenly Letter appeared in 1876,⁵⁹ and in the claim that Ram Singh was a reincarnation of Guru Gobind Singh they produced their

55. NS. I, 56-57. 56. NS. II, 224-25, III, 164 ff.

57. NS. I, 99, 144-45. Cf. Cohn, p. 49.

58. Fauja Singh Bajwa, pp. 22-23, 40, 184. Cohn, pp. 30-33. An English translation of the version of the *Sau Sakhis* used by the Kukas was made by Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur and published under the title *Sakhee Book or the Description of Gooroo Govind Singh's, Religion and doctrine*, Benares, 1873. See esp. pp. 38, 96. See also Attar Singh's *The Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh*, Lahore, 1876, p.v.

59. Fauja Singh Bajwa, pp. 160-61.

own version of the Sleeping Emperor legend.⁶⁰ Like many of their European counterparts the Kukas also attached a particular importance to the colour white.

The fourth stage is reached when the impulse to smite the ungodly issues in unplanned conflict and speedy repression. Two varieties of the ungodly served as targets for Kuka anger. The first to be attacked were the Muslim butchers of Amritsar and Raikot, enemies not merely because they were killers of kine (a most abhorrent crime) but also because they were Muslims. Enmity between Sikh and Muslim, greatly strengthened during the eighteenth century, had not been allayed and if a traditional opponent were to be identified the obvious candidate would be a Muslim. This enmity was also in evidence during the later outbreak. Malerkotla was not the most convenient of objectives for a party operating from Bhaini. One reason for selecting it may have been the fact that it was the only Muslim state in the Punjab. In this later episode, however, the second enemy was also involved. The new tyrant was the British *mlechchha*, the destroyer of the Khalsa dominion and a more obvious target for the socially discontented during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Three of the four phases can thus be identified in the case of the Kukas. Is it possible similarly to identify the remaining one, the first of the four? What emerges when, following the characteristic millenarian pattern, we look behind the actual incidents for evidence of people disoriented and frustrated? Is this a description which fits those who participated in the Kuka movement, or are they still to be seen as rebels/nationalists pursuing deliberate and coherent political objectives?

The answer must be that the Kukas did indeed represent in distinctly millenarian terms the measure of confusion and frustration which one would expect from parallel examples of the same responses. The two decades preceding the sudden surge in Kuka numbers had been for the Sikhs a period of dissolving religious values and slackening communal cohesion. This stood in marked contrast to the preceding century and a half. The eighteenth century had been a stirring period for the Sikh community, as its traditions so vividly demonstrate. This was the century in which persecution and martyrdom had been succeeded first by heroic struggles and ultimately by the triumph of the Khalsa. The triumphs of the eighteenth century were further extended by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and when he died in 1839 Sikh glory was at its zenith.

60. See above, p. 96.

This was a powerful myth, one which still retains much of its vitality today. Set against its grandeur, the decades which followed the death of Ranjit Singh presented a sorry spectacle of failure and decay. Treachery had destroyed the Khalsa army from within. The teachings of the Gurus had been forgotten. Worldliness and immorality consumed the community's leaders. Those who held power and influence had obtained it by unscrupulous means and used it to oppress the less fortunate. Sacred traditions were openly violated. The foreigner who had inflicted the indignity of defeat brought with him not merely his soldiers but also his missionaries. More and more Sikhs were casting aside the visible symbols of their loyalty to the community.

Thus was the myth extended. The brightness of the past was now matched by the darkness of the present. It is scarcely surprising that interpretations of this kind should issue in attempts to arrest the process of dissolution. Balak Singh's Jagiasi movement was one of the earliest of these attempts. For him the earlier glory consisted in the purity of the Gurus' religious teachings, and specifically in the devotional practice of *nam simran*. Ram Singh evidently propounded the same message, but for many of his followers the glories of the past were primarily the military triumphs of the Khalsa. During the eighteenth century Mughal authority had been extinguished in the Punjab and Afghan efforts to invade the land had been resisted. Ranjit Singh had consolidated these successes and then pushed back the boundaries of the Punjab in three directions. Even the British, for all their strength, had drawn back from a confrontation. There had been unity and purpose, and for none more than those who were Sikhs. There had also been employment, for Ranjit Singh's army had been a large one.

The two decades following the death of Ranjit Singh were certainly a period of progressive disillusionment for the Sikhs, and the Kuka attempts to evoke the heroic traditions of Guru Gobind Singh suggest that the development of their sect must be related to this experience of disillusionment. This should not be the end of the analysis, however, for it is possible to proceed further in pursuit of the origins of the distress and disarray. The role of Ranjit Singh's army as an employer of many Jat Sikhs could conceivably imply that the overtly religious aspects of Kuka discontent derived from essentially economic sources. Here too the example of other millenarian movements may provide a guide. In such instances it is normally economic distress with its attendant social problems which creates the tension leading to distinctively millenarian responses.

At first sight the available evidence is unpromising. The Kuka move-

ment drew practically all of its support from the rural areas of the Punjab and if we are to judge from the comments offered by the British administrators of this period these areas were not economically depressed during the years which cover the sect's rapid ascent to its short-lived prominence. The evidence is best presented in the settlement reports produced towards the end of the nineteenth century. These record increases in cultivation and in the irrigation of areas already under cultivation.⁶¹ Population increases are briefly noted, but without evident concern. At this stage it was believed that the agricultural resources of the fertile plains could cope with such increases.⁶² The critical test of rural stability was taken to be degree of willingness with which taxes were paid, and it was recorded, with obvious satisfaction, that revenue collection had generally involved little difficulty during the period preceding the writing of the reports.⁶³

It is in just such circumstances that analysis of other millenarian movements can demonstrate their usefulness as guides. A survey of the evidence provided by the settlement reports would suggest that, whatever the reasons for the Kuka outbreak, economic distress was not to be numbered amongst them. The parallel pattern which can be observed in other millenarian situations should caution us against accepting this evidence without further analysis. Was rural Punjab really as contented as the British observers believed? There seems to be little doubt that most of the revenue-paying landholders must have been in relatively prosperous circumstances, but was this the group which provided the Kukas with the main body of their support? Other millenarian examples direct us to look elsewhere, not to the wealthier grain-producing landowners but rather to the humbler orders of Punjabi society. These are the people who characteristically provide a millenarian movement with its strength. They are also the people who figure prominently in reports concerning the constituency of the Kuka sect.

The dominant caste group within the Sikh community was (and remains) that of the Jats, a rural and agrarian people with strong martial traditions. Some Jats were landlords; others of lesser means cultivated small holdings as tenants. In undivided Punjab only a minority of the Jats were Sikhs (the balance being Muslims or Hindus), but within the

61. W. G. Purser, *Final Report of the Revised Settlement of the Jullundur District in the Punjab, Lahore, 1892*, p. 154. T. Gordon Walker, *Final Report on the Revision of Settlement (1878-83) of the Ludhiana District in the Punjab, Calcutta, 1884*, p. 183.

62. Purser, p. 1.

63. Walker, p. 178.

Sikh community the Jat element has always retained a strong numerical preponderance. These were the people for whom the eighteenth century conditions had proven particularly advantageous and for whom the army of Ranjit Singh had subsequently provided congenial employment. Their poorer numbers were also the people who offered the strongest body of support to the Kuka movement. Others who joined it were drawn mainly from artisan and other depressed castes which stood in a client relationship to Jat patrons. The line of investigation which must now be pursued concerns these poorer members of the Sikh community. Is there any evidence which might suggest that theirs was a condition of unrest during the period leading up to the emergence of the sect?

A feature commonly associated with millenarian developments is increasing population pressure. This feature was certainly to be found in the Punjab of the middle and later nineteenth century. The eighteenth century struggles which opened the way to Khalsa dominance had served, in the usual manner of military disturbances, to impose a check upon population growth. This condition was altered by Ranjit Singh's rise to power. All of his major battles were fought beyond the fertile tract of Central Punjab, and after 1824 they ceased altogether apart from minor skirmishes. Warfare made a brief return during the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, but peace was reimposed in 1849 and was little affected by the events of 1857. By the time Ram Singh emerged as leader of the Kukas the Punjab had experienced five decades of relative tranquility. But for the disturbances which followed Ranjit Singh's death the total would have been six. Indeed it can be argued that the span was even longer, for the more devastating disturbances of the eighteenth century were over well before the century concluded.

The result was an increase in the population of the Punjab. Although no figures exist for the period prior to 1855, it seems safe to assume that the trend which appeared in successive censuses from that year onwards will have been an extension of earlier increases during the preceding half century. Certainly there is no doubt about the trend during the years immediately preceding the Kuka outbreak. Between 1855 and 1868 the population of the Punjab increased by 16.1 per cent.⁶⁴

The portion of the province which absorbed the greater measure of

64. *Census of India 1891: The Punjab and Its Feudatories*, Calcutta, 1892, I, 76. The comparison was possible only in the case of the British territories, the actual figures being 15,161,321 and 1,609,518. It was, however, assumed on the basis of subsequent trends that the population of the princely states must have shown a corresponding increase. *Ibid.*

this rapid increase was the central tract, the area which already possessed the highest density. Whereas Jullunder district had a population density of 513 per square mile in 1855, the corresponding figure for the potentially fertile but unirrigated Montgomery district was still only 55.⁶⁵ This in itself meant little, for Jullunder district in 1855 could obviously support a much higher density than areas which lacked either its fertility or its supply of water. A figure in excess of 500 was nevertheless a high one for a rural area to support and it was one which continued to rise in the years following 1855. During the brief period from 1855 to 1868 Jullunder district had to absorb more than 80 extra persons per square mile. Although the figure for Jullunder is one of the highest (only Amritsar district with an increase of 96 per square mile is higher), it is clear from a conspectus of the district totals that the major growth was concentrated in the central tract and that the rate of increase dropped away steadily as one moved outwards from it.⁶⁶

These are impressive figures and they can be rendered even more impressive by the observation that during the middle decades of the nineteenth century urban areas absorbed relatively little of any population increase. An overwhelming proportion had to be accommodated within rural society. Against them must be set the statistics for agrarian extension provided by the settlement reports. Although these reduce the force of the demographic argument, they fall far short of destroying it. The situation which thus emerged did not in itself constitute a crisis, but it appears that it did involve a condition of considerable risk. Even the settlement officers perceived this.⁶⁷

In such a situation a regular succession of adequate harvests was vital. For several years after the British annexation this succession was maintained, but eventually it was broken. Following a favourable year in 1857, the harvests of 1858 were much reduced, and during 1860-61 the Punjab experienced a serious famine.⁶⁸ This was followed by another period of acute scarcity in 1869-70.⁶⁹ In such a situation those in posse-

65. *Report on the Census of the Punjab taken on the 17th February 1881*, Calcutta, 1883, I, 92. (Cited hereafter as 1881 Census.)

66. *Ibid.* It should not be noted that these figures relate to the entire area of the district, uncultivated as well as cultivated. In 1881 the figure for Jullunder district based on the entire area was 597 per square mile. In the same year the figure for the cultivated areas was 762 per cultivated square mile. Purser, p. 2.

67. Purser, pp. 2-3.

68. S. S. Thornburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War*, Edinburgh and London, 1904, pp. 232-33; Walker, pp. 123-24.

69. Walker, p. 124.

ssion of grain surpluses could secure a handsome profit from the inevitable increase in prices. Others, however, must suffer and for some this was the beginning of the road leading to indebtedness and eventually expropriation.

In such circumstances the poorer Jats would certainly have experienced distress, and in their case the experience of shared disaster will have been aggravated by two additional features. One was the Jat custom of fragmenting land-holdings at death. Large landholders, the heirs of substantial estates from the days of Sikh rule, might survive and flourish. Others must look elsewhere for alternative or supplementary means of support. Such means are usually available and the Jat has been characteristically prompt in utilizing them. The second aggravating factor was, however, a temporary blockage of the customary means of supplementary support. During the period of Ranjit Singh and his successors there was the army, an outlet which was soon to reopen under the British rule. Later there were the canal colonies, later still the Mercedes trucks and Calcutta taxis, and during recent years there have been opportunities for migration overseas.⁷⁰ The period immediately following the British annexation of the Punjab in 1849 was, however, a disastrous exception as far as the Jats were concerned. The British had insisted upon disbandment of the large Khalsa army, and although the Indian Army opened its ranks to the Sikhs with surprising speed there was inevitably an interval before this decision could provide a measure of aid sufficient to compensate for the economic problems of the Jat peasants.⁷¹

Discontent which afflicted the Jat peasants of the central tract would also have affected other rural caste groups of inferior economic status. In addition to the general problem of food shortage anything which affected the Jats could also be expected to affect those who were dependent upon them. If the Jat patrons suffered, the artisan and menial clients must suffer with them. If discontent were to develop within a distinctively Sikh group the vehicle of that discontent would predictably be a Sikh movement. Its origins might be religious, but the secret of its power to attract evidently lay in economic distress and in the threats to social stability which this involved. The Kuka sect evidently served as a convenient focus for rural unrest. Having won a generous measure of

70. Four-fifths of the Indian migrants to the United Kingdom have been Punjabis, a large majority of them Jats.

71. Characteristically several Kukas enlisted in the army of the Maharaja of Kashmir. (See above pp. 89-90.) The emoluments were, however, negligible in comparison with those provided by British paymasters.

support, the sect was first transformed by its new converts and then shattered by their impulsiveness.

This analysis appears to be the only one which will take account of three fundamental aspects of Kuka history. The first of these is the lowly social and economic constituency of the sect. It was highly significant that Major Perkins should have observed that 'converts are chiefly made from Juts, Tirkhans, Chumars and Muzbees.'⁷² Later police analysis of Kuka membership showed that of these four groups by far the strongest was that of the Jats,⁷³ and that this element was drawn largely from the poorer Jats.⁷⁴ These were the people who would suffer extensively from conditions of economic deprivation while yet retaining memories of a more prosperous past.

Secondly, there is the close correlation between periods of food shortage and spurts in Kuka activity. The first serious famine took place in 1860-1861, and the sect suddenly surges ahead in 1862-63. In 1868 and 1869 the police report a condition of general tranquillity amongst the

72. See above p. 86.

73. A police list of prominent Kukas prepared in 1878 shows the following distribution :

Cultivator	109
Lambardar	18
Carpenter	14
Miscellaneous (occupation shown in each case)	74
None	38
	<hr/> 253 <hr/>

This is an occupational list, not a caste analysis, but it is possible to deduce from it an approximate figure for the Jat constituency of the sect. Almost all the cultivators will have been Jats and likewise the lambardars. Of the various persons grouped above under 'Miscellaneous' at least ten, and perhaps as many as twenty, can be identified as Jats. The category 'None' presumably covers retired persons, and on the basis of the results shown by the other figures may be interpreted as including a majority of Jats. It seems safe to conclude that at least 150 of the Kukas listed by the police must have been Jats. I am indebted to Professors N. G. Barrier and R. Stater of the University of Missouri for the figures given above.

74. The only prominent Jat Kuka of elevated social or economic status appears to have been Mangal Singh, a relative of the Maharaja of Patiala. Mangal Singh subsequently claimed that he had never been a Kuka but that he had become 'a believer in Ram Singh' when the Kuka leader cured his ailing son. NS. III, 97. A few other landholders had attached themselves to the movement shortly before the outbreak, NS. I, 143-44. At least some of these recanted as soon as the movement turned to violence and the Government to a vigorous suppression. NS. III, 14.

Kukas. Another period of scarcity following during 1869-70 and by the middle of 1871 the outbreaks of violence have begun.

Thirdly, there is the striking increase in the sect's strength which immediately followed the death of Balak Singh. When Balak Singh died in 1862 the focus of the sect's activities automatically moved away from his home in Hazro to Ram Singh's village of Bhaini. Hazro was a small town situated on the periphery of the Punjab, an area which still suffered little from population pressure or social dislocation. Within this area the Sikh population constituted only a fragment of the total population and within the Sikh community itself a majority belonged to mercantile castes.⁷⁵ Bhaini, in contrast, lay within the fertile central tract where Sikh traditions were powerful, where most members of the community were Jats, and where crop failure had so recently caused serious problems.⁷⁶ A religious leader appears within an area afflicted by famine and immediately attracts a substantial following from the poorer sections of the community. It seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the reason for the sudden growth of the sect must lie in the existing condition of economic distress. And this is precisely what the example of other millenarian movements would lead us to expect.

It thus becomes evident that the Kuka sect is best understood as a

75. Hazro is situated in Attock tahsil, which, during the period covered by this essay, was one of the constituents of Rawalpindi district. In 1855 the population density of Rawalpindi district was 114 per square mile, rising to 146 by 1868, and 169 by 1881 (1881 *Census*, I, 92). In 1881 Sikhs accounted for 1.7 per cent of the total population of Rawalpindi Division. Of these Sikhs 68 per cent are classified as belonging to relatively wealthy mercantile castes (Khatri, Arora and Banya). *Ibid.*, p. 139. The population density of the area around Hazro will have been lower than the district average. Cf. the figures for Hazara District, immediately adjacent to Hazro: 1855 (98 per sq. m.), 1868 (122), 1881 (134). *Ibid.*, p. 92. Balak Singh was himself an Arora by caste. *Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District*, 1888-89, p. 68. Ram Singh was a Tarkhan.

76. Bhaini is located in Ludhiana district, a few miles from the boundary of the neighbouring Jullundur district. For the years 1855, 1868 and 1881 the figures for the population density of Ludhiana district were respectively 383, 429, and 450; and for Jullundur District respectively 513, 596, and 597. *Ibid.*, p. 92. Sikhs constituted 6.2 per cent of the total population of Jullundur division. (The division includes both districts.) Of these Sikhs 72.7 per cent belonged to agricultural castes, more than 60 per cent of the total being Jats with the remaining 12 per cent distributed amongst Sainis, Rajputs, and Kambohs. 14.5 per cent belonged to artisan castes, notably Tarkhans (carpenters) and Lohars (blacksmiths). 11 per cent were outcastes and only 1 per cent came from mercantile castes. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

distinctively Sikh version of a common millenarian pattern. Social instability had produced discontent, and discontent had found the holy man to whom it could attach its aspirations. Out of this there emerged the myth which drew together past glories, present frustrations, and future hopes. Battle was joined, not with deliberation but impulsively, and the movement was quickly crushed. The leaders were imprisoned. adherents quickly fell away and although a loyal remnant remained the discontent which had prompted sect's repid growth soon found outlets elsewhere. For many the armed forces and the canal colonies provided a sufficient answer. Others found a more convincing purpose in the Gurdwara Reform Movement or in the political channels which fed the Ghadr Conspiracy and eventually the Punjab Communist Party. It is, in many ways, a sad story. Like so many other millenarian movements it culminated in tragedy and slipped thereafter into a respectable insignificance. There was, however, more to the later Kuka experience than hopes deceived and fruitless intrigues with a Russian governor. The sect had begun as a religious reform movement and to this exclusive concern it subsequently returned. The contribution of Sikh belief and custom to Punjab society is immense and voices which preach its reform have yet to be wholly ignored.

The Impact of the Namdhari Movement*

DR BALBIR SINGH

The word Namdhari is a later adoption. It was not much in use during the lifetime of the founder of the movement Baba Balak Singh (1799-1862). The Government papers throw some light on it :

A Sikh named Balak Singh, caste Arora, started a new sect of Sikhs at Hazro, in the Rawalpindi district. They were named *Jagiyasis* (or *Habists*)¹ and made large number of converts in the neighbourhood during their founder's lifetime. Amongst his more favourite disciples were three, Kahn Singh, the head of the sect at Hazro; Lal Singh, resident at Amritsar; and Ram Singh resident of village Bhaini, in the district Ludhiana. On the death of their founder, the members of the sect appear to have unanimously elected Ram Singh his successor. Though the sect seems to have failed in the neighbourhood of Harzo since Balak Singh's death, it has thriven in a most remarkable manner in the district adjoining the home of his more energetic successor.²

The above is a bald statement, a sort of formal account from official records. However, the fact remains that Baba Balak Singh, a resident of Hazro, now in Pakistan, was engaged actively for the propagation of Sikhism. He was a man of pious merit and wanted to reform the community by raising its spiritual level. For this purpose, he divided his followers under two categories : the *Jagiyasis* and the *Abhiyasis*. *Jagiyasis* were those who were "the seekers after truth" and were being drawn by the magnetic personality of Baba Balak Singh. The *Abhiyasis* were the more advanced group, accepted and admitted into the esoteric Truth. The *Jagiyasis* were thus the first-stage initiates.

The outstanding personality in the Namdhari movement was, however, Baba Ram Singh. The official record described him as follows :

A spare man, 5 feet 10 inches; fairish complexion, pitted with small-

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1. This should be read as *Abhiyasi*.

2. Mr. Green, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Attock, Confidential Memorendum, dated 12th June, 1863.

pox; hazel eyes; long nose and face; grizzled beard and moustache.³

This description gives the precise physiognomy of Baba Ram Singh. It does not take note of the great and noble spirit that inhabited the physical frame, nor does it take into account his moral fervour with which he was able to transform the character of his followers. His principles and beliefs were simple. His personal example of the life lived at a high spiritual level dedicated to the practice of recitation of *Gurbani*, or the sacred word, inspired his followers to emulate his ways.

Baba Ram Singh was hardly twenty years of age when he was recruited to the Sikh army. This was in the year 1836. The military training inculcated in him virtues of orderliness, efficiency and discipline. Two years later he happened to meet Baba Balak Singh at Hazro, a man of the highest spiritual excellence. This meeting was very fruitful and resulted in a complete spiritual transformation of Baba Ram Singh.

Those were the fateful days in the history of the Punjab. The Sikh empire was heading towards a crisis. The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1839) was followed by a series of disasters. During this decade was unfolded a fast-moving drama revealing the pattern of the dissolution of an empire through treachery, murder and inner intrigue, coupled with the strategies of a foreign power.

Baba Ram Singh was an eye-witness to these happenings. He had an inner knowledge of how the integrity of the Sikh army was being subverted by disloyal and unscrupulous persons. Before the Anglo-Sikh battle at Mudki (1845), Baba Ram Singh gave up his army career and devoted himself entirely to spiritual meditation. Around 1846 he settled down at his native village Bhaini, already under English occupation. By the treaty of Lahore the whole of the Jullundur Doab had been annexed by the Britishers (March 1846). The events which had led up to this had a tremendous effect on the mind of Baba Ram Singh. Could something be done? Could religion be saved? Could life be lived in its simplicity? Could Sikhism recapture its pristine purity? Could the community yet recover its integrity?

For some time Baba Ram Singh remained preoccupied with these questions. When whole of the Punjab was annexed (1849), he set out of his home preaching his ideas. He went from village to village between Ludhiana and Ferozepore. Then he initiated four Sikhs into his creed by administering to them formal baptism. This happened in 1857. This was

3. Lieut. Himilton, District Superintendent of Police, Ferozepore, Confidential Report, dated 6th June, 1863.

another fateful year in the history of India, known for what is called by the British as the Sepoy Mutiny and is otherwise known as *Ghadr*.

It may be recalled that the leaders of the *Ghadr* utilized in their propaganda the sanctity of the cow. It was given out that in the manufacture of the new cartridges for the army the suet and lard were used as constituents and that this was done in order to desecrate the Indian religions. The necessary inference arising out of it was that the soldiers who had to use the new ammunition would thus get apostatized.

Baba Ram Singh had a sentimental bias in favour of the cow. Was the sanctity of the cow an article of faith with him? From all outward appearances it looks so. At any rate, it proved an effective device in keeping his followers immune from the influence of the foreigners who could be described as beef-eaters and thus shunned.

In 1862, Baba Balak Singh passed away. All his followers met at Hazro. In a formal gathering Baba Ram Singh was elected as the leader of the community which by this time was known as the Namdhari brotherhood or, in the popular parlance, as Kuka movement. The investiture of Baba Ram Singh took place on April 11, 1863, the year marked by two great events. Rani Jindan, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's widow, died at London (August 1863) and her son Duleep arrived at Bombay (October 1863) with a view to performing the last religious rites. The dead body of the Rani, kept in a state of preservation, was thus brought to the Indian soil for cremation. This created a stir in the Punjab. The Sikhs had an emotional attachment to their last sovereign Duleep Singh and had nursed a feeling of sympathy for his and his mother's misfortunes after his deposition by the British. The Punjab was agog with rumours and was in a tense state of expectancy. Nothing happened. The cremation took place on the bank of the Godavri at Nasik and Duleep Singh returned to England from Bombay, leaving behind a sense of frustration in the Punjab.

That was just the time when Baba Ram Singh was vigorously engaged in preaching Sikh reformation. His central concern was to secure the Sikhs from missionary influence. The Christian missions had been established in these parts with the advent of the British. In 1867, the Rev. J. S. Woodside of the Ludhiana Presbyterian Mission established in 1867 wrote about Ram Singh :

(He) has been steadily though slowly increasing the ranks of his followers, giving out that his vocation is to purify the Sikh religion, which he declared is no longer what it used to be in the time of Govind Singh. What the actual doctrines of this new religi-

ous leader may be, it is not of much importance to enter upon now, and it will suffice to mention that, as far as can be gathered from trustworthy reports, he objects to all idol-worship, to eating meat and smoking tobacco—truth telling being also a *sine qua non* to all who choose to adopt this creed. His followers may be known by a peculiar shaped *pugree* (turban) which is not allowed to come over the ears... (Ram Singh's) manner is gentle and quiet, and he, to an ordinary observer, would be considered a politely behaved man. Such is the individual who has already got together a sect of over 100,000 men, and it is for the Government to determine whether it is safe for a man who wields such enormous power as does Ram Singh to wander about the country, a sort of demi-god for the people to fall down and worship.⁴

The Government had, in fact, kept since 1863 a vigilant eye on the movement of Baba Ram Singh. The administrative machinery was tightening its grip with increasing pressure. The free movements of Baba Ram Singh were being interfered with. Evidence was being collected about his connection with a foreign power calculated to subvert the established order. Meanwhile, the Namdhari community swelled in numbers and was well organized. The Punjab was divided into different districts, each under a *Suba*, i. e., governor or Kuka leader. A private postal system was established. Everything English was taboo, *Swadeshi* was the watchword. Boycott of Government services, Government schools and foreign cloth were articles of faith. The protection of cow became an urgent note. What originally was perhaps only a device to keep at a safe distance from the foreigner got transformed into a dogma. The butcher became the symbol of irreligiosity.

It has been roughly estimated that the number of Kukas around 1871 was 300,000. They were fired with intense zeal. Incidents took place. 49 Kukas were blown away from the artillery guns.⁵ It was by way of punishment carried out in an arbitrary manner by the order of the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana. Several more were similarly dealt with by the order of the Commissioner of the Ambala Division.⁶ The main

4. *The Foreign Missionary*, XXVI, 1867-68, p. 67.

5. "Forty-nine of the rebels were blown away from guns this afternoon, on the parade-ground of the Kotla Chief." Communication No. 16, dated 17-1-1872, from Cowan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division.

6. "16 tried for offences, in Kotla, sentenced by me and executed; 4 transported for life; 50 to be imprisoned in default of security; 10 not punished." Telegram dated 20-1-1872, from Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambala Division, to the Officiating Secretary to Government of Punjab.

charge was that the Kukas had murdered butchers, which was not established through a judicial process.⁷ Baba Ram Singh was taken into custody and ultimately deported to Rangoon where he died in 1885. Thus subsided the tidal wave of the Namdhari Movement.

Along with Kuka crusade, there was another reform activity making headway in the Punjab. It was the Nirankari movement. The founder was Baba Dyal (1753-1855). In 1851, he held a formal congregation at Rawalpindi and laid the foundation of his sect. The main thrust of his teaching was towards the abolition of superstitious ceremony and ritual. God was to be adored only as a formless spirit. The idols or iconic representations were declared to be contrary to Sikh teaching. Baba Dyal aimed at retrieving the essence of the creed of Guru Nanak, who had declared :

Leaving behind all bewilderments I adore the One Formless.

The main idea of Baba Dyal was to establish the purity of the Sikh faith, freed from the accretions of the Hindu superstitions. The Nirankari Darbar had its own organization. The Punjab was divided into 40 *Subas* to propagate the simple Sikh faith. Cow-protection was not a fervid theme with the Nirankaris, nor did they make a fetish of vegetarianism. The priestcraft was abolished. Marriages were solemnized in the simplest way, without any fanfare.

The two movements, Nirankari and Namdhari, stemmed from the same spiritual urge of the two reformers. Yet in their outer aspect the differences were obvious. Whereas the Nirankaris' main concern was to rid Sikhism of Brahmanical influence, the Kukas passionately set themselves against the likely encroachments of an alien religion and culture.

These movements opened the way for other reform efforts. The Namdharis and Nirankaris provided the catalyst for the coming into existence of the more comprehensive endeavours which led to the foundation of the Singh Sabha movement (1873).

7. 'I propose to execute at once all who were engaged in attacks on Maloudh and Kotla. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur in exercising an authority which is not vested in me, but the case is an exceptional one.' Communication No. 15, dated 17-1-1872, from Cowan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division.

The Formulation and Enactment of the Punjab Alienation of Land Bill

NORMAN G. BARRIER

One of the major domestic problems encountered by the Indian government in the half-century following the mutiny was the growing indebtedness of the cultivating classes and the transfer of landed property by mortgage and sale to urban moneylenders. Official concern sprang partially from a paternal feeling toward the illiterate peasant, but the driving force behind the government efforts to find a solution to debt and subsequent alienation of land was fear: in several provinces there occurred or threatened to occur serious agrarian unrest due to loss of land by hereditary landholding classes. The government adopted various measures to meet this political threat, but by far the most drastic was the enactment in 1900 of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act which prohibited the transfer of land from the Punjab agricultural tribes to non-agricultural moneylenders. The measure, termed by many the '*magna carta*' of the Punjab peasant, was the culmination of a thirty-year debate on the dynamics of rural debt in the Punjab. This study attempts to trace the important steps which led to the controversial solution of direct interference in the rights of private property. In the concluding section some remarks are made on the Act's impact upon the economic and social life of the Punjab.

Government Response to Alienation, 1849-1893

Little agricultural property was transferred during Sikh rule in the Punjab. One reason for the paucity of alienation was that, for all practical purposes, private ownership of land did not exist. Land was held communally either by tribes in the western Punjab or by village communities in the eastern districts. Tribal authorities and village councils carefully restricted transfer of communal land to outsiders.¹ The low market value of land, resulting from the high-revenue charges which left little or no surplus, also placed natural limits upon land transfer. Moneylenders and petty capitalists could make more profit from the

GH—Government of India Home Proceedings (Public).

GJ—Government of India Judicial Proceedings.

GR—Government of India Revenue Proceedings.

1. *Punjab Administration Report, 1849-1851*, pp. 280-1 (reports cited as PAR); C.L. Tupper, *Punjab Customary Law* (Calcutta, 1881), II, 182-200; III, 127-255.

collection of interest than from foreclosure or investment.²

British rule introduced several new factors which disrupted the existing system of landholding and created a situation whereby land alienation was permitted and even precipitated. The British land revenue system was instrumental in causing an increase in alienation. The annual land tax payable in cash placed new and strange demands upon a peasantry unaccustomed to either saving or handling money. To meet the rigorously collected revenue charges and unexpected expenses, the peasant turned, as in the past, to the moneylender. The *baniya*, however, was no longer satisfied with mere interest on loans. Unlike the Sikh exactions the British revenue demand in the Punjab was notoriously low, so much so that the Punjab government fought a running battle with the Indian government over the light assessment.³ In theory the light assessment helped the cultivating classes, but in numerous cases it had an adverse effect. The low demands left a large margin of profit. This additional profit plus the expanded opportunity for commercial activity due to improvements in the communication system and the spread of irrigation tended to increase the value of land. The moneylender, therefore, increasingly demanded land as collateral and tried to confiscate the agriculturist's property. Another effect of the rise in land value was the extension of the peasant's credit, which he promptly used extravagantly or to meet social and cultivating expenses—he borrowed on his land, fell deeply into debt, lost his property and became a landless tenant.⁴ By raising the value of land and expanding the cultivator's credit the lightness of the revenue demand contributed heavily to the process of alienation.

The British also fostered land transfer by extending the peasant's power of transfer. The first Punjab officials awarded rights of transfer and mortgage to thousands of tenants at the time of the first settlement.⁵

2. A discussion of revenue and landownership under Ranjit Singh is in P.P. 1870, LIII, C. 159, "Punjab Tenancy Act." Also, H. K. Trevaskis, *The Land of the Five Rivers* (London, 1928), pp. 166-79.

3. See, for example, the noting and correspondence in GR, 1890, May, 30-32A; May 1892, 1A; Aug. 1892, 14-16A. Some of the initial assessments in the Punjab were excessive, but this was quickly corrected.

4. This summary is drawn from alienation reports, gazetteers and the various GR proceedings which will be cited later in the study. The most detailed analysis is in GR, 1891, Dec., 234-300A (Punjab Government 563 S, August 25, 1891, and enclosures). This brief discussion is merely a telescoping of a very complex process. Piet Van den Dungen of Australian National University is currently preparing a dissertation on the subject and will provide in the near future a district-level analysis of land transfer and alienation.

5. This is fully discussed in C. 159.

Even where the government did not directly create rights of transfer, it undermined co-ownership and communal landholding by recording definite landownership and introducing a court system in which land rights and tenantry relations could be contested. English courts helped remove the traditional checks on alienation outside the community, the authority of local councils and customary law. Case law rather than customary law became the standard for decision concerning land right and debt proceedings.⁶

Destruction of the indigenous checks on land transfer and the peasant's inability to cope with property rights, a cash economy and extended credit culminated in an increase of debt litigation and eventually a steady rise in alienation of land. After 1860 the number of civil debt cases rose abruptly, and by 1868 the Punjab government began to record alienation statistics in a separate section of the annual administration reports.⁷ In 1876 the government began to differentiate between transfers to agriculturists and non-agriculturists. Moneylenders in the past had been local merchants or rich cultivators, but the lure of valuable land attracted speculators from nearby towns and cities. Despite the government's inability to differentiate clearly between the "agriculturists" and "non-agriculturists," the flow of land outside the traditional landholding community became increasingly clear. In 1876 the new class of moneylenders were ahead of their agricultural counterparts in securing mortgages, and ten years later 500,000 acres were being transferred annually to "non-agriculturists."⁸

Many district officers were alarmed at the growing rural debt and the transfer of land. Schooled in the Punjab system of administration which eulogized paternal protection of the agrarian population, these officers believed that peasant proprietorship provided the most stable social and economic base for peaceful British rule.⁹ The loyalty of the Punjab rural classes during the mutiny further justified the adoption of paternalism as a principle of administration. Both contemporary and

6. The Punjab Laws Act of 1872 played an important role in displacing customary Law. See R.N. Iyer, *The Punjab and the N.W.F. Province Acts* (Mylapore, 1934), I, 472-79. Also, S.S. Thorburn, *Musalmans and Money-Lenders in the Punjab* (London, 1886), pp. 118-26; Trevaskis, pp. 320-22.

7. *PAR*, 1864-5, pp. 2-5; *PAR*, 1867-68, pp. xxvii-viii, 41-42.

8. *PAR*, 1887-8, pp. 7-8, xxxi-xxxii. The government finally decided that the term "agriculturist" should apply to persons who held land at the time of the first regular settlement.

9. S.S. Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War* (Edinburgh, 1904), pp. 168-81; *PAR*, 1856-7, p. 7.

later writers, attributed the province's weathering of the storm to the lack of agrarian disaffection and the success of John Lawrence's active protection of rural interests.¹⁰ By 1863 officers were sending in reports warning of the increases in debt litigation. The provincial government investigated and decided that the rise was due to "agricultural prosperity . . . pernicious changes of officers and the peculiarity of our courts."¹¹ The Lieutenant-Governor and the Financial Commissioner maintained that the best policy was strict non-intervention in economic relations.

The Lahore government's insistence upon the health of the rural economy and its reliance upon *laissez faire* in the face of pressing economic problems were to characterize in a large degree the central administration's response to rural indebtedness for the next two decades. The secretariat and the bureaucratic machinery in Lahore were out of touch with the changes taking place in the districts, a situation perpetuated by faulty statistics. Moreover, the Lahore government was more susceptible to the influence of current doctrines of political economy than the district officers involved in actual problems of administration. Despite the official position on the seriousness of debt, district officers and judges continued to make an issue of the gradual loss of land by the cultivating classes.

In 1872 a chief court judge, Justice Melville, called upon the government to re-examine the regulations and judicial procedure involving debt litigation. After a two-year study Melville asked the Lieutenant-Governor to revise indebtedness laws and enact legislation limiting the cultivators' right to alienate land. Claiming that a peasant without land "becomes a disaffected and disloyal subject," Melville argued that political expediency should take precedence over doctrines of political economy.¹² In response to these suggestions the Lieutenant-Governor, R. H. Davie, claimed that existing regulations were adequate. His dissent reflected strong disapproval of any interference in property rights. Such intervention would upset the balance of "natural economic relations" and "destroy the habits of self-reliance and industry which characterizes many of the cultivating races of the Punjab."¹³ This view was later seconded by R. E. Egerton,

10. George Campbell noted, for example, that "it was the system of administration that satisfied the people of the Punjab." *Memoirs of my Indian Career* (London, 1893), I, 235. Also, *Musalman*, p.151.

11. *PAR*, 1864-5, p.2.

12. Minute by Melville in "Papers Regarding Alienation," *Selections from the Records of the Punjab Government* (New Series), VII, 1876, 36.

13. "Papers Regarding Alienation," pp. 6-7. Also, see *PAR*, 1873-4, p.41.

THE FORMULATION AND ENACTMENT OF PUNJAB ALIENATION OF LAND BILL

Davie's successor, who dismissed the rise in transfer as a "natural process of competition, which is both wholesome and necessary."¹⁴

In 1884 S. S. Thorburn, an officer in Dera Ismail Khan, noted for the sympathy with the plight of the Punjabi peasant, sent an unsolicited report on the worsening conditions in his district to Lahore. Thorburn maintained that eight per cent of the cultivable land in Dera Ismail Khan had been transferred in the last five years to Hindu moneylenders due to peasant extravagance and defects in the administrative system. Thorburn admitted that the cultivators were foolish and often tricked by crafty moneylenders, but he also insisted that the court system and rigid revenue demands added to rural misery and debt. The officer suggested a multi-fold remedy including adjustment of land taxes and restrictions on land transfer. If such a solution were not forthcoming, he warned, "the danger of allowing the Hindu to assume a position of domination over the more warlike Muhammadan would create a state of things which would tempt the latter to welcome the subversion of our Government."¹⁵ Lahore rejected Thorburn's study, once again on the grounds of *laissez faire* and the denial of serious rural debt.¹⁶

The Punjab government, however, had not properly gauged the tenacity of Thorburn. With the same doggedness he later exhibited in championing the Punjabi peasant against impressment, the district officer refused to let his suggestions rest unheeded. Thorburn took his fight to the people and the India Council by revising his findings and publishing them in a book, *Musalmans and Moneylenders in the Punjab*.

The Lieutenant-Governorship had meanwhile passed to James Lyall, an ex-Financial Commissioner who vigorously denied that land transfer, was politically dangerous.¹⁷ Events in the Punjab and questioning by the Indian government soon forced Lyall to alter his announced position. During the first two years of his administration transfer statistics indicated a sharp rise in alienation.¹⁸ Accompanying the spurt in transfer was a

14. *PAR*, 1880-81, p.22.

15. Minute by Thorburn in "Indebtedness of the Mohammedan Population of Dera Ismail Khan," *GJ*, 1885, Oct. 252-544A, p.3.

16. "Indebtedness," p. 27.

17. His opinions are in the following : *Kangra Gazetteer* (1924-25), pp. 394-400; *Dera Ismail Khan Gazetteer* (1883), p. 91; P. Government letter 231, Nov. 7, 1889, in *GR*, 1891, May, 1-8A.

18. 2,500,000 acres changed hands during 1886 and 1887. The rise was precipitated by an upward burst of produce prices and inadequate rain. The system of recording alienations had just been improved, so the increase was probably not sharp as indicated by the statics.

crime wave in the western districts over the issues of cow slaughter and moneylending. In the west Punjab most of the moneylenders were Hindu, and Muhammadan debtors often used the frequent cow riots as occasions for killing the *baniyas* or destroying their records.¹⁹ Rioting and agrarian unrest among the Punjabis also aroused the spectre of the mutiny, for the cultivators who anchored British rule during the 1857 debacle furnished a large proportion of the Indians in the native army.²⁰

While discontent was mushrooming in Punjab, Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India, read Thorburn's book and questioned the Indian government about the dangers of moneylending and rural debt.²¹ Lyall was sceptical, if not hostile, towards Thorburn's conclusions, but the Cross inquiry and the unrest drove the Lieutenant-Governor to undertake perhaps the most exhaustive study of land transfer held in the Punjab. The investigation showed that there was great divergence of opinion in the province both as to the extent of alienation and the political dangers engendered by the cultivating class's loss of land. As excellent example of the disagreement is reflected in the response of the highest Punjab officials to Lyall's questioning. The Lahore Commissioner, Charles Rivaz, thought that "the refusal of Government to interfere and check such alienation is regarded by the agricultural classes with profound disaffection." Rivaz, who was later to be largely responsible for the drafting and enactment of the alienation bill, urged strongly that the government should take the "heroic step" of forbidding all transfer of land by mortgage or sale.²² In reply, the Second Financial Commissioner, Mackworth Young, maintained "there are no symptoms at present of widespread agrarian discontent." He further claimed that government should not "rashly" intervene in the "competitive process." If alienation should spread in the future, "we need only to watch it and remove the defects in our system which place the competing parties on an unequal footing."²³

Lyall thought that the debt situation was dangerous, but he agreed with Mackworth Young that abolishment of transfer rights should not

19. Kapur, D.K., *A History of the Development of the Judiciary in Punjab, 1884-1926* (Lahore, 1928), pp. 22-3. *Voice of India*, IV, No. 9-10 (September-October, 1886); *PAR*, 1891-92, p. 71; *GJ*, 1893, Jan., 311-414B.

20. Trevaskis, p. 341. This has been confirmed by the author's hand-tabulation of the strength of the Punjab contingent in the native army (drawn from the annual army lists).

21. Cross to Dufferin, March 1, 1887. *Cross Papers*. MSS Eur., E. 243, India Office Library. Also, see P. Government letter 231, Nov. 9, 1889, or *GR*, 1891 May 1-8A.

22. *Selection of Papers on Agricultural Indebtedness* (London, 1897), 1, 91.

23. *Papers on Indebtedness*, I, 92.

be considered. According to the Lieutenant-Governor the inquiry showed that alienation resulted primarily from the gift of proprietary right and the light revenue charges which made the land more valuable. He dared not "shake the belief in the liberality and friendliness of our Government" by either raising the land revenue charges or withdrawing the right of transfer. The only possible remedy to peasant debt would be a return to the simplified system of judicial law which existed in the early days of British rule in the Punjab. Lyall asked the Calcutta government to allow Punjab district officers to make summary revenue and debt judgements without the hindrances of regulation law and complicated judicial proceeding. In this way the local officer would take into consideration the individual circumstances of each case and minimize the efforts of the moneylender to manipulate statute law and cheat the peasant.²⁴

The Government of India refused to legislate along the lines suggested by the retiring Lieutenant-Governor. The Council split on the issue of turning back the administrative clock in the Punjab, and as a compromise, the Governor-General Lord Lansdowne suggested that the Punjab debt problems be considered by the commission which was being called to study revision of the Dekkhan Agriculturist Relief Act.²⁵ Lansdowne appointed Denzil Ibbetson as representative of the Punjab government on the commission of review.

As member of the commission and later as the Secretary of the Revenue and Agriculture Department, Denzil Ibbetson played a significant role in shaping the government decision to restrict alienation in the Punjab. Experienced in district administration and settlement work, Ibbetson had decided views on the dangers of debt and the amelioration of the peasant's economic condition. He forcibly stated during the Lyall inquiry that the future political contentment of the peasant rested upon the government's willingness to take decisive action. Ibbetson thought that peasant debt arose from extravagance, and he urged protecting the peasant from himself and the wiles of the moneylender by removing the cultivator's right to alienate land.²⁶

24. *Papers on indebtedness*, I, 112-14.

25. The Dekkhan Act of 1879 was chiefly a reform of the judiciary and placed mild administrative checks on the moneylender. The important files on the Commission and the decision to include the Punjab are the following: *GJ*, 1891, Dec. 234-300A; *GJ*, 1894, June 329-364A; *GR*, 1891, Dec. 10-11A; *GR*, 1894, April 1A.

26. On Ibbetson see Evan Maconochie, *Life in the Indian Civil Service* (London, 1926), p. 92; Philip Woodruff (Mason), *The Men Who ruled India* (London, 1953-54), II, 188-9. A lengthy commentary by Ibbetson on the alienation problem is his letter, March 7, 1889, to the Financial Commissioner, found in *GJ*, 1891, Dec. 234-300A.

During the discussion of indebtedness by the Dekkhan Commission the Government of India slowly accepted the idea that potential political danger necessitated the adoption of restrictions upon land alienation. In November of 1893, the Revenue and Agriculture Department, began a serious examination of alienation restrictions on an all-India basis. Lansdowne was convinced that at least in selected provinces restriction was the only thorough solution to debt and land transfer: "The thing is no doubt wrong from the purely economical point of view, but we have to deal with a serious political danger, and I see no way out of it but this."²⁷ In a legislative despatch of May 1894, the Indian government officially informed London that alienation restrictions were being considered.²⁸

Elgin and Alienation restrictions 1894-1898

Ibbetson was given the task of formulating a memorandum examining all aspects of the alienation problem which would be sent to local governments for opinion. The Secretary quickly won the confidence of the newly arrived Viceroy, Lord Elgin, and began to shape the revenue policies of the Indian government. Elgin placed high priority upon debt legislation, but like most Viceroys he had little knowledge of Indian agriculture. Elgin readily accepted Ibbetson's strong opinions on the need for restriction, as evidenced by his care in choosing a council replacement for the retiring revenue Member in 1895. The most senior candidate was John Woodburn, Commissioner of the Central Provinces. Elgin hesitated several days in naming Woodburn because he feared the prospective member and Ibbetson might not agree on debt legislation. The Secretary wanted rigid alienation restrictions while Woodburn was considered "timid."²⁹

Woodburn presented in the autumn of 1895 the Ibbetson-drafted alienation proposals to the executive Council. The Secretary's two-hundred page memorandum stressed the necessity for serious consideration of direct intervention in the rights of transfer. Ibbetson noted that extravagance and manipulation by moneylenders were the primary causes of

27. Lansdowne Minute, January 3, 1894, in *GR*, 1894 April IA.

28. Legislative Despatch 21, May 2, 1894, in *GJ* 1894 June 329-364A.

29. Elgin to Hamilton, October 16, 1895. References to the Elgin Hamilton and Curzon-Hamilton correspondence, unless otherwise cited, are drawn from the Hamilton Collection (India Office Library): Letters from Elgin, MSS Eur. D. 509; Letters to Elgin, MSS Eur. C. 125; Letters from Curzon, MSS Eur. D. 510; Letters to Curzon, MSS Eur. C. 126; Hamilton became Secretary of State in 1895 and Elgin became Viceroy in 1894.

the debt situation, and he argued that the most effective means of stopping the transfer of land from the hands of the cultivating class was restriction. This action would immediately halt alienation. It would also hopefully contract the peasant's credit and thereby curtail his extravagance. Instead of paying heavy interest to the moneylender the cultivator would use his margin of profit to redeem his mortgaged land and eventually become prosperous.³⁰ The Council refused to endorse the memorandum as the final opinion of the Indian government, but in a letter accompanying the voluminous note Elgin counselled the local governments to set aside *a priori* notions of political economy and seriously consider the restriction suggestions.³¹

The government of India's serious discussion of restriction brought into the sharp focus the basic incongruity of two principles long associated with the Punjab system of administration, right of private ownership of land and paternal protection of the rural population. The paternal act of taking from the peasant the right of land transfer appealed to numerous officers, but at the same time such action conflicted with a strong belief in the peasant's right to buy, sell or mortgage. This conflict led to a sharp division in official ranks concerning the land proposals. The Lieutenant-Governor, Dennis Fitzpatrick, was ambivalent towards the alienation suggestions. He realized that land transfer posed serious political problems and yet he balked at wholesale restriction. Fitzpatrick, therefore, suggested a compromise between general restrictions and *laissez faire*. Instead of applying limitations throughout the province the Indian government should give the Punjab administration the authority to limit sales and regulate mortgage agreements in villages or tracts where political expediency justified the action. The Punjab government would study alienation trends in each district and then decide which areas required restrictions. Fitzpatrick circulated the Ibbetson memorandum and a minute outlining his personal plan. The Punjab commission acknowledged that some action must be taken to contain the peasant's irresponsibility, but the officers continued to dis-

30. The memorandum and a short note on land transfer and restrictions are in GR, 1895, Oct. 72-73A. The Government of India was considering numerous measures to solve the insolvency problem, but the author has chosen to focus primarily on the restriction discussion. Other remedies discussed included raising revenue assessment on all land or only on alienated land, improvement of the court of wards and judicial reform.

31. See noting in GR, 1895, Oct. 72-73A and the P. Government letter of October 26, 1895, in the same file. Also, Elgin to Hamilton, October 23, 1895.

agree on the need for general restrictions. A majority favoured dealing with restrictions on an experimental basis by applying Fitzpatrick's scheme of an "enabling act."³²

The Government of India received replies to its urgent inquiry in 1897. Most of the local governments disliked placing restrictions upon transfer and eventually the Indian government abandoned its plan to extend restrictions to several provinces. Initially, remedial legislation on the lines of transfer restriction would be limited to the Punjab. The decision to deal separately with the Punjab was due to the seriousness of the debt situation in that province, the local government's willingness to discuss restrictions and the Revenue and Agricultural Department's particular interest in the Punjab. Both Ibbetson and the new Member in charge of the Department, Charles Rivaz, were emphatic in their wish to legislate immediately for their home province.³³

Despite the Punjab government's tentative approval of experimentation with alienation restrictions, the Council was dissatisfied with Fitzpatrick's conducting of the debt discussion. Ibbetson and Rivaz were upset that the Lieutenant-Governor had circulated his own views, thus giving a strong lead to his subordinates. The Secretary wrote several almost bitter minutes attacking Fitzpatrick's scheme and pointing out the impracticality and loss of time involved in allowing the local government to determine where restrictions were necessary. He and the Revenue Member urged general restrictions rather than local operation applying only to notified villages. Limited application would arouse suspicion and jealousy, according to the Secretary, while it would also create an adverse credit situation. Ibbetson feared that the designation of special areas for restriction would cause the moneylenders to extend credit only in villages where they could eventually take over land. If restrictions were general, moneylenders would have to deal with all agriculturists on the same basis and credit would not suffer.³⁴ The Council agreed with the two revenue experts and instructed the new Lieutenant-Governor, Mackworth Young, to call a special committee and prepare definite proposals for restriction legislations.³⁵

32. Summary drawn from *GR*, 1898, Nov. 3-22A.

33. Based on the Council noting in *GR*, 1898, Nov. 3-22A. See Rivaz and Ibbetson notes on June 23, 29, 1898. Also, Elgin to Hamilton, Nov. 3, 1898, and Elgin to Hamilton, January 20, 1898.

34. Ibbetson minute, January 31, 1898, and Rivaz minute, February 17, 1898, in *GR*, 1898, Nov. 3-22A.

35. Letter 570, March 30, 1898 and noting of May, 1898 in *GR*, 1898, Nov. 3-22 A.

Mackworth Young opposed alienation restrictions. The Lieutenant-Governor represented one section of the Punjab commission which clung to the doctrines of strict non-intervention in economic relations.³⁶ In addition to his economic views, Mackworth Young sincerely believed that the government's duty in India was to mete out impartial justice to all classes. The proposed restrictions were plainly class legislation, and Mackworth Young felt strongly that government must not unnecessarily favour one class—even the large and important agricultural class—by passing discriminatory measures.³⁷ However, Mackworth Young was also a man of dignity and duty. He called together the leading revenue experts of the province and allowed them to prepare an appraisal of the Punjab situation without prejudicing them with his personal views.

The Punjab committee took the alienation proposals and hammered out guidelines for legislation suited to the Punjab. The committee's three main recommendations were as follows :

1. Any permanent alienation of agricultural land to non-agriculturists, if made without the sanction of the district officer, should be void, but that otherwise there should be no restrictions on sale or other permanent transfer.
2. The only forms of temporary alienation to be allowed in the future should be : (1) usufructuary mortgages, with delivery of possession to the mortgagee, for a maximum of twenty years and on the condition that at the end of the period the land should revert to the mortgagor or his successor with mortgage debt extinguished; (2) simple mortgages which under certain conditions might be converted into usufructuary mortgages.
3. The restrictions should be applied to the entire province. Local government should be given wide discretionary powers to exempt areas from the legislation; the local government should also be given the power to determine what class of persons should be considered "non-agriculturist" for the purposes of the act.

36. Note of October 1, 1898 in *GJ*, 1891, Dec. 234-300A. Also his discussion in "The Progress of the Punjab," *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, XIX (1905).

37. Drawn primarily from Mackworth Young's voluminous correspondence with Elgin in 1896 and 1897 concerning the communal situation in the Punjab (Hamilton Collection). Also see the Lieutenant-Governor's speech in the Legislative Council, *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1899*, pp. 329-30. (cited hereafter as *Proceedings*.)

Mackworth Young disagreed with the recommendation about general application of restrictions, but in submitting the report he agreed not to oppose actively the government's final decision as to the extent of the legislations.³⁸ When the Government of India received the Punjab commentary in early August of 1898, it was too late to legislate, as Elgin's five-year term expired in the fall. One of his last acts, however, was to assemble all the relevant mamoranda on alienation and send the material to London for inspection and comment. Elgin recommended that the initial attempt at restriction be limited to the Punjab. He submitted to Hamilton, the Secretary of State, two restriction plans. The first was basically the Punjab committee recommendations with several important modifications. The Council disagreed that restriction should be placed only on alienation to persons outside the agricultural community. Such a lax measure would leave too much room for fraud. The Government of India favoured an alternative plan of allowing alienations only between agriculturists of the same village or agnatic group. The Council also changed the limitation on mortgages from twenty to fifteen years. The second plan called for experimental restriction and limited application of the measure. Elgin included the enabling proposal because he thought it "impolitic" to exclude Mackworth Young's opinion. The Lieutenant-Governor was "lukewarm, if not hostile" to an inclusive measure, and Elgin did not wish to alienate the strong head of the Punjab Government.³⁹

Under the leadership of Elgin, Ibbetson and a parade of council members, the land alienation legislation had been narrowed in geography and scope. The Indian government supported the position that general restrictions in the Punjab would check land transfer and indirectly permit the peasantry to free itself from debt, but the decision as to the extent of the restriction was left to the Secretary of State and his Council. The final organization of the legislation and its presentation to the Legislative Council and the Indian public awaited the guiding hand of Lord Curzon.

Curzon and the Enactment of the Land Bill, 1899-1900

Lord Curzon of Kedleston arrived in India with a background of experience in Asian affairs and a belief in the sanctity of the British

38. Revenue Despatch 59, Nov. 3, 1898, in *GR*, 1898, Nov. 3-22A. Also, Mackworth Young to H.B. Smith, Secretary to Viceroy, April 12, 1897 (enclosed in Elgin to Hamilton, April 14, 1897).

39. Despatch 59, Nov. 3, 1898. Elgin to Hamilton, November 3, 1898; Hamilton to Curzon, April 21, 1899.

Empire, "so sacred and noble a thing that I cannot understand people quarreling about it, or even holding opposite opinions about it."⁴⁰ The Viceroy's handling of the alienations bill can best be understood in light of his ideas on administration and government. Like many of the individuals who raised the issue of debt and pressed for remedial legislation, the new Indian ruler thought the best government, for India was paternal government, the protection of the Indian masses by an autocratic British bureaucracy. In the words of Curzon's critic, Henry Cotton, "his zeal is for people, but it is for the people in the abstract . . . everything for the people but nothing by them or through them. The bureaucracy knows what is best for the people; that was the keynote of his Government."⁴¹ All decisions were to be made by the Viceroy who utilized the counsel of his advisors and who had the advantage of "knowing the whole country and of applying the comparative test."⁴² Once a decision had been made concerning an issue or legislation, the matter should be carried through to conclusion without hesitation. Curzon's secretary has aptly characterized the Viceroy's administrative philosophy: "He was always painfully thorough and once convinced that a measure was beneficial and right would ignore all susceptibilities and never wore a velvet glove on his iron hand."⁴³

One of the first problems to which the gloveless "iron hand" turned was land alienation. Curzon was concerned over the Indian cultivator's indebtedness. As member of Parliament in 1892 Curzon had insisted that English rule rested upon the contentment of the "real" people of India, the cultivating classes, and he included the debt problem in his "twelve points," the twelve problems he hoped to solve during his term of office.⁴⁴ While Elgin's alienation proposals were being examined by the India Office, Curzon toured north India to see first-hand the severity of peasant poverty. He visited the Punjab canal colonies and was pleased to see the progress made under rules banning alienation among certain categories of colonists. Curzon also addressed a Muslim organization in

40. *Lord Curzon in India*, ed. Thomas Raleigh (London, 1906), p. 52. Curzon served as Under Secretary for both the India and Foreign Affairs Departments. He arrived in Bombay on December 30, 1898, and concluded his first term of office in April, 1904.

41. Henry Cotton, *Indian and Home Memories* (London, 1911), p. 310. For a similar assessment see *Lord Curzon*, pp. 52, 564; Curzon to Hamilton, June 28, 1899.

42. *Speeches by Lord Curzon* (Calcutta, n.d.), II, 126. Also, Curzon to Hamilton, March 11, 1900.

43. Walter R. Lawrence, *The India We Served* (London, 1928), p. 34.

44. *4 Parliamentary Debates*, III (March 28, 1892), 63-68; *Proceedings*, 1899, p. 330.

Lahore, the Anjuman-i-Islam, and gave the Muslims his assurance that the government would speedily enact measures to alleviate debt and alienation in the Punjab.⁴⁵

The India Council completed its study of the land legislation in April. Because of the opposition from two members, Alfred Lyall and Dennis Fitzpatrick, Hamilton was unable to give support to the plan endorsed by Elgin and Ibbetson. Instead, he returned both schemes and instructed Curzon to choose one and draft a bill. Hamilton stressed that the two plans should be carefully considered at Simla where the Punjab Government's opinion could be properly weighed.⁴⁶

Curzon received the proposals at Simla and immediately conferred with Rivaz, who assured his chief that the Elgin measure was acceptable to the Punjabi peasant and a majority of the Punjab officers.⁴⁷ Officially basing his decision on Rivaz's knowledge of the Punjab and his own observations in the canal colonies, Curzon informed Hamilton on May 10th that the Indian government would pursue the inclusive measure. It is apparent, however, that the Viceroy made up his mind to choose the all-Punjab plan long before receiving the two schemes at Simla. In March and April he discussed alienation with his two agrarian advisors, Rivaz and Ibbetson (who was at the time Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces), and reached the conclusion that limited application of restrictions offered too much room for administrative error and manipulation by moneylenders. Only general restrictions would save the Punjabi cultivator.⁴⁸ Although Mackworth Young was also in Simla, Curzon did not discuss his decision with the Lieutenant-Governor. Curzon and Mackworth Young were embroiled in a struggle that was to continue long after Mackworth Young's retirement in 1902. The Viceroy, unlike his predecessor, was not willing to pamper the whims and the pride of his "subordinates" in the local governments. Curzon had already passed legislation, the Indian Contract Amendment Act, over the Lieutenant-Governor's fierce opposition, and he was formulating plans to remove

45. Curzon to Hamilton, May 10, 1899; *Curzon Speeches*, II, 104. The Government of India forced the Punjab Government to alter its policy of extending proprietary rights to peasants colonist in 1893. This is discussed in *GR*, 1891, May 15-18A; 1891, Nov. 35-7A; 1892, Jan. 1A.

46. Hamilton to Curzon, April 21, 1899, July 44-45A. Hamilton rightly feared that Curzon and Mackworth Young would clash and attempted to mediate.

47. Rivaz to Curzon, May 3, 1899 (enclosed in Curzon to Hamilton, May 10, 1899).

48. Curzon to Hamilton, March 2, March 9, May 10, 1899. The letter of March 9th is from the Curzon Papers, MSS. Eur. F. III, India Office Library.

the north-west frontier from the control of the Punjab government.⁴⁹ When Mackworth Young complained at being overruled and humiliated in the eyes of his subordinate officers, Curzon labelled him as an official who took administrative criticism personally.⁵⁰ Characteristically, Curzon maintained this initial image of the Punjab Lieutenant-Governor.

On September 27, 1899, Rivaz presented the Punjab Alienation of Land Bill to the Legislative Council. Anticipating strong opposition to interference in guaranteed land rights, Rivaz emphasized that the government was landlord of the peasant and thereby had the right and obligation to protect its tenants. At present the loss of land by the cultivating classes, those who "furnish the flower of the Native Army," presented a political danger that could only be met by restriction.⁵¹ The alienation bill differed from the Punjab committee proposals on two important points, limitations of fifteen years upon mortgage and alteration of the social units which were to be exempt from the act. The Punjab study group urged that transfer between agriculturists be permitted. Rivaz, on the other hand, wanted to restrict all alienations and during the summer discussion of the bill he had attempted to manipulate the term "agriculturist" so that restriction would be maximized. Mackworth Young and other Council members objected, and the Punjab chief tried to use the issue as a pretext for reopening discussion of the restriction principle. Because Curzon did not want to slow legislation by calling for more Punjab opinion, he worked out a compromise. The provincial government was empowered to determine in consultation with the Indian government which tribes were "agricultural" for the purposes of the act. Alienations between non-agriculturists or between agriculturists of the same tribe who lived in the same district were to be permitted as a matter of right. If a member of an agricultural tribe wanted to sell to a member of the same tribe who lived in another district, or to be a member of any other agricultural tribe district officers had to decide whether the transaction was in the best interests of the transferor. Usually permission was also to be given in this second category of transfers. The last category of alienations, between non-agriculturists and members of agricultural tribes, was to be permitted only in cases of necessity.⁵²

49. *Proceedings, 1899*, pp. 15-35; Hamilton to Curzon, April 28, 1899; Curzon to Hamilton, May 31, 1899.

50. Curzon to Hamilton, June 28, 1899. Curzon called those who disagreed with him his "foes."

51. *Proceedings, 1899*, p. 237.

52. *Proceedings, 1899*, 323; Curzon to Hamilton, August 3, 1899. Also see noting in *GR*, July 1899, 44-45A.

Mackworth Young opposed the alienation bill in the Legislative Council. In an earlier meeting during the first week of July, Curzon supposedly secured his agreement to the bill by extending to the Punjab the right of designating tribes and exempting areas from restriction.⁵³ By September Mackworth Young had changed his mind. He agreed with the provisions regulating mortgages, but he sharply criticized the principle of general restriction. The measure's effect on credit and communal relations had not been explored. The Lieutenant-Governor concluded his speech to the council by stating that he gave half-hearted acquiescence to the bill only from a sense of duty.⁵⁴

Curzon supported the bill and emphasized that most Punjab officials favored the legislation. He admitted that the measure was radical and might create turmoil in the Punjab. In order that "public opinion could be measured and taken into consideration," the bill would be published and tabled for nine months. After the council approved, the Viceroy ordered the legislation to be published in the gazette and sent a copy to London. In an accompanying letter Curzon said that although the next year would be spent in assessing public reaction, the bill would undoubtedly be passed at the next Simla session.⁵⁵

Actually Curzon's motives for postponing action on the legislation are unclear. The hostility of the India Council undoubtedly influenced the postponement. Several members of the Council were alarmed at Curzon's disregard for the opinions of local government and actively opposed the Viceroy's tendency to rush land legislation.⁵⁶ Also, Hamilton constantly warned Curzon to hold the reign of government more loosely and listen to provincial opinion. The Secretary of State was particularly anxious that the alienation bill should not be rushed.⁵⁷ The announced purpose, the measuring of public opinion, definitely did not play an important role in Curzon's plans. He had already anticipated public

53. Curzon to Hamilton, July 12, 1899.

54. *Proceedings, 1899*, p. 330. By September Curzon and Mackworth Young were bitter enemies.

55. *Proceedings, 1899*, p. 330; Curzon to Hamilton, September 27, 1899. As several native papers noted, Curzon's speech reflected his conviction that the Indian cultivator wanted and needed the restrictions and, therefore, the bill should be passed.

56. Telegrams to and from India, January and February, 1899, MSS. Eur. D. 508, India Office Library. Several ex-Lieutenant, Governors were Council Members who defended the local governments.

57. See, for example, the wording of Revenue Despatch 226, October 19, 1899. The Secretary of State urged that consideration of *bona fide* criticism.

remonstrance against the legislation and were prepared to forego popularity for political necessity.⁵⁸ Curzon was sure that he and his advisors knew the will and the needs of the Indian people. The vernacular press represented only the opinion of a small educated class, and the Viceroy refused to be guided by its representations. Similarly, Curzon denied that the nationalists understood the "feelings and aspirations of India." The Viceroy laughed at the naive assumption of the Congress that he would redress their grievances; he saw the educated Indians as "expressing pious aspirations, which I am afraid that it will be my duty to shatter."⁵⁹

The announcement that government planned to withdraw rights of transfer from the Punjab cultivating classes created a furor in the press and nationalist circles. The vernacular press, as reported by the *Thagi and Dakaiti Department Selections from the Native Press*, almost universally opposed the measure. Criticism ranged from a defence of *laissez faire* as the best principle of administration to a warning that the Punjabi agriculturists would starve because of contracted credit. The papers made few constructive criticisms. Their suggestions for improving the economic position of the cultivating class generally centered upon the two shibboleths of the Indian National Congress, the need for lower revenue demands and the extension of the permanent settlement.⁶⁰ Congress itself came out strongly against the alienation bill in its annual meeting of 1899. The resolution attacking the legislation underlined the dangers of tampering with natural credit relations and warned that the Punjab land market would be ruined. Despite the 1899 resolution the Congress was unable to maintain a firm stand against the alienation bill because of the communal issue involved. Government had repeatedly stated that it wanted to protect the peasant classes of the Punjab against the moneylenders. In the west Punjab this meant that the government bill would protect Muslim cultivators against Hindu moneylenders. If the Congress pressed its 1899 stand, the nationalist organization stood in great danger of being labelled a Hindu movement. Thus, in its next session at Lahore the Congress bowed to pressure from Muslim delegates on the subjects

58. Revenue Despatch 50, July 27, 1899, and Curzon's note of June 25, 1899 in *GR*, 1899, July 44-45A. Curzon said that "we can either dally with the nettle or we can grasp it."

59. Curzon to Hamilton, January 3, 1901; Curzon to Hamilton, March 2, 1899; Curzon to Hamilton, November 18, 1900.

60. This analysis is based upon a survey of the press contained in the third chapter of my M. A. thesis, "The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill," Duke University, 1963.

committee and dropped the alienation discussion from the agenda.⁶¹

Meanwhile after a heated and prolonged debate Hamilton was able to secure India Council approval of the bill. In the Legislative Council debate of June 22, 1900, Harnam Singh, the new native member representing the Punjab, quickly attacked the alienation proposal.⁶² He vigorously denied the government claim that the bill was backed by all Punjab agriculturists and charged the government with trying to rush important legislation. The Punjab member called for a lengthy discussion of native opposition to restrictions, and noting that he was the only Indian attending the Simla council, he suggested postponement until the Calcutta session. Mackworth Young supported a postponement of the alienation discussion. The Lieutenant-Governor claimed that Curzon had made little effort to test public response and the long-range consequences of the legislation. Curzon and Rivaz replied that Simla was the best location for the considering the bill because of the Punjab's proximity. The Viceroy emphatically denied that he was attempting to pass the measure against public or official opinion.

A select committee chaired by Rivaz was appointed the same day to examine the bill and make amendments. The investigating body was composed of six English members and Harnam Singh, but Mackworth Young was noticeably missing.⁶³ The committee met almost continually for two months. By raising questions and attempting amendments Harnam Singh prolonged discussion and prevented a final vote on the committee report. The committee was reticent to pass over the opinion of the sole Indian member, and discussion dragged on. Finally the Indian government placed a newly appointed Punjabi council member on the committee, Nawab Muhammad Hayat Khan. The Nawab was a government official and large landowner whose past record on the Viceroy's Council reflected unfailing support for government bills. A Muslim and an officer with personal experience in the problems of land revenue and agrarian debt, the Nawab convinced the committee that he, not Harnam Singh, represented the views of the Punjabi peasant.⁶⁴ With this added assurance

61. *Report of the Eleventh Indian National Congress, 1899* (Lucknow, 1900), pp. 46-47; *Report of the Sixteenth Indian National Congress, 1900* (Lahore, 1901), p. 70.

62. Harnam Singh had been heir-apparent of Kapurthala, a native state, until he became a Christian. Highly educated, he served on various government committees and later became a confidant and advisor to Lord Minto. He was a strong supporter of the Congress. The debate on the bill is taken from *Proceedings, 1900*, pp. 219-31.

63. *Proceedings, 1900*, p. 231.

64. *Proceedings, 1900*, pp. 235-6; Curzon to Hamilton, August 15, 1900. The Nawab was rushed into the council and committee in July.

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that the Punjabi cultivator favored the bill, the committee closed its hearings and presented an amended bill.

The select committee made the original bill more flexible and met some of the official and popular criticism by clarifying various sections. The discretionary power of the Punjab government in grouping districts and tribes was widened, and provision was made for the creation of a separate class of agriculturists ("statutory agriculturists") who did not belong to a notified tribe, but would come under the act because of their holding land since the first regular settlement or since 1870. The revised bill extended the limit on mortgages back to twenty years. The committee attempted to deal with the problem of debt incurred through litigation by banning lawyers from appearing before revenue officers. The amending body reasoned that such a ban would remove one source of expense for the agriculturists and simplify alienation hearings.⁶⁵

Mackworth Young and Harnam Singh spoke against the revised bill, but the measure passed the second council vote. Curzon announced that the final enactment would be in October after approval was received from London, and he sent the bill to Hamilton along with a description of the council discussion. Curzon angrily wrote off the opposition of Mackworth Young to personal antagonism and vanity. He considered Harnam Singh "the mouth-piece for those classes in the Punjab who are opposed to the bill, and I need hardly tell you that neither his speech some weeks ago nor his Note of Dissent were written by himself."⁶⁶ Claiming again that official and public opinion were solidly for the bill, Curzon asked Hamilton to rush the measure through the council so that it could be enacted on October 19, 1900.

The Secretary of State thought Harnam Singh's criticism "well-argued" and for almost the first time in correspondence with Curzon he showed hesitancy over interference in debt contract and the rights of property; however, the political situation in the Punjab as painted by Curzon prevailed over principle: "I readily admit that the political danger of an alienation from the soil of the hereditary landowning classes is so great that we are justified in running some inconveniences and risks in trying to stop it."⁶⁷ Hamilton pressed the bill through his council and wired Curzon to proceed.

65. *Proceedings, 1900*, pp. 235-9; Committee report and commentary in *GR, 1900*, Dec. 26-36B.

66. Curzon to Hamilton, August 15, 1900.

67. Hamilton to Curzon, September 13, 1900; September 20, 1900.

Discussion of the land measure in the Legislative Council fanned the opposition of the nationalists and monied classes in the Punjab. During the summer months when the bill was being examined by the select committee a systematic agitation appeared for the first time in the politically inert province. Associations were founded in each district, and memorials with thousands of signatures were sent to the amending committee. At the head of the agitation were local lawyers and supporters of the Congress—the men who moved from district to district calling meetings and passing identical resolutions were invariably drawn from a small educated portion of the commercial community. The select committee report in August tended to win over large portions of the native press and the educated Muslim community to the government bill, but the banning of lawyers from alienation proceedings stirred up a new series of telegram protests. Each district association sent telegrams to the Legislative Council in September and October pleading for postponement of the enactment and claiming that Harnam Singh was their spokesman.⁶⁸

Actually Curzon had no intention of altering the alienation bill. A few minor corrections were made in the measure, and the bill was presented to the Legislative Council on Curzon's target date, October 19th. Rivaz opened the debate by attempting to anticipate and neutralize the argument of Harnam Singh and then turned the floor over to Muhammad Hayat Khan. The Punjabi tried to discredit his fellow native member by claiming that Harnam Singh was an aristocrat and not in touch with the "real population." The Nawab said that as a member "of one of the dominant agricultural tribes in the province and voicing the opinion of the agricultural classes of the Punjab," he alone had the mandate to discuss the merits of the bill. C.L. Tupper, the Punjab Financial Commissioner, then arose and defended the measure on the grounds of political expediency. Finally Harnam Singh was given an opportunity to speak. The Punjabi hit at the notion that political danger overrode the possible economic effects of contracting credit. He predicted that restrictions would not curtail debt but instead turn the agriculturists over to moneylenders

68. The agitators were primarily Khatri, Baniya and Arora. The analysis is drawn from the author's reading of the 1900 vernacular press selection and a correlation of the material with biographical information gathered on the leading Congress workers in the Punjab. The Government of India made its own inquiries into the extent of dissatisfaction and found that only a few individuals were engineering the agitation and trying to make it look like a mass movement. Of particular interest are the district officer comments on the various petitions in *GR*, 1900. Dec. 26-36B.

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of their own community who would extract harsh terms and gradually gain control of the land. Harnam Singh said that the Lieutenant-Governor was against the bill, and he supported Mackworth Young's contention that the measure should be applied experimentally. Mackworth Young thanked the native member and then proceeded to lambaste the government for not listening to Punjab native and official opinion. The Punjab officer traced the history of the legislation, showing that the heads of the local government consistently fought the restrictions pressed upon them by the Central administration. Mackworth Young further claimed that Curzon relied too heavily upon the advice of former Punjab officers affiliated with his Council. In a closing flourish Mackworth Young symbolically washed his hands of the bill and made it clear that the success or failure of the legislation rested entirely upon the heads of the Council. Harnam Singh regained the floor after a multitude of speeches supporting the bill and unsuccessfully introduced four amendments. When the Punjabi gave up after his fourth defeat, Curzon made a concluding speech. The Viceroy was surprisingly conciliatory as he tried to convince the opposition that the government thought no less of them for their expression of opinion. He maintained, however, that political economy and the views of provincial governments must sometimes be cast aside in the face of pressing circumstances.⁶⁹ The legislative Council, not unexpectedly, responded to its chief and passed the Punjab Alienation of Land Bill.

Concluding Remarks

The indebtedness of the peasant presented the Punjab and Indian governments with a dilemma. Extension of British rule precipitated social and economic change which threatened in the future to undermine British supremacy in north India. The key factors underlying this change were expanded credit facilitated by a light revenue demand, a concomitant rise in land value and the extension of alienation rights. To prevent unrest the British had to choose between raising revenue assessments or asserting the right of landlord which it held in theory and forbidding land transfer. A return to heavy assessment probably would have contracted credit and lowered the value of land sufficiently to limit the spread of indebtedness and alienation. Although raising assessments and imposing higher revenue charges on transferred property were discussed, neither government dared proceed in that direction. The peasant was accustomed to low revenue and a drastic change might have precipitated

69. The summary of the debate is from *Proceedings*, 1900, pp. 272-330.

unrest more serious than that caused by the alienation itself.⁷⁰ The government, therefore, reached the conclusion that the only alternative to allowing indebtedness to spread was withdrawal of transfer rights.

The Government of India's basic concern was the checking of land transfer outside the agricultural community, and the restrictions instantly fulfilled that objective. Sales to non-agriculturists ceased after 1901, and mortgages outside the notified agricultural tribes were reduced drastically.⁷¹ Ibbetson and Rivaz were also correct in their judgement that credit would not be curtailed to the point that the cultivating class would suffer. The annual reports on the working of the alienation act showed that credit was available when needed.⁷² There rapidly grew up in place of the urban moneylenders a class of agricultural moneylenders who furnished capital to their fellow cultivators. Because alienation was permitted only between agricultural tribes, rich and crafty agriculturists were given a virtual monopoly in moneylending which they promptly used to exact more harsh terms than those demanded by the old class of usurer. Land transfer was not stopped or even slackened by the alienation restrictions—the direction of the flow of land was merely altered. Jats in the eastern districts and rich Muslims in the western districts began to amass large landholdings at the expense of the weaker and more extravagant tribes.⁷³

While the alienation restrictions kept landholding within the notified agricultural tribes and created a moneylending preserve for certain cultivating castes, the Punjab Alienation of Land Act did not ameliorate the indebtedness of the Punjab peasant. Ibbetson and Curzon had hoped that the limitation on credit would enable the cultivators to overcome their extravagant tendencies, save money, redeem their mortgaged land and eventually grow prosperous. The Punjabi peasant, however, continued to fall deeper and deeper into debt. A rise in land prices due to integration

70. The government was discussing the relation of land revenue to alienation at the same time as it was formulating the restriction legislation. The author has chosen not to over-burden the narrative with references to discussion of other remedial measures. Important files on the proposal to raise land revenue include GR, 1896, June 28 A, and GJ, 1897, Oct. 317-578A.

71. *Annual Report on the Working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act, 1901-2*, pp. 2-3; GR, 1907, June 25-6B (review of the report and the statistical analysis on pp. 8-10).

72. *Report, 1901-2*, p. 2.

73. *Report, 1902-3*, p. 12; *Report, 1906-7*, pp. 1-2. Also, *Punjab Land Revenue Report, 1919-1920*, p. 19; *Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Commission, 1929-30* (Lahore, 1930), I, 137-8.

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of the Punjab market with the world market and expanded irrigation led to a further extension of the cultivator's credit. As in the past the peasant found himself with easy credit and used that credit disastrously. By 1929, the total debt in the province was over 330 crores; this meant that if the debt was evenly distributed among the population, each person would owe more than one year's income to the moneylender. The Punjab Provincial Banking Enquiry Commission found that money-lending to agriculturists had become the Punjab's largest industry.⁷⁴ The Government of India was not directly responsible for the growing impoverishment, but in passing the Punjab Alienation Land Bill it created a new protected moneylending class which received the benefit of that debt.

74. *Banking Enquiry*, I, 12. The Commission found that the creation of the agricultural moneylender was a major factor in the increase of debt in the Punjab (p. 19). This thesis and the relation of expanded credit to extended debt is fully discussed in Malcolm Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (London, 1928).

A Brief History of the Sikhs in Canada

IQBAL S. SARA

The Sikhs¹ began to arrive in B. C. in A. D. 1906, from Hong Kong where they had served with distinction as police officers and soldiers in the Punjabi regiments of the Far East. At first these great, bearded, turbaned men were disliked, and the popular sentiment was to exclude orientals. The Manager of a saw-mill at Fort Moody, however, saw these strapping men only ask for a job and then watched them move the great piles of lumber with ease, he quickly spread the word around. Soon mills at Brunette, Fraser Mills then known as Millside, Abbotsford and Hastings Mill in Vancouver were employing them—and looking for more. The labour unions and the government grew alarmed over the sudden surge of Sikhs to this province.

In 1907 the Asiatic Exclusion League was born, and in September of that year that League swept into action. The trouble started when 700 turbaned Sikhs were expelled from Washington State and crossed the border into Canada.

For the next two years feelings of prejudice continued and at the same time the Sikh immigration into Canada went on. By 1911 there were some 5000 Sikhs in Canada. Some also moved to eastern Canada.

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1. Racially, the Sikh-Jats are of Indo-Scythian stock. Scythians came from north and east of the Black sea. Between 50 B. C. and 50 A. D., the scythians overpowered the Greek governors ruling the Punjab area and settled there. Sikhs means of the Sikh faith or religion. It is the 'Jat' tribes who are scythians. The Sikhs in present form were established by their Tenth Prophet Guru Gobind Singh in A. D. 1699. The Sikhs subsequently ruled the sovereign state of Punjab for over half a century. They lost Punjab to the British after two Anglo-Sikh wars that resulted in the annexation of Punjab in A. D. 1849. After annexation the Sikhs were entrusted with every possible civil and military position of trust by the British. In the Indian Mutiny of 1857, the Punjab Sikhs, and native Sikh states, stayed out of the mutiny activities. In the World Wars of 1914-1918 and the Second World War the Sikhs helped the British and the Commonwealth win those wars in a meritorious service rendered by them.

[For details see, Har Iqbal Singh's article on "The Scythian Origin of Sikh Jat," *The PPP*, Vol. XI-II, pp. 247-269, 1978.]

One of the Sikhs, while working in eastern Canada, worked out a scheme to start a steamship service between Calcutta and Vancouver to transport Sikh immigrants. It is known that the scheme was partly to make money and partly to help India's nationalism should the immigrants be turned back while India was under British rule. Chartering a Japanese freighter the *Komagata Maru*, this man set sail from Hong Kong, and on May 23, with 376 passengers—almost all Sikhs—aboard and he steamed into the port of Vancouver. The *Komagata Maru* was built in Scotland for German owners and subsequently purchased by Japanese interests.

The citizens of Vancouver who had not given up any of their anti-oriental feelings during the past years were furious when they saw the decrepit former German freighter pass through the First Narrows and anchor in the stream waiting for landing permission.

There were many legal problems to be faced by the authorities. These men were British subjects and some of them had actually resided in B. C. before and had gone back to visit Punjab, India. Only 20 were allowed to land. The others were forced to remain on board while armed patrols surrounded the vessel. Days and weeks dragged on. Food and water were running short in the hold of the ship where the Sikhs cooped up. The Ship's captain was ordered by the ship's agents to leave immediately. He was unable to, however, since the Sikhs had taken hold of the engine room and pleaded for getting his ship back. On July 18th, 1914, the militia was called out. A boarding party of 120 policemen and 40 special immigration officers prepared to attack the *Komagata Maru*. The big sea-going tug *Sea-Lion* was selected for the operation—which was fully 15 feet lower than the *Komagata Maru*. Aboard the *Sea-Lion* were Leon Ladner, representing the immigration department, and Member of Parliament, H. H. Stevens. As the tug pulled alongside the Japanese freighter and the party prepared for battle, they were met with a fusillade of coal, bricks, scrap iron, clubs made from driftwood and bamboo sticks and spears. Many on the tug were severely injured, including Mr. Ladner.

However, Mr. Stevens arranged for the navy cruiser *Rainbow* lying commissioned at Esquimalt, get up steam and proceed on a mission, "for police work in northern waters." On July 21, she steamed quietly into Vancouver and anchored near the *Komagata Maru*—her six inch and four inch guns trained on the latter. Crowds lined the water front to see the great naval battle between the old *Rainbow* and *Komagata Maru*. But at 5 P. M. it was announced the long struggle had ended. The Sikhs had agreed to go back to Hong Kong and the federal government promised to supply provisions for the return trip. On July 23, *Komagata*

Maru steamed out through the Lion's Gate.

Many Sikhs were, however, still behind in B. C. Out in Strawberry Hill, south of New Westminster, a group of Sikhs were working in a saw mill that was having financial difficulties. With the outbreak of war the price of Lumber dropped and the mill went broke. The Sikh cook, Mayo Singh, rallied his compatriots around and urged them to take over the mill. Mayo Singh and Kapoor Singh (Siddoo) were destined to be the leading figures in the B. C. lumber industry. They moved to Duncan when the business was booming again.

These Sikh lumbermen established logging camps at what became known as Mayo's landing—now Paldi on the map of Vancouver island. Paldi is the name of Mayo Singh's native village in the Hoshiarpur district of Punjab. Another spot on the map of British Columbia (Vancouver island), is Kapoor's where the now deceased millionaire had a camp. Both men came from Hoshiarpur district, Punjab, around 1907. At that time the District Judge of Hoshiarpur was a man who was grandfather of the first Indian and Sikh Barrister and Solicitor to be admitted to the bar of British Columbia in 1953. The families of Iqbal Singh Sara, the first lawyer in Canada, and of Kapoor Singh Siddoo and Mayo Singh come from the same rural area of Hoshiarpur, Punjab. 'Sirdar' is another place on the B.C. map in the Kootenys.

The Sikh emigration to other parts of the world, including Canada, resulted from different reasons—the chief amongst those being the loss of the Sikh Punjab which passed to the British in 1849; the familiarity of the Sikhs with the British civil and military administration in the Punjab; the outstanding physique of the Sikhs; their tough spirit for hard work and faith in the saint-soldier philosophy of Sikhism.

In 1914 the Sikhs may have lost a battle in the Burrard Inlet, but they have subsequently won a constitutional war in Canada. More of their numbers can now come. In the past five years a great many of their teachers from Punjab have come out. Other immigrants are in the professional fields, law, engineering, medicine, and education. They all lend their potentials to Canada.

There are Sikh centres of worship and congregation (Gurdwara) in Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster, Abbotsford, Paldi and several other places in B.C., as well as in other provinces and in Toronto.

The All-Canada Sikh Federation is a loyal organization of the Sikhs to protect and advance their secular interests as a minority in Canada, with its offices in Vancouver, B. C.

The world population of the Sikhs is around 12½ million, of which

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about half a million are outside India. They are in large numbers in the U. K. The change in the immigration regulations brought about in October 1967, establishing a uniform criteria of selection for all peoples, leaving 50% of the score in the discretion of the visa officer in the matter of personal suitability, is expected to benefit the people from the Punjab better in as much as the rate of literacy is higher there in India and the people should match better to the qualifications.

Under the quota system, rather under the Canada-India Agreement, 150 persons from India were permitted to settle in Canada. The statistics, however, show that :—

In 1963, 737 persons came out as immigrants from India, 635 were of "East India" origin, 38½ or 42% were sponsored immigrants, and 211 were coming to British Columbia.

In 1964, 1154 persons came out as immigrants from India, of which 1011 were of "East Indian" origin, 362 or 31% were sponsored and 335 were going to British Columbia.

It is estimated that in 1965 some fifteen hundred persons from India came out as immigrants.

The Sikhs are well established in the Canadian economy at this stage. Several own or operate saw-mills, supply saw-mill and farm labour. There are mechanics, teachers, professors, lawyers, architects, medical doctors, civil servants and merchants. There are farmers in B.C., and in Alberta.

The Government of India now maintains a Trade Commissioner and his staff in the city of Vancouver. Air India also has a Pacific sales office in Vancouver. Its first manager is a Sikh of course, Gur S. Singh Kahlon, 6 feet and 4 inches.

The Sikh Faith and the Nirankaris : A Historical Perspective

HARBANS SINGH*

The relationship between the Sikh faith and the current Nirankaris need to be defined, for the sake of the issue that has arisen in the Punjab. The word 'current' has been used advisedly. These Nirankaris have to be distinguished from the older Nirankaris, a sect of the Sikhs which originated about the middle of the nineteenth century. The latter were the pioneers of reform in Sikhism, garbled during the days of courtly power and splendour. In the textbooks on Sikh history, four religious movements in the modern period are recounted—the Nirankari, the Namdhari, the Singh Sabha and the Akali. Nirankari reform was the precursor to the modern phase in Sikh history.

The Nirankari movement aimed at restoring the purity of Sikh belief and custom. It preached against caste and idolatry. The main focus was on the worship of God as Nirankar, the Transcendent without Form. The founder, Baba Dayal (1783-1855), was a man widely reputed for his holiness. He established the Nirankari Durbar at Rawalpindi, two years after the lapse of the Sikh sovereignty in 1849. The rise of the sect excited the interest of the Presbyterian Christian Mission at Ludhiana. They imagined that the ideas the Nirankaris preached must produce an environment favourable to the acceptance of the Gospel. Owing to their tolerant creed, the Sikhs were from the very beginning considered to be especially amenable to Christian influence. For this reason, Ludhiana was chosen as the site for the Mission in 1835. The founder, Rev Dr C. H. Lowrie, regarded the area as 'the best field of labour,' being inhabited, largely by the Sikh people 'to whom our attention at first was especially directed.'

The Ludhiana Mission sent a team to study the sect and its teaching. Their comments form part of the Annual Report of the Ludhiana Mission for 1853. Following extract is from the Report :

Sometime in the summer we heard of a movement . . . which, from the representations we recieved seemed to indicate a state of

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mind favourable to the reception of Truth. It was deemed expedient to visit them, to ascertain the true nature of the movement, and if possible, to give it a proper direction . . . They are called Nirankaris, from their belief in God, as a spirit without bodily form. The next great fundamental principle of their religion is, that salvation is to be obtained by meditation on God. They regard Nanak as their saviour, inasmuch as he taught them the way of salvation. Of their peculiar practices only two things are learned. First, they assemble every morning for worship, which consists of bowing the head to the ground before the Granth, making offerings, and in hearing the Granth read by one of their numbers, and explained also if their leader be present. Secondly, they do not burn their dead because that would assimilate them to the Hindus; nor bury them, because that would make them too much like Christians and Musalmans, but throw them into the river.

Belief in Guru Nanak and the *Guru Granth* was basic to the Nirankari doctrine. Upon his death in 1855, Baba Dayal was succeeded in the leadership of the sect by his son, Darbara Singh. The latter continued to propagate his father's ideas, prohibiting idolatry and the use of alcohol and extravagant expenditure on weddings. He introduced in the Rawalpindi area the *Anand* form of marrying rite. *Anand*, a simple and inexpensive ceremony, became a cardinal point with leaders of subsequent Sikh reformation movements. The line continued, and the present direct descendant is Baba Gurbakhsh Singh, who has his centre in Chandigarh. For their principal tenets, these original Nirankaris are beholden to the Sikh faith and, in spite of certain characteristics peculiar to them, they subscribe to its teachings, symbols and forms.

Gurbachan Singh's Nirankaris have nothing in common with the Nirankaris sect of the Sikhs, except for the name. They are not even a schism split from it, although the founder, Buta Singh, was once a member of the Nirankar Durbar at Rawalpindi. Upon being asked to sever his connection with the Durbar for some misdemeanour, he raised a group of his own. He was succeeded by Avtar Singh, who after partition migrated to Delhi and set up a centre there. Over the years, he recruited a considerable following from among Sikhs, Hindus and others. The present leader, Gurbachan Singh, is his son.

These Nirankaris have no affiliation with any of the known religious traditions. In any case, they have nothing in common with the Sikh religion and own no connection with it. They welcome to their fold people from all religions. In this way, they form a free masonry of faiths

held together by the person of the leader, Gurbachan Singh, who is believed to be the incarnation of God. He is considered to be in the line of world prophets. As Gurbachan Singh himself proclaims : "The responsibilities assigned from time to time to prophets like Noah, Rama, Krishna, Moses, Christ, Muhammad, Kabir, Nanak and Dayal have now been put on my shoulders by my predecessor Baba Avtar Singh." In Nirankari writings, he is claimed to be the Deity.

It is not for anyone to controvert such claims. Least of all for the Sikhs, who do not regard truth as monopoly of any single group or faith. Their history and culture are witness to their liberal and pluralist outlook. Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621-75), the Ninth Sikh Guru, or Prophet-Teacher, laid down his life to secure the people the liberty of conscience. His martyrdom was for the protection of the right of everyone to practise his religion unhindered. He protested against the State's interference with the individual's duty towards his faith. It was a declaration that the State has no authority over the individual's conscience and that any attempt to create a unitary, monolithic society must be resisted. It was a declaration of the Sikh belief in an open and ethical social order and of the Sikh principles of tolerance and acceptance of diversity of faith and practice. This lesson is part of the Sikh experience and psyche and no follower of the faith can contravene it.

The Sikh would have no quarrel with the current Nirankaris about their beliefs or ways of worship, but there are certain aspects of their system which cause abrasion. Although the Sikhs form a small percentage of their following, the Nirankari leaders have always preached their faith through the vocabulary and symbolism of their religious inheritance, i.e., Sikhism. In this way, many cherished ideals and institutions of the Sikh faith come to be presented in a distorted form. The word Nirankari itself is derived from the Sikh tradition. The founder, Guru Nanak, was referred to as Nanak Nirankaris—Nanak, the believer in God the Formless. Nirankari Baba is the title the present Nirankari leader Gurbachan Singh, has adopted for himself. He retains his Sikh form, as did his predecessors. In imitation of Guru Gobind Singh's *Panj Piaras* (The Five Beloved of Sikh history), he has created his *Satt Sitaras* (Seven Stars). Names of venerable Sikh personages from history are assigned to members of the leader's family and followers. Among them may be mentioned Mata Sulakkhani (Guru Nanak's wife), Bibi Nanaki (Guru Nanak's sister), and Bhai Budha and Bhai Gurdas, both highly regarded in Sikh piety. Peculiarly Sikh terms, such as Satguru, *Sangat* and *Sachcha Padshah*, the title which in Sikh history came to be used for the Gurus over against

Padshah or *Badshah*, representing secular emperors, are used by the Nirankaris. Their religious book, a collection of Punjabi verse by Gurbachan Singh's father, Avtar Singh, is called after the Gurbani *Avtar Bani*. In Nirankari congregations, Gurbani, i.e., the inspired utterance of the Sikh Gurus, is frequently quoted, but with a slant. The Sikh Scriptures are quoted and expounded openly to suit the Nirankari bias. In their monthly journal, *Sant Nirankari*, articles are frequently published on *Gurbani* and its interpretation. These articles appear under titles, such as "Vichar Sri Sachche Patshah" (Thoughts of or Interpretations by the True Lord, i.e., the Nirankari leader), and "Gurbani ki Hai" (What really is Gurbani ?) Meanings, contrary to Sikh understanding and tradition, are propounded.

One Labh Singh, writing under the title of "Yug Purush," in *Sant Nirankari* for June 1964, says "Guru Granth Sahib means the Granth of the Guru." The implication is that the Guru Granth is not—and cannot—be the Guru, as the Sikhs believe. This is a view openly preached by the Nirankari leader and his followers. This contradicts the Sikhs' cherished creed. Their belief is that, after Guru Gobind Singh, the Word enshrined in the Holy Scripture, the *Guru Granth*, is the Guru for them. It is for them the perpetual authority—spiritual as well as historical. They have lived their religion in light of this conviction all these generations. They feel hurt when the Nirankaris assail and ridicule this belief of theirs. They have no objection to the Nirankaris, looking upon their leader as God Incarnate, but they would not wish their own religious assumptions to be derided. It would be unfair and inappropriate for one religious group to interpret the sacred texts of the other from its own viewpoint. Such transgressions will violate the basic postulates of interreligious living and understanding. The commonly accepted law is that no one has the right to expound the canon or custom of another faith except with the attitude of reverence and empathy. Religious freedom is indivisible. This is the principle by which we live in a religiously plural society. Injuring the religious susceptibilities of any section will be an offence against it.

The *Sampuran Avtar Bani*, published by the Sant Nirankari Colony, New Delhi, 1976 edition, contains versification in the Name of Avtar Singh as well as in the names of some of his followers. This is in imitation of the example of the *Guru Granth*, which, besides the compositions of the Gurus, contains hymns by several medieval Indian saints and sufis. In the 'Sant Bani' section of the *Avtar Bani*, each of the followers relates his personal experiences—how he was grovelling in darkness until he came into touch with the Nirankari leader. Those reared as

Sikhs invariably refer to their birth in the Sikh family and their initial adherence to Sikh forms of piety and belief. For instance, Mahadev Singh (pp. 195-97) recounts how he was born in a family who had faith in Guru Nanak; who visited the Gurdwaras to offer obeisance; who read and heard Gurbani and had *akhandpaths* (complete and continuous readings of the Guru Granth) said; who followed the tenets of the Sikh faith; and who willingly served the Panth. He himself, as he declares, followed the family tradition. He learnt the *Rahiras* and the *Sukhmani* (texts from the Guru Granth) and he went to the Gurdwara as a religious duty. He was in love with Gurbani. He carried the Sikh symbols and received the rites of *amrit* in the Gurdwara. All this, he says, was ignorance and perversion. He was rid of these by Avtar Guru who came into this world to supersede superstition.

Another contributor, Santokh Singh (pp. 198-99), says, "By *seva* and *ardas* my mind was not cleansed. Nor could the water of the pool at Amritsar wash the dirt off my heart. I swam in the pool at Tarn Taran, but did not thereby cut across the worldly ocean. I read the *Sukhmani* (lit., Psalm of Peace), but had no solace from it. My soul was not pacified." *Seva*, self-giving service in the cause of community, is a virtue prized most in the Sikh system. *Ardas*, or supplication, is an integral part of Sikh devotion. Amritsar and Tarn Taran, holy places of Sikh pilgrimage, hold sanctity for the all followers of Guru Nanak. To quote Sardara Singh (p. 247), "For thirty eight years, I churned the water of *nitnem*. I went to the Gurdwara. I was initiated into Sikh *amrit*. I became an Akali. I complied with the injunctions of the Sikh faith and, to meet the Lord, I gave charity and paid to the *langar* the broker's levy." For the Sikhs all these are crucially important symbols and institutions—Gurdwara, Akali, *langar* (the community kitchen), *nitnem* (a Sikh's daily regimen of prayer) and *amrit* (the Sikh baptism). To speak of them pejoratively and to suggest that by discarding these alone could one realize the Truth amounts to denouncing a whole system. The quotations given are from the authentic religious book of the Nirankaris, and these could be multiplied. To convert their Sikh constituents, the Nirankari leaders belittle Sikh institutions and traditions. With a view to convincing them that no spiritual benefit can accrue without the intervention of a living Guru, they begin by contradicting the Sikh belief in the *Guru Granth*. This kind of criticism is infringement of the religious rights of the Sikh community. This is the basic source of tension.

There have been saints and mystics in all ages and climes for whom religious forms and ceremonial had little importance, but the references

to and rejection of Sikh symbols and usage is so direct and specific in the primary religious book of the Nirankaris that this could not but cause injury to those who believe in them. Upon the tongues of the Nirankari pulpiteers this denunciation becomes much more antagonistic and virulent.

The Sikhs resent the continuing criticism by the Nirankaris of their faith and of their belief in the Guru Granth as the Person Visible of the Gurus. They have protested against it. This is what they attempted to do—peacefully—at the time of the big Nirankari congregation in Amritsar, coinciding with the Baisakhi celebrations by the Sikhs. The Sikh group that went to the site had no violent intent. They were unarmed, except for their religiously required *kirpans*. They were neither Nihangs nor Akalis, though most of the Sikhs are of Akali persuasion politically. The bulk of the protesters in fact belonged to Bhai Randhir Singh's *jatha*, whose primary concern is with *kirtan* or chanting of the holy hymns. Their other colleagues were from the *jatha* of Sant Jarnail Singh, of Bhindran, who devote themselves exclusively to the study and expounding of the *bani* of the Guru Granth.

The protesting Sikhs were met with a shower of bullets from the Nirankari congregation. Thirteen of them were killed. The congregation, under the auspices of Gurbachan Singh, continued for more than three hours after the gruesome tragedy. No one—none from among the Nirankaris who profess love and human fellowship to be the fundamental values in their creed—had a thought to spare for the dead bodies that lay scattered outside.

The Sikh protest continues. From the Akal Takhat, their highest seat of religious authority and legislation, a *hukamnama*, edict or commandment, has been issued forbidding the Sikhs to have social dealings with the current Nirankaris. This is an expression of the Sikhs' will to protect themselves against the encroachments of those who question and attack their fundamental beliefs and their accepted way of life and who in a body recently killed several of their brothers-in-faith.

The *hukamnama* has the sanction of their religion as well as of their history. Guru Gobind Singh had himself directed his Sikhs in a *hukamnama* (Serial No. 53, *Hukamname*, Ganda Singh, ed.) "not to visit on the occasion of death or marriage the families of *masands*" (heads of Sikh *sangats* in different parts who had fallen from their religious duty). Half a century ago, the Sikh community invoked the institution of the *hukamnama* to ex-communicate Teja Singh who, once a prominent Singh Sabha leader, started challenging most of the prevalent Sikh usage. The *hukam-*

nama issued from the Akal Takht on August 9, 1928, read as follows :

The Panch Khalsa Diwan (Panch Khand), Bhasaur, has published books called Gurmukhi courses, in which the *bani* of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* has been garbled and its order changed. Changes have been made in *Gurmantra*, the *ardas* and the ceremonies for administering *amrit*. These are Anti-Sikh proceedings.

Hence, Babu Teja Singh and Bibi Niranjan Kaur [his wife] are hereby ex-communicated from the Panth. Other members of the Panch Khalsa Diwan are debarred from having *ardas* offered on their behalf at Shri Akal Takht Sahib or at any other Gurdwara.

No Sikh should purchase Gurmukhi courses published by the Panch Khalsa Diwan, nor keep them in his possession. The Panch Khalsa Diwan or whoever else has copies of these should send them to Sri Akal Thakht Sahib.

The *hukamnama* now issued from the Akal Takht records the Sikh community's protest against the criticism of the its faith by the Nirankaris and reiterates its concern to preserve its religious integrity, forms and traditions. It does not in any manner impinge on the religious or civic rights of the Nirankaris. It is, on the part of the Sikhs, an act of self-protection.

Bird Images in Guru Nanak's Hymns

MAN MOHAN SINGH*

In one of the sublimest expressions of human soul's homage to the Eternal, Guru Nanak says : How can one describe Thy beauty and the might of Thy Works ? In moments when one confronts the "Vastness and wonder" of His creation, one is struck dumb and utterly speechless. It is then that the words break and fail to comprehend the utter majesty and infinity of the Word. It is with this sense of dazzle and wonder that I have looked at the avian glory reflected in the sacred hymns of Sri Guru Nanak.

Birds have been recurring motifs themes and images in folklore, mythology religion and in the greatest of the works of art. From the phoenix that emerges young from its ashes, to charioting Garuda; from "the immortal" nightingale to the ethereal skylark, birds have provided powerful symbolism in human creation. My first visual exposure to birds was as much through seeing them fly and sing as the references to them in the sacred hymns of the *Adi Granth*. The black koel (*Eudynamys Scelopacea*) that darts through leafen covers, stabbing the silence of midsummer afternoons, was as memorable an auditory even visual image as the *Kali Koel* as a bird image of *Birha*; a picture of a burnt-out blackened human soul, lost and forlorn. These are the two dominant images that I have grown up with; these are the pictures and sounds that will always haunt me; the Koel that flaps past restlessly and the papiha (*Cuculus Varins*) whose heart-rending cries rock the summer dawns.

Birds as a species of life and as a part of the land-scape of this physical world provide recurring images for the changing, the perishing forms of life that must return to dust, dust as they are :

Gone are those free birds of the air,
Who had their nurture on the happy plains;
How transient is life ? (Sri Rag)

For nothing shall ever live and survive. Neither the lunar nor even the solar spheres. Even the moving winds in the limitless spaces shall one day cease. But Thou alone art and shall endure. Unlike the transmuted immortal nightingale, not born for death, the birds in Guru Nanak's

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poetry share the mortality of human life.

Yet another theme that recurs relate to the Creator as the Great Provider. He looks after men, beasts and birds. In one of the most exquisite expressions of the theme of the Divine care prevading the entire universe there is description of the birds fluttering about on the vast amphitheatre of time. They are not untended or uncared for :

Behold the birds of the air,
They build themselves no granaries;
They construct no tanks of water.
They depend on the forest trees,
And on the natural pools.
The Lord provideth them all,
Thou alone art ! Thou alone art ! (Ragh hajh ki var)

He greens the dry tree. He provides for the myriad insects that fly and creep and crawl in rocks and stones. In a remarkable reference to the riddle and fascination that is bird migration, there is a picture of the cranes (*Anthropoides Virgo*) that come from the Cold North :

The migrating cranes fly hundreds of miles,
They leave their young behind them.

Think, O Man : who feedeth the young birds ?

If that had been all for bird imagery, birds would have had probably an unjust deal. It is in the use of bird imagery as an expression of the human soul for the Divine that birds provide to my mind the sublimest ever images created from these winged creatures. In one of the enunciations of *Rag Asa*, the lost human soul or those in whom "the eyes of the spirit have not been opened," have been likened to "a bird without wings." It is characteristic of great poetry that it just cannot be translated. Whenever I have heard a good musician sing these lines, I have always felt sad and elevated, depressed and yet exalted. For one feels so much involved with the world and with its meaningless pursuit of the shadows, in a state of sorrow, in a condition of forgetfulness of the Name.

It would be a fascinating study to trace all of the bird images in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. What a rich variety of names of birds fleet across its pages, like splendid motifs woven into the limitless expanse of the Divine tapestry of the firmament. In a magnificent description of the Light that descended on Gautam Budha there is a reference to the chorus of bird song. In this chorus, the koel the sunbird, the green hammer-smith and the dove sing in a holy concordance of sounds on "that high dawn" when an unknown peace spread across the universe. But in Guru Nanak's hymns not only birds as a form of life but individual species are

woven into beautiful images. Anyone who on a moonlit winter night has gone to a river can have experience of an utterly inexpressible kind when the Surkhabs (*Tadorna ferruginea*) also called Sheldrakes flap past silhouetted against the sky in an eternal quest. Their honking the stillness of the night is one of the most haunting auditory images. It is this sheldrake that finds an articulation in *Sri Rag* :

Love God as the Sheldrake in the fable loveth the sun;
It sleepeth not for a moment :
At night when it cannot see,
It considers the Beloved, who is close to be far.

In the same composition yet another bird comes in as a symbol of an inexorable love. Like the fish who loves water and dies of separated from water, the "Chatrik bird" reaches for the raindrops :

Love God even as the Chatrik bird loveth the raindrops.
Rivers in spate and the drenched uplands
Are of no avail to the Chatrik;
Nothing but the raindrops can quench its thirst.

Yet the world is not as innocent as the reach of a bird for the raindrops. Or as the ceaseless quest of the koel in *Birha* or even the haunting call of the lonely ducks longing for each other on a shivering still night. There is a fierce struggle as the bird and the predator, the man and the tyrant are cast away friendlessly :

As the small birds of the air are helpless
Against the hawk swooping down from the skies,
And against the nets of the hunter below (Sri Rag)

This passage is so powerfully evocative. Like Baba Sheikh Farid's description of the tragedy of an egret (*Egretta garzetta*) prancing about merrily when it is swooped upon by the fierce nature's "tooth and claw" embodiment, a hawk (*Spizaetus cirrhatu*s).

In yet another beautiful sense the birds of the air are airborne symbols of human soul's reach for the Divine. The very fact that you fly high in the windy spaces does not mean that you are spiritually nearer the One who dwells everywhere. A mere wandering like a bird would not take you to His portals :

Where I to hover like a bird soaring
Through skies innumerable,
And vanish beyond the range of mortal vision,
Self-sustained, not needing food or drink
Even so, my God, I could not know Thy price,
Nor say how great is Thy Name. (Sri Rag)

Life has many stages or for that matter seven ages. One way of looking at it is the pattern of craving; craving that ranges from the mother's breast to games and sports, to food and drink, to lust and passion. This relentless rat race goes on till flames consume and the body is reduced to ashes. Yet another species of birds illustrates this theme and this time it is the swan (*Cygnus olor*) itself :

The swan has flown, who knows where.

He came and he went and his name is forgotten.

After him the obsequies : the eating off leaf-plates

And the feeding of crows.

(*Majh Var*)

It is to the *Bara Maha* that one should turn for the most beautiful series of images of birds. It is in *Bara Maha* too that the birds are shorn of their metaphysical or theological implications. The birds emerge as they are, beautiful and free, neither the sad symbols of the transience of life, nor the fear and tyranny of the clawed hawks. It is with this that the month of *Chet* (March-April) begins. It is appropriately the month of the Koel :

The Koil calls in the mango grove,

Its notes are full of joy.

The cycle of seasons spins; from the spring in its beauteous joy to the shimmering, burning summer. Then comes the season of rain and the heart is once again filled with joy. The body and the soul yearn for the Master as the lightning strikes in a symphonic orchestration. It is when the thunder booms across the firmament that from somewhere the peacock and the papiha (brain-fever bird) let out a cry of ecstatic agony :

It rains.

The nights are dark.

There is no peace for me.

Frogs croak in contentment.

Peacocks cry with joy.

The papeeha calls peeooh, peeooh.

To anyone who looks on birds as the finest creations of God, the *Adi Granth* would make an ecstatic reading, an experience of such an inexpressible joy in which one is literally carried on the wings of the birds, singing unto the glory of the joyous dawns. For that is the characteristic of Guru Nanak's poetry, that is prophecy, and prophecy that is music and music that is Divine. To the infinite human variations of intellectual endowments, the *Adi Granth* is a great communion. The birds that perish and the birds that in perishing live in this holiest of the books, cover a vast range. There are the chirping mynas, the pranc-

ing egrets, the snow-white swans, the shrieking koels, the forlorn papeehas, the fierce hawks, the migrating cranes and of course the ever present and ever cawing crows. They share the human characteristic of the body being made of clay and yet they are transmuted into images that live and abide; images that are so powerfully evocative as much of a landscape as of a picture, a sound and a prophecy.

Life has been compared by poets and prophets to a journey and sometimes to a bridge. The sun sets and the sun rises as the cycle of seasons rolls on inexorably. We, the airy nothings, caught in the cycle of births and deaths appear and bow out of the world, more often unsung and unlamented. We can only achieve liberation through Him. But before that happens to the blessed few, we are the birds who rise in quest of food and drink in the morning and return to roost in our ramshackle nest-like abodes of concrete mud and mortar :

Like birds at dusk settling on trees
To roost for the night
Some joyous, some sorrowing; all lost in themselves.
When dawns the day and gone is the night
They look up at the sky and resume their flight.

The English excerpts are reproduced from Khushwant Singh's "A History of the Sikhs" (Volume I) and George Allen and Unwin's publication. "The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs." The zoological identification of the birds is based on Salim Ali's "Handbook of the Bird of India and Pakistan" (Columns I, II, III and X).

Wajib-ul-Arz of Pargana Nanak-matta

Copy of Wajib-ul-Arz of Pargana Nanakmatta, Tehsil Kilpuri
(Sitarganj), District Nainital, 1314 Fasli. (1907 AD).*

Chapter I—Mohal—its nature, customs and rights thereon

Clause I : Nature of Mohal

This Nanak-matta Pargana has 62 undivided villages, out of which one village Debipura is in full attached to the temple of Guru Nanak Shah, situated in Nanak-matta, which is under the possession of Mahant in charge according to following Khewat :—

Five of the Mohals, as detailed below, are in possession and ownership of Government and are under the management of tehsil Kham. The remaining 56 are under the ownership of Government with cultivation rights to the cultivators according to Khewat. Cultivators have no right of ownership. They are in the capacity of *Thekadars* with the right of succession, subject to the obligation of paying rent to Government. Transfers through Mortgages, Will, or Sale is not permissible, and nor shall it be in future. They are forbidden to sub-let or transfer the land. Their rights are not to be fragmented. There shall be only one cultivator in every village. In the event of disobedience of any of the undermentioned items, or default of payment of Rent to the Government, the Government will be authorised to forfeit the entire right of the cultivators and so long as the right of cultivation is finally extinguished, or attached in favour of Tehsil or arranged in any other way, the same will be assumed by the eldest son of such cultivators, if he is major. If the cultivator has no major son or dies heirless, the Deputy Commissioner shall be at liberty to assign the right to any of the legally capable members of the family of such deceased or defaulter. *Details of villages which are under Government Possessions* : Vidauri, Kherana, Karghata, Kuawn, Khera, Nabi Nagar, Mintjur, Soyapur, part of Mohal.

Clause II : Mode of Recovery of Rent by Government :

Cultivators shall collect rent from individuals of their respective village and pay it to the Government according to the undermentioned

* A copy of this document was secured from the Manager, Gurdwara Nanak-matta, District Nainital (U. P.) in 1968 by Dr Kirpal Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala.

terms :

Kharif :	-/6/-
Rabi :	-/2/-
By 15th Dec.	-/1/-
By 15th May.	-/3/-
By 15th Jan.	-/1/-
By 15th June	-/3/-

Clause III : Appointment of Patwaris :

Patwari is a Government Servant. When there is a vacancy of this post, the S.D.M. appoints out of the First Patwari Family, a man as Patwari provided he is qualified and is capable of performing duties. If out of such family no qualified man is available or if the man is available but the S. D. M. rejects him because of some disqualification or minor-ship, another Patwari is appointed under rules as prescribed in the circular of the Board.

Chapter II—Rights of Co-sharer According to Traditions or Agreement

Clause I : Regarding distribution of Profits and Appointment of Lambardars.

Generally there is one cultivator in every village and where there are more than one, the head among them conducts the work of distribution of crop and also of the sale proceeds according to Khewat. And the head of the family does also the work of Lambardar. There is no prescribed rule regarding the appointment of Lambardar.

Clause II : Agreement of Co-sharer regarding recovery of rent from cultivators :

In the village where there are more than one cultivators enlisted in the Khewat, among them the one who is oldest is the village head, the same man does the work of collection of rent from farmers.

Clause III : Regarding Agreement of Un-cultivated land and its use :

In a village where there is only one cultivator, he looks after the uncultivated land and where there are more than one, the head of the family looks after such land. Rent shall not be realised for the uncultivated land if the same is used for feeding the cattle of the same village, but if the cattle are of some other village, such rent is leviable, concerned with the tax.

Clause IV : Regarding responsibility expenses and their details :

In a village, where there are more than one cultivators, the expenses on boundaries of village or other items, shall be shared by all such cultivators according to share detailed in the Khewat.

Clause V : Regarding Fine imposed on and realized from a village :

If a fine is imposed on a village as a whole, it is payable by its Head Cultivator or all the cultivators if there are more than one as the case may be. If the fine is imposed on an individual, it shall be paid by individual concerned.

Clause VI : Cultivation of Sir land :

Every cultivator has a right to bring under plough every uncultivated tract of land in his village but such cultivator cannot bring under cultivation land belonging to any *Asami* without his consent or the permission of the S. D. M.

Clause VII : Distribution of Income excepting Sir :

In this pargana, the income accruing out of non-sir land in all the village under cultivation, is deposited with Govt. The cultivators have no right whatsoever other than income from his own land. In village Nanak-matta the income accrued to the temple by way of charity and donation, goes to Mahant In charge. This fair takes place every year in the month of "Kartik."

Clause VIII : Conditions regarding removal co-shares and their re-entry :

If any of the cultivators in a village absconds without making payment of rent to Government, the other cultivator who agrees to pay the rent in arrear, assumes the possession of the share of the previous cultivators. If there is only one cultivator and he fails to pay rent, the Government is authorised to forfeit his right of cultivation and manage according to its own will.

Clause IX : River Encroachment or Reclamation thereby :

In the event of river encroachment or reclamation of the land, the same is shared as per agreement. Every village has a map of its own, having marks of river drawn at the time of measurements. An application is moved to the S. D. M. when there is any encroachment or reclamation of land due to river in any village. The cultivator who is given possession of such reclaimed land by S. D. M. becomes the owner thereof.

Clause X : Custom regarding Rent Free land or other purposes :

The cultivators are permitted to give his land free of rent to his servants or take over any land assigned previously free of rent to any of his servants but he cannot in any way grant rent free possession.

Rights or Co-sharers regarding Irrigation from Rivers, Lake and Ponds :

Irrigation is not being done by ponds or lakes in this pargana. Fish are being caught from the tanks and lakes. Those who catch fish for the purpose of selling, half of the fish are to be given to the Government. Every cultivator has a right to irrigate by the river.

Rights regarding Priority Rights :

There is one village Debi pura which is Rent Free and is attached to the temple of Guru Nanak Shah in this pargana. Other villages are in the ownership and possession of Government with cultivation rights to cultivators. Since no cultivator is authorised to transfer through Mortgage, Will, or Sale, hence there is no Priority Rights.

Chapter III – Right of Possessors of Muafi Land

Clause I : Conditions regarding possessors of Muafi Land

One village Debi-pura full Mohal *Muafi* and one portion Milak situated in Nanak-matta proper is meant for the expenses of the temple, in this pargana, of Guru Nanak Shah situated in Nanak-matta. And one portion Milak situated in village Din Nagar is exempted. Therefore, the *Muafidaran* have the possession of these *Muafi* Lands according to Khewat and pay regular cess and manage their respective *Muafi* Lands. Regarding levying rent and distribution, etc., no cultivator has a right to interfere in their affairs.

Clause II : Regarding Possessors of Muafi under law :

There is one tract Milak in village Resoiyapur and two tracts Milak in Nanak-matta proper, which are under the ownership and possession of the Government. Therefore, the owners of the tracts according to Khewat are in possession of their respective tracts and pay the revenue to the Government. They manage their tracts themselves regarding the realisation of rent and its distribution. No cultivator has got any right to interfere in their affairs. There is no such tract in this pargana.

Clause III, Rights of Possessors and Owners under Sec. 80 and 82 of Act 19 of 1873 :

Clause IV : Possessors of such Tracts as Gardens, etc. :

There is no such tract.

Clause V : Exemption to possessors of land, etc. :

There is no such person in any village in this pargana.

Chapter IV—General Rights of Asamies

Clause I : Procedure of the time of payment of Lagan :

It is a tradition amongst the 'Mustajirs' or village Throhat that they are charged the cash rent of Kharif crop according to tradition '*Scheme Charida* and are given 'Choot Sawai'. The product of Rabi and '*Do Fasli*' crop is distributed. In these villages every farmer is given exemption @2 bighas per plough land for sowing Maize in Kharif, and in '*Parliahdi*' crops Lohia and some other oilseeds for household consumptions. In case he does not sow such seeds he is not entitled for this exemption. Exemption @4 biswas per bighas out of total cash rented area of Crop

Kharif is known 'Choot Sawai.' Whatever is produced in general in the pargana in the cash rent of the land in the ordinary and miscellaneous produce is known as the 'Product.' That area is known as 'Kamil.' And the area where half of the ordinary product is produced is known as 'Sakmi.' Half of the rent is determined for such areas. In the area where there is very nominal product or the farmers spare the land for grazing purpose on account of inadequate product, that area is known as 'Charida,' and no rent is levied on such land. When there is any dispute between the Mustarjirs and farmers for determining any land as 'Sakmi' or 'Charida,' it is settled by the Panchayat or the product of that area is distributed. This is known as 'Jodsi' in other villages, 'Naksi' is charged on Cane, Vadi, Jute, Maize and Kachiani according to previous arrangements. There are no traditions such as 'Charida or Sakmi' nor any body is allowed any exemption. Mustarjirs collect the cash rent in the presence of Patwari 15 days before the date fixed for *lagan* by the Govt. One Rupee per Asami is, respectively, charged from the Asamies at the time of realization of *Lagan* for donation to *Mahant Panja Saheb Guru Nanak Dhala*. Where the Mustarjirs are unable to look after the food grains, they appoint 'Thanaits' for watching the food grains. He cuts the grain and stores it, in the open ground and seals the same. When the cane is free, he informs the Tehsil for *Batai* and the *Batai* is done in the presence of the Patwari. The salary of the Thanait is paid by the Mustarjirs and the farmers are not concerned with that in any way. An addition to prescribed distribution share the farmer is charged on every 100 maunds of yield the following charges :—

10	Seers <i>Pukhta</i> for weighment.
5	Seers <i>Pukhta</i> for cartage.
1	Seer <i>Pukhta</i> for charity to nominated village.

Octroi is paid by the Asamies themselves according to the share. Where there is a *Chowkidar* in the village, he is given 12 seers grain in the full year. In villages where there is Kotwal, he is given 6 seers grain. It depends upon the option of the Govt. to appoint to Chowkidar or to engage a Kotwal. No charges are realised from the farmers for the Patwaries now. In villages like Nabadia, Pipalia, Pastourm, Mohammad Ganj, Sunkhara, Balkhera, Khamaria, Etowa, the farmers are given exemption @2 biswas per bigha if the AI crop is produced. If no crop is produced, they are totally exempted. In addition to it they are granted exemption @2 bighas per plough for Maize and 'Dosahi Lahi.' In village Sunderpur all traditions are as usual as in village Nabadi saving the exemption per plough is not given. Exemption is given accord-

ing to yield per crop. In villages Duori, Dhoossi, Devkali, Dinnagar, Kigha, Ashraf, Koghartan, Vidoyia, Salamati, Salamta, Russolyapur, Kukha, Pindari, Kargathia, all traditions are as in village Nabadia saving Maize and Lahi for which no exemption is given.

Clause II : Ejection of farmers :

No Mustarjir is empowered to get any farmer ejected out of his land save with the permission of the S. D. M. But he can reduce or increase the *lagan* with due consent of the farmer.

Clause III : Rights of Farmers regarding digging of wells :

The farmers have a right to dig *kuccha* wells for irrigation purposes. For drawing water any one can get constructed *pucca* wells.

Clause IV : Rights of farmers for the construction of houses :

In the village Throhat when any Asami settles, he builds the house of 'Tutti' himself. He cuts *poola* and grass from the nearby jungles. But in village Desi, the Kharail is constructed by the Mustarjirs for the newly settled Asami and in return the Asami has to pay one share more than the fixed share for complete one year. When the Asami absconds, Mustarjir takes possession of the same. Mustarjirs have no right to eject any Asami from his house.

Clause V : Rights of farmers regarding lagan for trees which are in their boundary of their fields :

There is a tradition in this pargana that the farmers grow trees in the field or on the boundaries of their fields to meet out the expenses of 'Hal Panhari' (Wood required for ploughes). They have got the right of felling trees either while living in the village or in the site of absconding by taking to the other villages the Mustarjirs cannot interfere.

Clause VI : Rights of Farmers regarding gardens :

The farmers cannot grow gardens without the consent of the Mustarjirs. When the farmers grow the gardens, unless the trees bear fruit, the land is considered as cultivated and the *lagan* is realized from them. When the trees bear fruits, land is immune from cultivation and the *lagan* is exempted. If the garden is cut off and is not grown again in the following two years, the Mustarjirs will be at liberty to bring that land into their possession. If the land remains in the possession of the farmers he will be required to pay *lagan*.

Clause VII : Rights of farmers regarding Irrigation from tanks, lakes, rivers :

In this Pargana river Khakra and Phowri are used for irrigation purposes. *Kucha* boundaries are made at the expenses of farmers and Mustarjirs for irrigation in the following villages. With these boundaries

all the farmers and Mustajirs irrigate their fields. No tax is charged. From the river Khakra 4 Kucha boundaries (Kucha Maindh) are made in the following villages : Saini 1, Sadhunagar 1, Lambakhera 1, Margsara 1, 6 Maindha are made from river Phowri in the following villages : Bichwa 1, Bichai 1, Sirouja 1, Kaitholia 1, Barki landi 1, Dhianpur 1.

Clause VIII : Introduction of Water pool :

Till now there is no Govt. pool. If the Govt. proposes in future any new scheme, the Mustajirs of the village should suggest alternative suitable arrangements so that the Maindhs which have been made for the irrigation purposes may not be affected.

Clause IX : regarding Hunting in Govt Forests. :

Hunting is strictly prohibited in Govt. forests. Although during Holi days on moving an application requesting for hunting, permission is accorded only for a period of 8 days. Those who do hunting during this period, they are liable to pay one leg to the Padhan of the village. Mustajirs have nothing to do with that.

Clause X : Rights of Farmers regarding the cutting of pool, etc., from the forests of

The villages which have established their rights in the forests of Bhabhar, in this pargana, their rights will be enforced according to the rules of Bhabhar Forest. The farmers have no right to cut the wood, etc., for their needs from the forests of Tarai. They can cut the wood only after getting the permission from the Superintendent of Tarai Forests.

Clause XI : Appointment of Padhan :

The appointment of Padhan is made with the consent of the Asamies. Mustajir is not empowered to appoint any Padhan without the consent of the Asamies or without the permission of the S.D.M. All the Asamies of the village give 3 sohel in Kharif, 3 sohel in Rabi to the Padhan. 3 sohels are given for cultivations, Nalai and Cutting of the fields. And no other rights is due to him.

Clause XII : Exemption of Lagan of Land from the Masters of their Servants:

Charity of Lands is given in two kinds in this pargana. In the village of Throhat the Mustajirs give from 20 to 50 Bighas of land to Padhans and other persons in lieu of their services. Fields of these lands are not fixed. The produce of the Padhans and such other persons is calculated at per Bigha produce. Exemption is given only for the plot of land which is given in charity and the remaining yield is distributed. If the yield pertains to 'Nakai' land, total lagan is calculated and therefrom the lagan of the charitable land is deducted, the remaining crop is distributed. In village Desi the land which is given in charity, the fields of such land is

WAJIB-UL-ARZ OF PARGNA NANAK-MATTA

fixed and no lagan is charged for that and nor that is distributed.

Sd/- Rono Thekedar, Biry, Goda Singh, Balkhera, Gopi Ram and Balam Singh, Balkhera, Kanhai Thekedar, Poorangarh, Hahoo Ram, Deokali Ghulam Mohammad, Thekedar, Moidi, Somal, Margsara, Thug Singh Dohra, Bhoro Bharoni, Chet Ram Nabadia, Hari Singh Nagra, Mani Marhoni, Puni Marooni, Chaji Laba Khera, Qpir Buksh Jhoo, Upir Bush Smiyapur, Dhani Kaithuliay, Ram Kaithuliya, Prem Das, Nanak-matta, Raja Ram, Bidori, Hanse, Sunderpur, Mahadeo, Barqi Dandi, Punni and Baldeo, and Kanhai Gouri Singh, Kanhai Singh, Gouri Singh and Lal Das, Barqi Dandi, Narain, Pesar Anwar Shah Khan, Pesar Dhoom Singh, Pesar Abdullah, Karenda, Dhoom Singh,

Signature of Bhajram Patwari

Dated : 21-7-1907.

The contractors, whose signatures have been obtained, certified on 20-7-1907.

Signatures (English)

[To-day this copy of Wajib-Ul-Arz along with the previous copy of the same after due certifications from the contractors was produced and it was ordered that a copy of the Wajib-ul-Arz, along with the agreement, duly incorporated therein, be consigned to Collectorate Record-room and its original copy be sent to Tehsil office.]

Guru Hargobind and Samarth Ram Das

GANDA SINGH

In writing on the *Early Maratha-Sikh Relations for the Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D.V. Potdar Commemoration Volume* in 1950, I had given a brief account of the meeting between the Maratha saint Samarth Ramdas (1608-1681 A. D.), the preceptor of Chhatrapati Shivaji, and the Sixth Sikh Guru Hargobind (1595-1644 A. D.) in about 1634 in Kashmir on the basis of the 39th Sakhi in the Panjabi work the *Panjah Sakhian*. The name of the actual place is not mentioned in the *Sakhi*. But the town where the meeting between the two saints took place is Srinagar in Garhwal, on the way to Badrinath, as stated in Sri Hanumant-Swami's *Sri Samarthanchi Bakhar*.

A manuscript copy of the *Panjah Sakhian* was with Mistri Gopal Singh, draughtsman, of Haryana, district Hoshiarpur. I had transliterated it for him into Persian script in 1912-13. In 1919-1920 I had extensive notes from the original Gurmukhi manuscript when Mistri Gopal Singh was employed at Jamrud and Landi-Kotal during the third Afghan war. I compared these notes with a couple of manuscripts and printed copies of the *Sau-Sakhi* and found that the *Sakhis* in the *Panjah Sakhis* mostly agreed with those in the *Sau-Sakhi*.

The *Sri Samarthanchi Bakhar* is a detailed account of the life and travels of Saint Ramdas, popularly known as *Samarth Ramdas Swami*. According to Mr. G.S. Tulpule of Poona (letter dated November 7, 1978, addressed to Professor Harbans Singh of the Punjabi University, Patiala), it was written in 1793 and enlarged in 1817 and was published by Mr. Gogate, Bombay, in 1910. The reference to the meeting of Swami Ramdas and the *Nanak-panthi* Sikh Guru (Guru Hargobind) is to be found therein on pp. 42-43. Hanumant Swami, the author of the *Bakhar*, was the grandson of the grandson of the elder brother of Ramdas.

Another edition of the *Bakhar* was published in 1950 by the Satkar-uttejak Sabha, Dhulia, and the meeting of the Sikh and the Maratha Saints is mentioned on pp. 22-23. The dialogue between the two saints given in the *Bakhar* is, however, different from the one given in the *Panjah Sakhian*. Apparently the authors of the two works have only reproduced such parts of it as came to be reported to them from different

sources. The answer of Guru Hargobind to *Samarth Ramdas* partly explains his attitude towards secular way of life while his respectful regard for Ramdas is an indication of the catholicity of his views and his broad-mindedness towards the followers of other religions.

We give below extracts from the *Panjah Sakhian* (Sakhi 39) and the *Sri Samarthanchi Bakhar*, along with translations thereof.

(i) *Sakhi 39 (Panjah Sakhian)* :

ਏਕ ਬੇਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਸ਼ਮੀਰ ਮੇਂ ਟਿਕੇ ਬੇ । ਤਹਾਂ ਇਕ ਸਾਧੂ ਦੀਦਾਰ ਕੋ ਆਇਆ । ਦਖਨੀ ਥਾ ਨਾਮ ਰਾਮ ਦਾਸ । ਤਬ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਖੇਲਤੇ ਆਵਤੇ ਘੋੜੇ ਪਰ ਅਸਵਾਰ । ਸਾਥ ਸਿਖ ਸੰਗਤ ਬਹੁਤ ਬੀ । ਪ੍ਰਸੰਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਹਰਿ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਥਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਕੀ ਗਦੀ ਪਰ ਬੈਠਾ ਹੈਂ । ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਤਿਆਗੀ ਸਾਧੂ ਬੇ । ਤੁਮ ਸ਼ਸਤਰ ਧਾਰਣ ਕਰੇ ਹੈਨਿ ਘੋੜੇ ਫੌਜ ਰਖੀ ਹੈ । ਸਚਾ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਕਹਾਵਤਾ ਹੈਂ । ਕੈਸਾ ਸਾਧੂ ਹੈਂ । ਗੁਰੂ ਹਰਿ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਕਹਿਆ ਬਾਤਨ ਫਕੀਰੀ, ਜ਼ਾਹਰ ਅਮੀਰੀ, ਸ਼ਸਤਰ ਗਰੀਬ ਕੀ ਰਖਿਆ, ਜਰਵਾਨੇ ਕੀ ਭਖਿਆ । ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਤਿਆਗਿਆ ਥਾ, ਮਾਯਾ ਤਿਆਗੀ ਬੀ । ਰਾਮ ਦਾਸ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਨ ਹੋਇਆ, ਕਹਿਆ ਇਹ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਮਨ ਭਾਵਤੀ ਹੈ ।

(ਸਾਖੀ 39, ਪੰਥੀ ਪੰਜਾਹ ਸਾਖੀਆਂ.)

“Once the Guru was staying in Kashmir. There came a Sadhu to see him. He was a Deccani, Ramdas by name. Riding a horse, the Guru had returned from a hunt. Many Sikhs were there with him. He asked him, “I had heard you occupied the *gaddi* of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak was a *tyagi Sadhu*—a saint who had renounced the world. You are wearing arms and keeping an army and horses. You have yourself called *Sacha Padshah*—A True King. What sort of a Sadhu are you ?” Guru Hargobind said : “Internally a hermit, and externally a prince; arms mean protection for the poor and destruction for the tyrant. Baba Nanak had not renounced the world but had renounced *Maya*, the self and ego.”—Ramdas was pleased (to hear this) and said, “This appealeth to my mind.”

(ii) Sri Hanumant Swami's *Sri Samarthanchi Bakhar*, pp. 22-23 :

ਏਸੇ ਫਿਰਤ ਫਿਰਤ ਫਾਰਕੇਸ ਗੇਲੇ. ਤੇਥੇਂ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਨਾਥਜੀਚੋਂ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਖੇਡਨ, ਤੇਥੀਲ ਸਾਂਪ੍ਰਦਾਯਯੁਕਤ ਥੀਰਥਵਿਧੀ ਕਰਨ, ਤੇਥੇਂ ਸ਼੍ਰੀਚ੍ਯਾ ਸੂਰੀਂ ਸਥਾਪਨ, ਸਿੱਖ ਸਾਂਪ੍ਰਦਾਯ ਜਾਲੇ ਤੇ ਠੇਕ੍ਹਨ, ਨੰਤਰ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਨਗਰ ਹਿਮਾਲਯਾ ਆਲਿਕਭੇ ਆਏ, ਤੇਥੇਂ ਗੇਲੇ. ਸੀਕਾਚੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕਪੰਥੀ ਯਾ ਸਾਂਪ੍ਰਦਾਯੀਂ ਨਾਮਾਚੇ ਹੋਤੇ. ਤੇ ਪਰਮ ਭਲੇ. ਕੋਈ ਸਾਧੂਵੰਦ ਆਲੋ ਅਸਤਾਂ ਯਾਸ ਸਮਾਧਾਨਾਚ੍ਯਾ ਗੋਠੀ ਪੁਸ਼ੋਨ ਧਿਆਵ੍ਯਾ. ਤੇ ਕੋਠੇ ਸਮਸ੍ਯਾ ਪੂਰ੍ਣ ਹੋਯ ਤਰ ਢਲਨਾ ਨ ਕਰਤਾਂ ਯਾਸ ਨਮਸਕਾਰ ਕਰਨ ਨਿਰੋਪ ਢਾਵਾ, ਏਸੇ ਕਰੀਤ ਹੋਤੇ ਤੋਂ ਸਵਾਮੀਚੋਂ ਆਗਮਨ ਯਾ ਸਥਾਨੀਂ ਜਾਲੋਂ. ਗਾਂਠ ਪਛਲੀ. ਯਾਨ੍ਹੀਂ ਸਵਾਮੀਸ ਨਮਸਕਾਰ ਕਰਨ ਬਹੁਤ ਪ੍ਰਚ੍ਛਾ ਕੇਲੀ. ਯਾਨ੍ਹੀਂ ਹਿ ਸਮਾਧਾਨਯੁਕਤ ਉਤਰੋਂ ਕੇਲੀ. ਅਨੁਭਵਾਸ ਆਲੀਂ, ਯਾਜਵਰ ਜਿਤਕੇ ਜਿਤਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ਕੇਲੇ ਤਿਤਕਯਾਂਚੀਂ ਉਤਰੋਂ ਅਨੁਭਵਸਿਧਿ ਪ੍ਰਤਯਾਸ

आलीं. बहुत संतोष पाऊन स्वामीस नमस्कार करून प्रार्थना केली कीं, कृपा करून मजला अनुग्रह द्यावा. ते समयीं स्वामींनीं उत्तर केलें कीं, 'तुह्यांस पूर्वीं अनुग्रह जाला तो जालाच आहे. तो येक भिन्न, हा येक भिन्न, ऐसे नाहीं. जो अनुग्रह जाला तोच फक्तद्रूप होय.' ऐसे ह्यटलें असतां नानकाचें ह्याणें पडलें कीं, 'जेथें विशेष गुरू तें सद्गुरूचें अधिष्ठान. यास्तव स्वामींनीं कृपा केलीच पाहिजे.' असा आग्रह पाहून पुन्हा आज्ञा केली कीं, 'तुह्मीं अनुग्रहाचा आग्रह करूं नये. येके वेला जाला असतां दुसरियांनं घेऊं, नये. तुमची मर्जी आहे तर श्रीराम-उपास (ना), पूजा करावी.' हुरमुजी वस्त्रें देउन एक माल जपास दिल्ली. याप्रमाणें नानकाचें समाधान करून, त्याचा निरोप घेऊन हिमालयपर्वती गेले ।

श्री हनुमन्त स्वामी कृत

श्री समर्थाची बखर (1950), पृष्ठ 22-23.

He (*Samarth Ramdas*) went from place to place to Dwarka where he saw the shrine of Shri Nath ji. Having performed the customary rites there and establishing the idol of Shri (Rama) and making some disciples, he went to Srinagar which is situated on this side of the Himalayas. The Nanak-panthi Guru of the Sikhs, of the sect of same name (Nanak-panthi), was then there. He was a thorough gentleman. Whoever saint came, he used to have religious discourses with him. In case of problematic discussion (difference of opinion), he would not harass him. He would salute him, treat him with respect and gave him leave to go. During this time the Swami arrived there. They met (each other). He (Nanak-panthi Guru) saluted the Swami and asked many questions. He also answered them to (his) satisfaction according to his own perception. Then whatever questions were asked, he (Swami) answered them readily out of his inner experience. Fully satisfied, he bowed to the Swami and requested for (Swami's) *anugraha* or blessings. Upon this the Swami said, "You have been blessed already and that is there (sufficient). There is no difference in these two *anugrahas*. Whatever you have had is (sufficient) to achieve your aim." Thereupon, the Nanak-panthi (Guru) said: "In whomsoever there are distinctive qualities, he is a leading Guru. Therefore, Swami should be kind to bestow his blessings." Seeing this persistence, he (Swami) said, "You should not insist for *anugraha*. When it had been received once, it should not be had a second time. If you so wish, you may pray to Sri Rama and worship him." He (Swami Ramdas) gave him ochre coloured robe and a rosary for prayer. Having thus satisfied the Nanak-panthi, he took leave of him and left for the Himalayan mountains.

Book Reviews

The Akali Movement by Dr Mohinder Singh, pub. The Macmillan Company of India Limited, Delhi, 1978, pp. i-xiv+245, price Rs. 58/-

This is a carefully prepared doctoral thesis. The Akali Movement, was not the result of a particular incident taking place in a particular situation. It was consequent upon a long-standing evil and corruption rife in the holy shrines of the Sikhs. When persuasion to maintain the holy character of the Gurdwaras cut no ice with the *mahants* or the custodians of the sacred trusts, the Akalis were forced to launch a peaceful struggle for reform in the Gurdwaras. The Sikhs were not unmindful of the fact that this movement would not only bring them into confrontation with the mahants but also with the Government who were providing them with adequate protection. The mahants were supporting the government in more ways than one including their all-out support to the Government in all the anti-Government activities of the Sikhs or others. For example, on the instance of the Government the priests of the Sikh shrines had issued hukamnamas against the ghadarites.

The Akalis led peaceful jathas to many Gurdwaras and at places the morchas were prolonged to week's together. They displayed marvellous forbearance and non-violence against the 'inhuman, brutal, foul and cowardly' action of the British Government. While describing the sacrifices and sufferings of the Akalis, an eye-witness, an English Christian Missionary C.F. Andrews, told Sir Edward Maclagan, the Governor of the Punjab, that 'he had seen hundreds of Christs being crucified at Guru ka bagh.' Ultimately the Sikhs emerged victorious in the struggle. This is the theme of this work.

The book has been divided into eight chapters dealing with the different stages of the Akali Movement, which covered a period of nearly half a decade (1920-25).

In the first chapter the scholar has ably discussed the origin of the institution of Gurdwaras, their early management, the hereditary control by the priests and the evils and the anti-Sikh practices corrupting the sanctity of the holy shrines that necessitated the urgent reforms in the Gurdwaras.

The second chapter deals with the struggle that the Akalis decided to vehemently wage to remove the evil practices prevalent in the Gur-

dwaras. This struggle was to cover most of the Gurdwaras in the Punjab but the author has taken up the cases of only a few as Gurdwara Babe-di-Ber, the Golden Temple, Akal Takhat, Panja Sahib, Darbar Sahib (Taran Taran), Gurdwara Nanakana Sahib. He has made a thorough investigation into all the aspects of the Gurdwaras which he chose as case studies. He has delved deep into the situations prevailing in these shrines, the Government's involvement and mahants' resistance. Efforts have been made to discover clearly and unmistakably the role of each concerned party, i. e., the Akalis, mahants and the Government.

In the third chapter we find the Akalis openly pitted against the British Government. Since an unarmed Sikh community was faced with the armed challenge of the Government the situation attracted the attention of the leaders of the Indian National Movement with which the Akali movement was akin in many respects. Though the peaceful Sikh movement was directed against the mahants to startwith, they had to face the bullets and batons of the police. Thus the issue got wider dimensions and assumed a national character.

Fourth chapter deals with the Akali involvement in the Nabha affair which had cropped up with the dethronement or forced abdication of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha who was supporting the cause of the Akalis. Akali morcha at Jaito was conducted for the restoration of the Maharaja and the people's right to free worship. The Indian leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Moti Lal Nehru, A. T. Gidwani, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Hakim Ajmal Khan and others, supported the Akali demands. They also personally visited Nanakana Sahib, Guru ka bagh, Amritsar and other places of the Akali activity to gather first hand information. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Gidwani were arrested in connection with Nabha affair and sent to jail. The author has also referred to the anti-Akali measures that the Patiala and other Sikh states adopted. These rulers could not but support the British Government just for fear of risking their interests as rulefs.

In the fifth chapter an organisational set up of the Akali movement—the formation and growth of S. G. P. C. and Shromani Akali Dal has been attempted. This chapter also deals with the Government's policy towards these Sikh organisations declaring them as 'unlawful associations.'

The sixth chapter discusses the activities of the Babbar Akalis or terrorists who had, no doubt, discarded the policy of the Akali movement to remain non-violent, peaceful and non-resisting. The Babbars claimed to be the spear-head of the Akali movement and contributed their share

in a limited measure to the progress of the movement. The toadies and sycophants who were opposing the Akalis or were siding with the Government were threatened by Babbars with dire consequences. Since the militant and violent Babbar Akali movement was bound to meet with an end much sooner than the non-violent and peaceful movements, it could not fail to register their unconcealed displeasure and hostility towards the supporters of the Government or the opponents of the Akali movement. Babbars also drove home to the British Government that they were not going to accept things lying down.

Attempts at a legislative solution of the Akali problem have been discussed in the seventh chapter. The stiff but unsuccessful policy of Edward Maclagan and Malcolm Hailey to keep the Akalis in jail for longer periods with a view to bringing a change in their attitude has been brought out clearly.

In the last chapter the impact of the movement and the general conclusions about the achievements and failures of this struggle have been summed up. The author believes that the introduction of the election system to place the Gurdwaras in the hands of the elected representatives proved harmful to the control of the Sikh shrines. This observation is not in keeping with the democratic thinking of the Khalsa as engrained in their ideology. Leaving the management of any Panthic institution in the hands of an individual has always been repugnant to the Sikh thinking. The system of election could not be branded as unsuitable to the control of the Gurdwaras if it could function successfully in other spheres of Sikh activities.

The learned scholar correctly remarks that the Akali leaders though originally came forward with their programmes relating to the Gurdwaras ultimately joined the main stream of nationalism.

The Akalis joined hands with the Congress in pursuing their programme of non-cooperation. The Congress leaders felt that the Akali struggle was a national struggle and the Akalis were 'the only living wing of the national movement.'

The Sikhs, particularly the Jat Sikhs, who had been known for their unruly and militant behaviour and violent disposition demonstrated during this movement their unshakable faith in the effectiveness of the doctrine of non-violent non-cooperation. The leadership of this movement comprised the middle class Sikh nationalists and the rank and file of Akalis came from the Jat Sikh peasantry of the Punjab.

The author has rightly noted that the Akali movement shattered a popular myth about the Sikhs regarding their 'unfailing loyalty to the

British Raj.' The agriculturists and non-agriculturalists, Jats and non-Jats, urban and rural, all united on one plat-form in their struggle against the Mahants and the British imperialism.

The learned scholar, probably inadvertantly uses (pp. 4-5) the term Sikh Misaldars for the Sikh Sardars in the context of the eighteenth century Sikh Polity. The overall charge of the Misal was in the hands of the Sardar (chief) and not in the hands of the Misaldar. The Sardar had many Misaldars under him in his Misal.

This work is a thorough and scientific study of the Akali Movement based on the first hand information collected from the Government and non-government records and from those persons who participated in the morchas in the front ranks and those who organised the movement.

The author has expressed his views unreservedly and with clarity in an unostentatious style. The treatment of the subject is very scholarly and his conclusions are sound and convincing. This work is undoubtedly a valuable addition to the historical literature on the modern Punjab.

BHAGAT SINGH*

Sikh Polity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries by Dr Bhagat Singh, Pub. Oriental Publishers and Distributors, Daryaganj, New Delhi, 1978, pp. i-xxiii + 379, price Rs. 75-00.

Sikh Polity by Dr Bhagat Singh is a welcome addition to the historical literature pertaining to the Panjab in general and the Sikhs in particular. This study explores the hitherto obscure realms of the Sikh history. Because of the scanty reliable sources of information, eighteenth century Panjab could not attract the attention of the scholars although it was exactly during this period that a relentless war was waged by the Sikhs for their civil rights and they ultimately overthrew the tyrannical rule of the Mughals and established their own socio-political institutions providing full rights of citizenship to all the people of the Panjab irrespective of their caste, colour and creed.

A few books written regarding this period were either sketchy or simple narratives of a few events and thus we have lacked a coherent modern account of the rise of the Sikhs and their institutions. So, Dr Bhagat Singh's detailed and analytical study, particularly based on Persian, Punjabi and English primary materials, is of special significance in this context. He contemplated and then executed this doctoral thesis very successfully.

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Dr Bhagat Singh in his aforesaid book devotes the first couple of chapters to explain Guru Nanak's response to contemporary politics, society and religion and the genesis of the Sikh commonwealth and the emergence of Sikh power and Sikh Polity. He traces the genesis of Sikh commonwealth to the formation and development of two institutions: *Sangat* and *Pangat*. He remarks, "spiritually the sangats helped the Sikhs in maturing their beliefs according to the instructions of the Guru. Socially, they provided opportunity to the people of all castes and creeds, high and low, rich and poor, to meet and sit together as equals. And politically, the sangats developed among the Sikhs strong democratic tradition later practised by the Sikhs earnestly during the eighteenth century. These sangats gave the Sikhs the basic elements of their political organisation." The author again writes that democratic idea as preached by Guru Nanak was not a mere theocratical belief with his successors but a practical realism with them and they took concrete steps to actualize it among their followers. They had deep regards for the views of the majority and accepted their verdict cheerfully."

Guru Gobind Singh was the first Indian leader who taught democratic principles and made his followers regard one another as equal and respectable members of the fraternity. In 1699 Guru Gobind Singh solemnly undertook to abide by the same discipline as had been enjoined upon the Sikhs to follow. In the words of the learned scholar, "Although the *Khalsa* was designed by the Guru himself yet the Guru was so much charmed and fascinated by his own creation that he saluted it as his own ideal and master." By doing this he made the *Khalsa* the supreme authority among the Sikhs in all matters. Thus in Sikhism a sense of corporate unity gradually evolved.

After the death of Guru Gobind Singh the Sikhs soon developed into a political power under the leadership of Banda Singh. The Sikhs, now, came face to face with certain important issues as (i) what should be the nature of Government? (ii) who should be the sovereign? (iii) which political institutions be evolved to conduct the affairs of the Government? The author states that Banda Singh could not evolve an elaborate political apparatus as he exercised political authority (over a part of the Panjab) only for a few months. It is not proper for us to expect a concrete form of government or a distinct system or an administrative machinery in such a short time. But he never tried to defy the authority of the *Khalsa*. He did not rule in his own name but ruled in the name of the *Khalsa* and the Gurus. According to the author, Banda Singh was given to understand that the Guru had enjoined upon him to serve the

Panth and it was not he but the collective Sikh community that had been blessed with sovereignty by the Guru. And the measures he adopted, were in keeping with the Sikh ideals which were later followed by the Sardars of the Misals. The learned author believes that Banda Singh has been misunderstood by some historians. In this work he has demolished the old views that Banda Singh was selfish, and interested only in his own glorification and personal aggrandisement.

During the second quarter of the eighteenth century the Sikhs showed splendid organisational acumen and admirable creativeness. Dal Khalsa, the author opines, was not only a military organisation of the Sikhs set up for the purpose of defence or offence. It was much more. It represented an ideal, a brotherhood adopting the ideal of unity and committing itself to the service of the Panth into which the Guru was believed to have merged his personality.

With his characteristic piercing insight the author has examined the origin and development of the Misal organisation. He discusses in a subtle way, definition of the Misal, the origin and growth of the office of the Sardar, difference between a Sardar and a Misaldar, observance of Khalsa ideals by Sikh Chiefs, role of Sikh women in the eighteenth century Panjab politics, the unique Sikh institution of Gurmata, Rakhi system and many other aspects of Sikh polity. And also very valuable and original contributions have been made with the chapters : Misaldari to Monarchy, Sikh Concept of State, and the State and the Religion.

The author has discussed the nature and structure of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's state, his sovereignty and some other features of his statecraft in a scholarly way presenting material hitherto unknown or untapped by historians. He has always supported his contentions with strong contemporary evidence. Regarding Ranjit Singh's attitude towards the other princes and their principalities, the learned scholar says that Ranjit Singh visualising the situation in the Panjab and feeling the urge of necessity set to work to bring the various small independent chiefs under one flag and to create a strong and consolidated Sikh kingdom here. He justifies the action of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and regards it "based on a far-sighted vision and constructive statesmanship." He also says that "in the Sikh political philosophy the idea of monarchy had never been considered as anti-Sikh or abhorrent and it was never condemned or rejected by the Gurus. Therefore, the development of kingship among the Sikhs was not taken as a radical departure from the Sikh political ideology. The monarchy may be as much a democracy as is a republic when the king considers himself, or the subjects consider the king, as the servant

of the people.”

This work is a valuable contribution to the Panjab history and it evinces the author's capacity for critical judgement and original interpretation. He studied the old political and social institutions of the Sikhs with a penetrating and discriminating eye and in most of the cases he has discarded such of the old theories as do not stand the rigorous test of historical scrutiny. With his linguistic equipment the learned author was able to handle his material in its original languages instead of depending upon translations done by others. In addition to English he has copiously made use of the contemporary or semi-contemporary Persian, Punjabi and Urdu sources of information.

The *Sikh Polity* by Dr Bhagat Singh is the first work of its kind. Being an outstanding scholarly research study and dealing with important aspects of Sikh history, it would be found very useful for all categories of readers. With his highly illuminating work the author has, indeed, laid us all, under a heavy debt of gratitude.

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Sri Guru Amar Das Ji

DR. BHAI JODH SINGH*

This article lays no claim to any originality or research. It is a brief account of the life of Guru Amar Das based on "Suraj Parkash." Like all popular accounts it narrates miracles also. The Sikh Gurus did not teach that miracles were special signs given by God to His Prophets. On the other hand they taught that running after miraculous power often led a man astray. The author, therefore, saw no reason to omit miraculous happenings, especially when they are recorded in the life accounts of all the great Religious Teachers. But miracles aside, the life story of the third Guru is very interesting and instructive.

I. Early Days

Basarke is a small village in the district of Amritsar, some 8 miles to the South-West of the Amritsar city. This otherwise insignificant hamlet now enjoys the proud fame of being the birth-place of the Third Guru of the Sikhs. Tej Bhan, a Bhalla Khatri by caste, resided in this village with his wife Sulakhani in the early part of the sixteenth century of the Bikram Era. The author of voluminous *Suraj Parkash* says that Tej Bhan had four sons and lived by agriculture. Nothing else could possibly be known about this man, for his name is only made famous by his son who himself became Guru when he was eighty four years of age, and Tej Bhan had been dead long ago.

Amar Das was his eldest son and was born in 1536 Sambat, in the month of Baisakh or Jeth, ten years after the birth of Guru Nanak. Nothing is known of his early days save that he was religiously inclined and was a friend of the pious. When the prime of his life was over, he thought of leading a holy life and according to the conceptions of his age took the vow of journeying yearly to the sacred banks of the holy Ganges to wash off his sins by a dip into its clear waters. That he kept up his vow of uncommon devotion is clear from the fact that for twenty consecutive years he performed this pilgrimage. Strong will and firm resolve are the usual accompaniments of a great mind, and this incident shows that they were abundantly present in the mind of the Third Guru

* 496, Model Town, Ludhiana.

also. In those pious travels, little did he dream that one day he would have to preach to the world that these baths in the sacred waters, whatever may be their physical value, are of very little use in advancing the spiritual welfare of a man. But perhaps it was so ordained that he must have the experience himself before he could speak with unquestionable authority on this matter. He has sung afterwards :

"The world is suffering from the impurity of egoism. They have got this impurity by loving another (not God). In no wise can this impurity of egoism be washed off even if a man bathed at a hundred *Tiraths*. *Sri Rag.*

"This mind is impure, for it does not meditate on the One. The innerself has become very dirty by loving another. He goes to the banks of holy waters and roams from country to country, but is proud. The filth of egoism has been increased. *Majh.*

"He may try to visit the various holy places but the egoism of the innerself can not thereby be got rid of." *Gujri.*

"In Benares (i.e., by mere bathing there) neither you gain in wisdom nor you lose aught of it (by not taking baths). *Gujri.*

Some important events, however, happened in the course of his twentieth journey which brought about a great change in his life. The events were not important in their magnitude. They were ordinary happenings, but they wrought the change.

In the case of Lord Budha, the sight of a dead body was sufficient to transform his whole life. In the case of Guru Amar Das the remark of a companion was sufficient to awaken the thirst for truth.

In those days it was very perilous to undertake long journeys alone. The roads were bad and were often infested by robbers. The chances of illness in the long absence from home were sufficient to make a man wish for a companion or rather companions. Even if he was safe from the cruel hands of the robbers in day time, the treacherous designs of nocturnal visitors would not allow him rest at night. The security of his few personal belongings might be seriously challenged. So men liked to travel in company. The intending pilgrims formed themselves in a group and chose a leader and by easy stages travelled to their destination. In this way, while journeying back from his 20th pilgrimage, Guru Amar Das and his companions put up with a *Sarsut* Brahman named Durga, in the village of Mehra which lay on the path. The amiable disposition of the Guru at once attracted the notice of the intelligent Brahman. In him he saw a great man, though yet unrevealed to the common gaze. He was a palmist also and observed the 'lotus' mark in the sole of Guru Amar Das.

The discovery confirmed his opinion about the Guru and he tried his utmost to make the short stay of the Guru as comfortable as he could. When the Guru was about to leave the following morning, he offered the Brahman a present which the latter declined saying that he would accept it on another occasion when the Guru would have reached the summit of his greatness. This astonished venerable Amar Das who was already sixty-two years of age. But the Brahman pointed to the 'lotus' in his sole and said, "According to my science the possessor of this auspicious sign becomes either a king, or a great spiritual teacher." The Guru might have taken the remark lightly or, in the light of the superstition of the age it might have gone deep into his heart. There was no possibility of his becoming a king, he might have thought but a great teacher—Yes, the devotional nature might develop into that. The idea of consecrating the remainder of his life to God must have received fresh vigour from these observations. It is said, that when the Guru was installed on the exalted *Gaddi* this Brahman visited him, reminding him of the incident and received a munificent gift from him.

II. The Change

Leaving Durga Brahman to his thoughts, Amar Das proceeded further on his homeward journey. On the way he fell in with a Brahmacharin. The devout dispositions of both drew them into a close acquaintance which soon ripened into a sort of attachment.

They talked on various religious topics and, when night fell, took lodgings near each other. Thus, they reached the native village of Amar Das. The Brahmacharin was received very courteously and hospitably into the family. When the evening meals were over, according to their usual custom, Amar Das and the Brahmacharin engaged in discourses on religious topics. "Who is your Guru" (spiritual leader), abruptly enquired the Brahmacharin. "I have none," replied Amar Das, "I am in search of one, but have not found as yet." The Brahmacharin made a start and broke out: "What! have I been associating with a person who hath no Spiritual Leader. Oh man! thou hast polluted all my sanctity. All my vows, austerities, fasts and penances have been rendered fruitless. As for thyself all thy charities are of no avail. These seventy-two years thou hast passed in vain." He said this, sprang out of the bed and hurried away.

Amar Das was dumb-founded at this singular behaviour of the holy man. All was dark before his eyes. A man who loved and respected him a moment ago, now abhors him, nay even considers it a pollution to stay near him or under his roof, and all that because he has no Guru.

He thought that he had been leading his life according to the law, but now finds that it has all gone in vain. Just picture to yourself the state of a man who is mounting a stair-case and thinks that he has reached the top and will presently be in the enjoyment of bliss in the upper story; but all of a sudden the support gives way and in an instant he finds himself down below, lower than the first floor even, with some of his limbs bruised and aching. The boundless joy which he thought was within his grasp is now changed into the vehemence of despair, and helplessness and dejected he lies moaning, waiting for somebody to come and help him.

The centre of attraction that kept his life in its regular path had been suddenly removed and now Amar Das found himself out of the orbit, hurrying down aimlessly, perhaps to final perdition. A house could not stand without props. Twenty yearly dips into the sacred waters of the holy Ganges were the mainstay of the edifice of his hopes; but now they were fruitless. The gain had been converted into loss. What to do now? This question crossed his agitated mind again and again, but its afflicted state would let it carve out no answer for it and again he fell into the depths of despondency.

In this plight Amar Das rolled from one side of his bed to the other and passed a sleepless night. His mind was now tired of its horrid imaginings and it appeared as if with the end of night his darkness would also come to an end. It was nearing dawn, when he heard the melodious tunes of a hymn being sung by a female voice. He stopped, listened and was comforted. The voice acted as a balm to the wound. His heart gained strength and he wished to follow the voice to its source.

Now, it so happened that Bibi Amro, the daughter of Guru Angad, was married to a nephew of Amar Das. This pious girl used to get up in the ambrosial hours of the morning and after performing her ablutions recited the hymns of Guru Nanak in a lovely tune. Engaged in her household work, it was she who was singing now. Amar Das, following the voice, was led to her apartment. He hid himself behind a screen and heard the following *Shabad* :

"Mind is the sheet of paper, deeds the inkpot and evil and good are the two writings on it. We walk as the previous impressions bid us move O Lord! there is no end of thy virtues. Why dost thou not remember the Lord, O crazy fellow? Forgetting Him, all thy virtues rot. The night was a snare, the day became a trap. Every moment is a noose. With delight you pick up the bait and are further ensnared. With what virtues will you manage to disentangle

yourself, O fool ? Body is the furnace, mind the iron in it, and the five fires (lust, anger, greed, false attachment and pride) are heating it up. The sins cover it as charcoal. The mind is burnt up and anxiety has become the vice. (The real metal having been burnt up dregs alone are left.) They could be turned into gold if a man found the right Guru. He will give the nectar of the Name of the One Lord and the thirst of the body will be quenched."

"This just describes the state in which I am, thought Amar Das. Why ! if the grace of God does not flow in daily, the stagnant pool of self-centred virtues must rot. I was proud of this stinking store ! Day and night I was ensnared further. I picked the grain thrown under the net, and my godless virtues have fastened the tie, instead of loosening it. Really the iron in me has been burnt up. Only the dregs now remain. The grip of anxiety alone is now left to me. Should I die in despair ? But there is a ray of hope. If I can find out a Spiritual Leader, with his golden touch, he could turn the dregs even into gold. I must find out one. The Brahmacharin was right." With these musings he approached the girl. According to the custom of the country, Bibi Amro was abashed a little and became silent. "No, daughter, no. Thy charming tunes, O charming angel ! have verily shed nectar on dying man. Pray, tell me, who composed the verses you were singing ?" Thus Amar Das encouraged Bibi Amro to speak to him. "Revered uncle," said she, "these enchanting melodies were poured forth by Guru Nanak. My father, Guru Angad, who occupies the holy *gaddi* after him, has taught them to me. I sing them daily and try to mould my life according to the thoughts expressed in them." "Take me to your father," cried Amar Das. "He is the man whom I want." "But," said Bibi Amro, "I cannot go to him unless he asks me to do so. He has advised me that daughters should not leave the house of their father-in-law and repair to their father's without being specially requested to do so." "No virtuous lady, I praise thy dutiful spirit, but in this case you go for my sake. Pray do not refuse now." These words, proceeding from the uncle-in-law, amounted to an order. So preparations were made at once and Bibi Amro took Amar Das with her and set out for her parental village, Khadur.

III. The Discipline

In India, it is a custom that families of the bride and the bridegroom hold each other in great respect. In the Punjab they are called *Kurams*. If a member of one family happens to be a guest of the other, he is, as a rule, received with uncommon distinction and is served with

the choicest dishes. Amar Das belonged to the family of the son-in-law of Guru Angad. When Bibi Amro arrived at Khadur and introduced Amar Das in the presence of Guru Angad, he rose to receive his *Kuram*. But Amar Das had not come in that capacity. He ran to kiss the feet of the Guru and implored to be received as a disciple. He sat in the company and drank in the spiritual discourse of the Guru. His mind got peace and he determined to follow the path of discipleship.

Some say that he began paying occasional visits to Khadur and afterwards settled there. Others hold that from the very day of his first visit he began to live with the Guru. "The path of discipleship," says Bhai Gurdas, "is very narrow. It is licking a tasteless stone. It is sharp as the edge of a sword and narrow as the breadth of a hair." This path now Amar Das resolved to tread. In Sikhism the disciple begins by doing menial service. He must draw water for the company, wipe off dust from their feet, pull *punkha* and grind corn for them. Thoughts of humility are good, but you must be practically humble and for that must engage in humble deeds. Says Bhai Gurdas :

"One cannot become a disciple by mere talk. He must die. He must become a martyr to contentment and firm faith and do away with all doubts and fears. *He should engage in work like a slave bought for ready money* and should resist hunger and sleep. He should think of neither food nor sleep. He should grind the corn and ever with fresh vigour carry water. He is commanded to pull the *punkha* and to wash the feet (of the company). He should be of grave and not of light temperament. He should beg at His door and taste the cup of love. Such a man is like the 'blessed' *Id* moon (small in appearance, but gives happiness to all). He has run his race."

Var. III, Pauri 18.

This ideal depicted so beautifully afterwards by Bhai Gurdas, was the ideal before the eyes of Amar Das. He himself says in *Var Sri Rag* : "Those who have not served the Guru, nor thought over the *Shabad*, nor acquired the inner knowledge, bear a *dead life*." His firm resolve we had the occasion to see in his fulfilling the vow of having a yearly dip in the sacred water of the Holy Ganges for twenty consecutive years, and now we find that advancing years had produced no effect on the resoluteness of his early days. He took the vow of bringing water from a neighbouring well—called the well of the Guru up to this day—for the bath of the Guru in the early hours of the morning and he firmly adhered to it for some twelve years, never failing for a day in his self-imposed duty. During the day he brought water for

use in the *Langar* (common kitchen), and at night he engaged in service which is at once repulsive and noble. Guru Angad had an ulcer in his foot and could not get sufficient rest at night on account of pain. Amar Das kept the wounded toe in his mouth for the night to keep it in a warm and soft place and spat the discharges. For us mortals it is difficult even to think of such a thing, but Amar Das had subdued his flesh, subdued all thought of attachment and repugnance. He had one object in view and that was serving the Guru. Whether the service was liked by or repulsive to the ordinary mortal, senses was not the consideration with him.

IV. The Miracle

In this way seven slow years rolled by, Amar Das now became conscious of a new light shining within him and he found himself possessed of new powers. There is an irresistible inclination in man to make a show of what he has. We judge ourselves by the opinions which others form of us and to influence those opinions favourably we must make a parade of what is most beautiful in us. It is only the perfect souls that escape this temptation, and for Amar Das in this stage of spiritual development it was very difficult to resist it. One night when he was engaged in applying relief to the ulcered toe of the Guru he succumbed to its irresistible influence. "Where is the use of the powers in me" thought he "if I let the Guru suffer pain," and forthwith he thought of curing the ulcer and lo ! it was cured.

The age of doubt is over now and men have come to admit the possibility of such happenings. Mental healers are not rarity now-a-days. But still, we think, it will not be out of place if we tell the reader what place is given to such things in Sikhism. Now, to begin with, what is a miracle ? Is it something against the laws of God ? "What the servants get when the Lord is pleased with them," saith Nanak, "is termed a miracle." So the miracles are not happenings against the laws of God, but are the result of superior powers which He Himself bestows on His servants. They are given to those who have submitted their own will to the Supreme Will of God; who have annihilated *self* and hence who will use the powers only when He wishes them to do so. They do not use those powers against the laws of God but in accordance with them. The possibility of our being able to acquire higher spiritual powers than we now possess is almost universally admitted. It only remains to be seen now what place the Guru accords them in religion. Should a teacher work miracles to compel others to believe in his word or just to unduly influence their decision ? The Guru clearly deprecates this use of the

higher powers. They are not to be used for show. In giving an account of the discussions which Guru Nanak had with Sidhs, Bhai Gurdas says "The Sidhs said, 'O Nanak ! you have been working miracles in the world. Show us something also; why are you hesitating ? 'O Nath,' saith Baba, I have nothing to *show*. I do not seek shelter beneath any thing else except communion with God and His word." And further on the Guru is made to say :

"O Nath," said Baba, "Hear the word and speak the truth. Without the True Name I have no other miracle. If I could clothe myself in fire and fix my habitation in the snows of the Himalayas; could I eat iron and be able to command the world; could I even enlarge myself to such an extent as to enable me to push the whole earth before me; could I even weigh down with a tank¹ in one scale, both heaven and earth, being placed in the other; had I even such power as to save people with my own command, even then, without the True name, they are like the shadow of a cloud."

Thus we see that the possibility of miracles is admitted in Sikhism. But miracles are no argument to prove the truth of a religion. Never have the Gurus said : "Because you see these signs, therefore, believe in us as prophets of God." Working of miracles, they rather thought, was a great hinderance in the path of higher development. It was a temptation which must be avoided by those who want to have communion with the Supreme Soul.

So when the Guru awoke, he smiled to see his foot cured of the ulcer. He at once guessed that it was Amar Das who had done it. "Do not let what is in you leak out, Amar Das," said he, "or the store will be soon emptied. It was the God's will that an ulcer be on my toe and we must submit to His Will. This is the path. Be happy in whatever state He keeps you." Amar Das begged pardon for his rashness and lo ! the ulcer again appeared on the foot of the Guru.

V. The Singling out

We had an occasion to remark elsewhere, that when Amar Das first saw Guru Angad he was seventy-two years of age. He was of a short stature and in this stage of life naturally possessed but a feeble body. But the resoluteness of his mind appears to have endowed him with uncommon strength. It was now full eleven years that he had been bringing pitcherfuls of water in the small hours of morning for the bath of his dear Guru, and still his zeal for service knew no bounds. It is

1. Equal to four mashes.

said that every year the Guru gave him a yard or so of cloth as a napkin. He took it as an honoured gift and wound it round his head and in his devotion never untied it. The napkin was ever wet with water and so became the resort of a number of lice. But the devoted disciple would not take off his head the gift of his Guru, even if the lice ate away his skull. Every year another napkin was added, but the old one was not thrown away. The episode might appear trivial to us and even might excite a feeling of loathing in the uninitiated mind. But it enables us to take a measure of the respect in which the Guru was held by him.

One day he got up as usual, to do his work. The weather changed and the sky became overcast. Soon it was pitch-dark. With flashes of lightning and roars of thunder it began to drizzle. This could not deter old Amar Das from his purpose. He took the pitcher and went out. The fury of the storm, however, did not abate, and it began to rain in torrents. Amar Das could not find his way back home and, with his pitcher full of water on his head, stumbled and fell in the weaving-ditch of a weaver.

"Who the fellow might be," cried out the weaver, "Who is out at this time of the night." "None else, but Amru, the houseless," retorted his wife and again they fell into their sweet slumbers.

Amar Das heard this and some say, was displeased with the last remark. He thought it as an insult to his Guru. He was living with the 'master of the world' and why should he be termed 'houseless' and so they say he uttered these words, "Senseless woman, you are ignorant of the Guru." With these words, he got himself out of the ditch, and with his pitcher walked away. The story goes that the curse was soon fulfilled and the weaver woman became demented.

Anyhow, the Guru came to know of the whole matter. On the following day, when the usual hymns had been sung, he sent for the weaver and his wife and asked her to repeat the words she had uttered at night. The pair trembled but the Guru asked them not to be afraid. Any insult that they might have offered by their words would be pardoned. The weaver repeated the words and when the word 'houseless' fell from his lips, the face of the Guru beamed with a smile, and with tears in his eyes said, "Know ye henceforth, that Amru is not houseless. He will be Guru Amar Das, who will house the houseless, who will be a support to the weak, who will give shelter to the humble and strength to the lowly." Thus saying, he hugged Amar Das to his bosom and appointed him as his successor.

He now asked Amar Das to repair to Goindwal. Guru Angad

himself had sufficient experience of the jealousy in which his successor would be held by his sons. To avoid direct antagonism he asked him to remain out of Khadur and thus out of the reach of his sons, Datu and Dasu. Gonda, the founder and owner of the village Goindwal, was a disciple of the Guru. The Guru had even helped him to found that village. He thought that Amar Das would be secure there. Besides Goindwal was situated on the road from Lahore to Delhi and near a ford of the river Beas. By keeping a preacher there, many travellers would become acquainted with the teachings of Guru Nanak, and thus an easy opportunity would be offered for the dissemination of the Sikh gospel. Amar Das, therefore, took his abode at Goindwal.

VI. Guru Amar Das Occupies the Gaddi

While at Goindwal Guru Angad paid occasional visits to Amar Das. These marks of special distinction gave fresh impetus to the zealous mind of the faithful disciple and he became more and more resolute and confirmed in his devotion and service. A strange episode is related of one of these visits by Bhai Santokh Singh, which will give us a further inkling into the inner working of the great mind of this devout follower. It is said that during one of these visits he was accompanying Guru Angad with other Sikhs on his return journey to Khadur. According to the oriental code of manners it is always the master that leads the way. Guru Angad went in front of the company holding the right hand of his favourite disciple in his own. Whilst walking in this way the left hand of Amar Das got a little ahead of Guru Angad.

Amar Das noticed it and at once drew back his arm. "Well," said he in his mind, "my left hand has presumed too much. Why should it go ahead of the Guru?" For the rest of the way he kept his hand pressed to his bosom, and took the vow that since his left hand had sinned against the Guru, he would never consider it as his own and never use it throughout his life. And to this faithful vow, the author of the *Suraj Parkash* says, he adhered unflinchingly for the remainder of his days on this earth.

Guru Angad left this world on the 4th day of the bright half of the lunar month of Chet in the year 1609 of our Bikram Era. Just before the event was to happen, Amar Das was summoned to the holy presence of the second Guru, and was formally installed on the *Gaddi* with due ceremony. The second Guru made a present of five *takkas* to him, put a cocoa-nut in his lap and bowed to his feet in the presence of the whole congregation. Thus, in the seventy-second year of his age, Amar Das was proclaimed the third Guru of the Sikhs.

Assumption of high offices means undertaking onerous duties. Guru Amar Das now got up before the third quarter of the night was over. Balu, a devoted disciple, helped him in his ablutions. He then sat in communion with the Universal Spirit till dawn. Afterwards he repaired to the congregation and joined the chorus in singing the praises of the Most High. A discourse or two on spiritual topics would bring the forenoon to end, and the whole company was ready for their meals.

It is worth mentioning here that Guru Amar Das introduced a most important social change in this respect. It is a well known fact that high caste Hindus will not tolerate near them a low-caste while taking their meals. It is unnecessary for us to dilate upon the harm that this pernicious custom of caste has wrought in this country. Can a people combine to achieve anything, some of whom will not brook the touch of their fellows even? Guru Nanak had seen the malady that was eating into the vitals of his race and in his sublime hymns had sung against 'caste.'

"Recognise the light, do not care for caste; there is no caste hereafter;" and again :

"Caste and power are of no avail hereafter. They neither win honour nor disgrace."

Not only had the two previous Gurus preached against caste, they had practically discarded all its restrictions. At the very outset of his first preaching tour Guru Nanak dined with carpenter Lalo at Eminabad. Their precepts and examples had their effects. The bugbear of caste was robbed of its pernicious dread and the disciples were slowly breaking loose of its time-honoured but stifling bonds. Guru Amar Das saw the time ripe for taking a social step forward formally and ordered that all his disciples should take their meals from the same kitchen. "There should be no distinction of *varn* and *Ashram*, all should dine in company." To a western reader, unacquainted with the customs of Hindostan this injunction might appear meaningless and trivial and might provoke a smile, but he is only to make a journey through this land and see with his own eyes, even in this twentieth century, a man considering the touch of a brother man as pollution.

The effect of this great social step can be noticed in the Punjab up to this day. Not only are the Sikhs free in matters of inter-dining but the Punjabee Hindu also is far ahead of his co-religionists in other provinces in these matters.

Guru Amar Das himself only took saltless *Khichri* (a mixture of rice and lentils boiled). Every edible thing that was brought to the Guru

as an offering was cooked and distributed. The Guru had enjoined strictly that nothing should be kept for the morrow. If there were no men to be fed, food should be given to beasts and even to fowls of air and fishes in water if it exceeded the requirements of the beasts of the village and the neighbouring jungle. Strange to say that inspite of this not only his board abounded in necessities, but it was provided very often with luxuries. Satta and Balwand have sung in *Ram Kali di Var* that "the board of the third Guru was provided with *khir* (a nice dish of rice cooked in milk) overflowing with butter." Verily those who ask only for daily bread from their Father in heaven are never left in want and all other things are added unto their store.

It was not in matters of food alone that Guru Amar Das practised such austerities. He never kept two suites of clothes. The one that was on was the only set of clothes that he possessed. Whenever a second suite was brought to him for change, the other one must be given to some poor man before he consented to put on the new one. Thus the Third Guru of the Sikhs passed his days caring not for the morrow practically, possessing naught save the clothes he had on his person.

After meals, it is said, there was interval of rest. Then a Pandit, read to the company from old scriptures. Spiritual discourses and hymns brought the day to a close. The Guru, however, did not sleep till a quarter of night was over and till that time he carried on his work of spiritual instruction. This was the ordinary routine of the day after Guru Amar Das ascended the *gaddi* and took the leadership of the disciples in his hands.

VII. How Love of Power Degrades

Goindwal was a small village yet. It had not houses enough to accommodate the large crowds that assembled there to hear the Guru. So Ballu one day approached the Guru with folded hands and said "O True King! remove trouble of your disciples. People of all the four *varanas* wish to take their abode here but there is a serious obstacle in their way. All other building materials are available but there is a dearth of *deodar* wood. Be pleased to arrange for a supply of that." "Their trouble will soon be over," said the Guru; and called his nephew Sawan Mal to his presence. "Go to the hill State of Haripur, Sawan Mal! Tie the big *deodar* logs into rafts and throw them into the river Beas, when they reach here, the Sikhs will arrange to take them out and build houses according to their needs." "It requires a good deal of money to buy such a large quantity, O True King!" replied Sawan Mal. "Whilst I have not a farthing. Can I alone compel the hill men to part with so many

logs without money? I must possess miraculous powers to do that, or they must become Sikhs to make a 'free offering.' "Go," said the Guru, "Thy will they shall carry out and thou shalt succeed in thy mission."

Sawan Mal was the only son of his old mother. When she heard that her son was being sent to the hills she came trembling to the Guru. In the Punjab the inhabitants of plains have strange notions about the hillmen. Why, all hill girls are witches and directly a man enters their abode they take out his heart and he dies. The old matron prayed to the Guru to spare her son such a dreadful fate. The Guru smiled and forthwith giving a handkerchief said "this handkerchief has all the powers to protect Sawan Mal from evil spirits and witches. Be consoled, therefore, old lady, your son is now stronger than all the hill devils combined." Sawan Mal took the handkerchief and left for the hill.

Sawan Mal reached Haripur and was introduced to the Raja. The Raja was impressed by an alleged miracle of his and he gained great influence with him. After a short time the Raja, with ministers and other big people, was converted to Sikhism and Sawan Mal got enough wood to float down the river Beas. But the power that he thus got turned his head. "If I go to Goindwal, all this influence will be put to an end, therefore, let me stay here as long as possible," so thought Sawan Mal and the power that was given to him for doing good to others was now to be misused for the gratification of his own whims. This was not to be. Directly the thought entered his mind, the handkerchief was gone, and with the handkerchief he lost his confidence in himself. Thus humbled, his thoughts again turned to the Guru. "I have sinned, no doubt, but the Guru will forgive me, when I fall at his feet. Let me take all my admirers with me and show them the True Leader." So thinking, he left for Goindwal with the Raja and his nobles and reached the place by easy stages. The Guru smiled to see him and said, "My disciples are as sons to me. I want to save them. You became proud. Pride turneth one away from the path of devotion. To save you from final destruction I made you lose the visible symbol of my power, my handkerchief. But you now repent and promise to follow the right path. You may go back to the hillmen and become their spiritual leader. No harm shall come to you now."

Sawan Mal was overjoyed to hear these words of the Guru and hurried to the bank of the river, where his companions had encamped, to lead them to the holy presence. The Guru had ordered that all should take their food from the common kitchen before coming to him and all women should discard their garments of various hues and come clad in white with their faces uncovered. The Raja and his companions agreed

to these proposals and after taking their meals from the kitchen proceeded to the holy presence. Now it so happened that one girl of the company covered her face when she entered the Diwan. "Mad Girl," said the Guru, "If you do not want to see the congregation and can not discard the veil, why come here"? and to the astonishment of her companions the girl went mad, rent her clothes and fled to the jungle.

There was a Sikh named Suchnisach who used to bring wood from the jungle for the use of the common kitchen. This girl after a time was brought to her senses through the agency of this Sikh and was married to him. The story at least gives us an idea of the feeling created against veiling of face by women and to this day in the congregation the Sikh men and women sing the praises of the Most High together, without attaching much importance to *Pardah* so prevalent among other communities of Northern India.

VIII. "Humility is my Mace"—Guru 5

The news of Guru Amar Das ascending the *Gaddi* soon spread far and wide, and disciples from all parts of the country began to flock to Goindwal. Khadur was deserted. At this Datu, the eldest son of Guru Angad, was enraged. During the life time of his father he had cherished hopes of succession to the exalted seat. All the disciples and their offerings he had regarded as his own after his father's death. But the bright vision was over now and with it went his peace of mind also. He began to harbour thoughts of very strong resentment against Guru Amar Das. Some interested Khattris of Khadur fanned the flame of his hatred. The contrivance of posing as a Guru, because he was the eldest son of Guru Angad, had failed. Even his *dastarbandi*² by force did not bring the Sikhs to him. The only way now left was to repair to Goindwal and after dethroning Guru Amar Das by force to take possession of the *Gaddi*. To this device Datu in his rage and resentment resolved to resort.

One day Guru Amar Das sat discoursing on spiritual topics at Goindwal and the congregation eagerly drank in the nectar that fell from his holy lips. All of a sudden Datu made his appearance and advancing straight to Guru Amar Das gave him a hard kick on his chest. The whole audience was dumb-founded at this unexpected behaviour of Datuji. Guru Amar Das fell flat senseless on the floor

2. *Dastarbandi*—lit. tying the turban. After the death of father the sons are presented with turbans by their near relatives. This is the formal recognition by the community their right of inheritance to the the property possessed by their father.

from his raised dais. As soon as he came to his senses again he caught hold of the foot of Datu and began to rub it with his hands. "I am an old man," said the Guru, "and there is little flesh left on my bones. Again, the bones have been hardened by my long service and they must have hurt your tender foot." A strange spectacle ! nay a strange change in Guru Amar Das himself. Our readers perhaps still remember the story of Tapa and Guru Angad at Khadur, how the jealous Tapa had Guru Angad turned out of the village under the pretext of giving rain to the poor villagers, how Amar Das was enraged when he learned of this insult to his Guru and told the villagers that they would get rain in the place where Tapa went and how the villagers in, the attempt of taking Tapa to as many fields as they could, dragged him from one place to another and ultimately tore him to pieces. Amar Das who caused the death of an offending person in that case now kisses the feet of his enemy. But, Amar Das was then a disciple. He was on the path yet and had not reached the destination. Now he is the Guru. His precept and example will be followed by a hundred thousand disciples. Do not the scriptures say, "If any one smiteth thee, do not return the blow. Kiss his feet and then go home". ? The conduct of the Guru must conform to what he teaches and Guru Amar Das, therefore, rubs the foot of the man who so ruthlessly kicks him.

But this did not appease the wrath of Datu. He was enraged still further. "Why are you practising all this deception ?" said he. "I am the lawful Guru. Did not I tie the turban after the death of my father ? How are you having yourself worshipped as Guru ? You are a self-styled impostor. This pains me. I do not like this show of yours. Batches of disciples pay their homage to you. My father was a guileless person. You deceived him by your display of service and had yourself appointed as his successor. God knows if after all this last assertion of yours is not a lie pure and simple. My father sent you to Goindwal and you now have become master of the village, leave this place forthwith and close your juggler's show."

The whole congregation was stunned. None could dare utter a syllable in the presence of their Guru but could not make anything out of this senseless talk of Datu and sat staring him in the face. The benign Guru smiled. "I made a mistake, Datu ji ! I did not stand up to receive properly when the eldest son of my Guru arrived. The kick was a just punishment for my silly forgetfulness. I am sorry your tender foot has been hurt." He said this and went on rubbing his foot. The sun now went down the horizon and the whole assembly dispersed.

It has been said that whoever becomes a saint nowadays becomes so at his own peril. Seen from the worldly point of view, saints are always the losers. But saints are a necessity. They are the salt of the earth. It is true that very few people follow in their wake but they leaven the lives of thousands. They are the high watermarks of human soul. They suggest the possibility of human achievements. To be able to pocket the insult so mildly in the presence of a vast assembly consisting of disciples, who in their veneration held the Guru second to none but God, was itself an index of immense spiritual power—but Guru Amar Das resolved to take a step further. His presence at Goindwal had been the cause of so much anguish to Datu, so he determined to leave the village at once and pass the rest of his days somewhere else. When the vast concourse had dispersed after prayers for the night were over, Guru Amar Das quietly stole out of the village and took the road to his native village of Basarke. In the skirts of the village beneath a shady grove he found the deserted hut of a cow-herd. He entered it, closed the door and sat inside meditating on *Parbrahm*. Outside the door he wrote this inscription. "He who opens the door will not be acknowledged by me as my disciple nor I shall regard myself as his Guru."

In the morning the whole village of Goindwal knew of the stealthy departure of the Third Guru. Datu learning of the event was immensely pleased. His rival was no more there and he regarded himself the sole master of the situation. He bedecked himself with ornaments, put on fine clothes and ascended the vacant *gaddi*. But save a few flatterers of Khadur who had accompanied him to Goindwal, no disciple would come to him. The sparkling mirage of the sandy desert could not quench the thirst of a panting deer. Who would console the bemoaning Sikhs? Datu could keep up the show but he had no food for the hungry in spirit. Till evening he sat and waited. The Sikhs came, peeped into the building and finding not the cynosure of their eyes walked away disappointed. Datuji was ashamed of all this and resolved to stay no longer at Goindwal. Next day he made preparation for his hasty departure, gathered together whatever he could lay his hand on, and started for Khadur. But as the author of *Suraj Parkash* related, he could not escape heavenly retribution. Thieves caught hold of him in the way, robbed him of all he possessed and gave him a good thrashing to boot. Thoroughly humiliated Datu reached Khadur with his limbs bruised and aching, and the disciples regarded the whole happening as an act of special displeasure of the Most High for his insulting behaviour towards the Guru.

The disciples, meanwhile, were greatly discomfited without their Guru. They searched the precincts of Goindwal but found no trace. At last they came together in a big assembly, and after various discussions resolved to approach Bhai Budha. Bhai Budha had been with Guru Nanak and was held in Great esteem by all the Sikhs. He enjoyed the proud honour of painting the foreheads of the 2nd and 3rd Guru with saffron when they had ascended the *gaddi*. This ceremony was equal in significance to that of putting the crown on the head of a king when he ascended the throne. Painting forehead with saffron meant formal installation. Bhai Budha rose to receive the *sangat*, and asked the cause of their kind visit. When everything had been explained to him he gladly consented to guide the search, "Even to serve one disciple brings unmeasurable reward, boundless will be the recompense of him who serves the whole *sangat*," said Bhai Ji and started to engage in search. But on enquiry no clue could be found. Bhai Budha, however, resorted to a curious device. The old Guru used to ride a favourite mare when on tour to neighbouring villages. The animal became greatly attached to the Guru. Depending on the dutiful instinct of the animal, Bhai Budha let loose the mare and the whole congregation followed her. The mare by slow marches brought them to the deserted house of the cowherd and would not proceed further. The disciples approached the house but found no door. Bhai Budha, however, saw the inscription and the glad tidings of the Guru being there soon spread throughout the whole assembly. But no one dared open the door. Again Bhai Budha hit upon a plan. "The Guru had ordered not to enter by the door," said he "what if I break into the house through the hind wall." All expressed their approval and Bhai Budha entered the house. When he saw the Guru, he at once fell at his feet. "Why have you disregarded my injunctions," said the Guru. "No ! may it please my Lord, I have not opened the door, the whole *sangat* is thirsting for your sight. The Second Guru had asked you to assume their leadership. Where should they go if you prefer thus to remain in concealment."

The Guru smiled. He consented to come out and again resume the preaching of Gospel of True Name. It was the envy of Datu that had forced him to take that step. He wanted to leave Datu free to assume their guidance but since he had failed he would not shirk the yoke placed on his shoulders. The Guru, saying this, came out and the heart of the whole concourse was gladdened at the holy sight. He returned to Goindwal and resumed his evangelizing work.

IX. A Complaint Against Sikhism

Now, though Datu was silenced, another trouble awaited the third Guru. The heterodox teachings of the new faith had stirred animosity in the priestly class. The Khatri of higher clans also could not contemplate with equanimity this liberalising influence of the new religion. When the third Guru gave an order to his Sikhs that before seeing him all should dine in company, their smouldering fire of wrath blazed into open hostility. Another event happened, which incensed them so far, that they could not remain without taking a serious step. Bhai Paro one day suggested to the Guru that to enable all the Sikhs to see their brethren-in-faith, an annual gathering should be instituted. "We come to you in separate batches, and thus remain unacquainted with each other. Besides, O Guru ! when Sikhs of the common run come in contact with the devout disciples their lives will be leavened with devotion." The Guru was pleased to hear this request and sent epistles to all the Sikhs in different directions, telling them that the first of Baisakh had been fixed by him as the day of annual gathering. In compliance with these invitations thousands of Sikhs came to Goindwal on the occasion of the Baisakhi that followed. The fair proved of great advantage to the new faith, but it increased the wrath of the orthodox. Now they knew for certain the extent to which the heterodox opinions had taken root and resolved to go to Lahore and lay a complaint before Emperor Akbar, who happened to be on a visit to the capital of the Punjab.

"You, O great king ! are the defender of our ancient customs. You are to set right what has gone wrong. One Amar Das has proclaimed himself a Guru at Goindwal. He has effaced all the distinctions between the four *varnas*. He does not repeat *Gayatri*, nor does he mutter Rama. He has raised the standard of *Wahi-Guru*. Even in the four *yugas* none has gone to the extent in obliterating old customs as he has done. He does not follow the Vedas and the Smritis. He has chalked out a different path for himself. This is our complaint, dispense justice O King ! Save the *Dharma* and your kingdom will prosper. If this heresy is allowed to spread and take root, it will not be eradicated afterwards easily."

Akbar heard the complaint and consoled the complainants. "Rest ye all assured," said he, "I will do justice. I will summon him here and before the whole gathering make enquiries from him. You may then repeat your charges so that I may be able to hear both sides. I shall be able to know truth from falsehood, when I have heard the whole discussion. You are the headmen of many villages, you may rest assured that I shall decide the case with due regard to justice."

Accordingly summons were sent to the third Guru to appear before the Emperor and answer the charges brought against him. The Guru called Bhai Jaitha (afterwards Guru Ram Das), to his presence and disclosed the whole matter to him. "Go ye to the court of the Emperor," said the Guru to his most devout disciple, "and answer truthfully all the questions put to you. Do not hesitate to go at once. Keep your faith in the Guru and you will come out successful."

Jaitha ji at once proceeded to Lahore and stopped at his own house for the night. In the morning he went to the Court and Akbar in a full Durbar summoned both sides. The charges were again repeated.

"He is a Khatri O king ! and has started his own religion. He has forsaken the rites of the Veda and has promulgated a different path. What to say of other things, we draw your attention to one prominent fact. Amongst the Hindus the *Gayatri mantra* is considered to be most sacred. He even does not know that, nor repeats it. He preaches his own word called *Gurbani*."

Akbar looked at Bhai Jaitha for a reply. Bhai Jaitha at once began to repeat *Gayatri* and propounded its true import. The accusers were dumb-founded. They never thought that ignorant-looking Sikhs of the Guru were so well read. Akbar himself held liberal views and at once saw the point. The new movement itself was not abnoxious, it was the liberal views of the new faith that offended the orthodox, so he said "You all have brought a false complaint. You simply cling to the letter of the sacred books, whilst he follows the spirit. Put other questions if you have any, or else the complaint is dismissed."

Then he called Bhai Jaitha privately and said, "Some people have turned against you and are spreading false reports. Just to silence them, make this proposal to the Guru on my behalf. He may once more visit the holy places, the *Tiraths* will become more sacred by his visit and the fools will be silenced." With these words he gave leave to Bhai Jaitha to return to Goindwal. Bhai Jaitha as a thanks-offering to the Almighty appears to have sung the following hymn :

"He maketh the whole world bow at the feet of those whom He Himself maketh great. One should fear if one doth anything on one's own account but this is the doing of the creator who increaseth His own glory. Mark O brothers ! this world is the playground of my beloved True one, who by his own power hath humbled all. The Lord protecteth his own devotees and putteth to shame the evil-minded slanderers. The fame of the True Guru increaseth day by day. God Himself maketh the Guru engage in

singing His praises and in devotion. Repeat every day His name, O Ye disciples of the Guru. May the Lord God permit the True Guru to live in his own house. Believe the word of True as truth, the Lord Himself maketh the Guru speak. He will make the faces of the disciples shine with glory. The whole world will acknowledge the greatness of the Guru. Poor Nanak is the Servant of God. The Lord protecteth his own servants.

Slok 4, Var Gauri, M.4.

Leaving the court, Bhai Jaitha went to the market. Incidents are mentioned here which the students of thought-power may find a useful study. In the cloth market Bhai Jaitha saw beautiful clothes which, in his devotion he thought, would be a fit present for the Guru. But he had no money to buy them, therefore, he contented himself with the devout wish only. At Goindwal, however the Guru, in the presence of several disciples was making movements as if putting on clothes. On being questioned he informed them that he was putting on clothes offered by Bhai Jaitha.

Further on in the Bazar Bhai Jaitha saw ripe mangoes, of uncommonly big size and full of juice. He resolved to take one for the Guru and accordingly bought one and left for Goindwal. The heat was intense but he walked very quickly in order to offer the mango unspoil. But at Bharowal the heat overpowered him and he was obliged to sit down for rest. To his amazement he saw that his precious offering had burst and juice was tickling out of it. It was impossible to take it safely to Goindwal. In his simplicity and devotion of heart he thought of the Guru and when he was fully absorbed in his thought put the fruit to his mouth and sucked it. The Guru at Goindwal was sitting in private with only his constant attendant Bhai Ballu with him. He began to move his mouth as if he was sucking a mango and gave a stone to the astonished Ballu to be kept till the return of Bhai Jaitha.

When Bhai Jaitha reached Goindwal, he fell at the feet of the Guru. To him the victory in the Emperor's court was a fresh indication of Guru's great power and his admiration for him knew no bounds. He told the Guru how through his grace the case had been won and all had acknowledged the beauty of the new faith. He also conveyed to him the message of the emperor to pay a visit to the *Tirathas* once more as he had already done twenty times and seal the tongues of the slanderers.

"But you went to the capital of the province," said the Guru in his own sweet way, "What present have you brought for me." Bhai Jaitha hung down his head and told the Guru that he was too poor to buy the

beautiful clothes that he saw but he had bought a mango which he was sorry to say had burst in the way. The Guru smiled and signed to Ballu to bring the mango stone. "You have no cause for despondency, my dear Jaitha, your mango has reached me. Whatever is offered to me in devotion reaches me without doubt. As a proof of that here is the stone of the fruit that I sucked," Bhai Jaitha was dumb-founded and fell at the feet of the Guru.

X. The Pilgrimage

In Sambat 1623 the Guru resolved to visit the *Tirathas* once more. Bhai Jaitha afterwards (Guru Ram Das) has left us an account of the pilgrimage in *Rag Tukhari*. He begins thus :

"To obtain a sight of the Guru the True Guru is to bathe during the Abhich-purb.³ The dirt of evil inclinations is removed, the darkness of ignorance is no more. By obtaining a sight of the Guru ignorance is removed and light shineth within. A man findeth the Everlasting Lord and in a moment the sufferings of birth and death depart. The True Guru went to bathe at Kuru Khetar. This⁴ auspicious festival has been brought into being by the Creator himself. To obtain a sight of the Guru—the True Guru—is to bathe during the Abhich-purb.

"The Guru—True Guru—led the way, the disciples followed him. Every moment nay every step was steeped in devotion. The devotion of the Lord God was manifest, large crowds had truned out to see. The Lord united those, who obtained a sight of the Guru, to himself. The True Guru resolved to visit the Tiraths to save the whole mankind. The Guru—the True Guru—led the way and the Sikhs followed him."

These opening lines show in what spirit, the pilgrimage was undertaken. Guru Nanak himself had visited Haridwar, Jaggan Nath, Mecca and many other strongholds of Hindu and Mohammadan orthodoxy, and the third Guru saw no harm in paying a visit to the famous places of pilgrimage especially when he would be able to proclaim the gospel of the new faith to thousands, who would gather there on the auspicious occasion of the Abhich-purb.

"First of all Kuru Khetar was visited. The festival of the Guru—the True Guru—began there. The people coming to know of the visit

3. If the solar eclipse occurs when the sun is in the Abhijit constellation, it is called the Abhijit Purvan, which in Punjabi has been contracted into Abich-purab. It is said to recur after about every 25 years.
4. The visit of the Guru to the Tirathas will be a source of salvation to many who will hear and follow him and hence the visit itself is a Purvan, that will purify many.

turned out in large crowds. Large crowds came to obtain a sight; gods men and *rishis* all came to see the Guru. The sins of those who touched the Guru—the perfect True Guru—were removed. The *jogis*, the digambers,⁵ the sanyasis, followers of all the six schools came to see and held discussions. First of all Kuru Khetar was visited, the festival of the Guru—the True Guru—began there.” Bhai Santokh Singh has recorded details of one discussion. “Why has Guru Nanak preached a new gospel, when already there exist several Puranas and Vedas, and the seekers can obtain all they wish from them.” To this query the Guru returned an answer which is preserved in *Rag Gauri* in the sacred volume.

“When rain falls on the earth, Is there no water on earth ?
The water becometh apparent when the clouds move about pouring
rain. Remove your doubt in this way. The deeds of a man
transform him and he ultimately is lost in them.

“Being born as men and women what do the people do ?
The Lord, who is immanent in various forms, is ever with you.
He is present in you. For so many lives we were led astray, when
we found Him, there is no going astray now. If you practise
the teachings of the Guru, you will know Him, who has created
the whole universe, The word is Thine. Thoh Thyself art every
where. Where is doubt ? saith Nanak, the real has united with
the real, there will be no birth again.” *Rag Gauri, M.3.*

“The teachings of the Vedas and Puranas” continued the Guru
“are accessible only to the few of higher castes and to those who engage
in study for a long time. They are just like the water in a well. A well
is dug with great difficulty and when it is complete it can serve only a
small number. The Word of the Guru is like the rain. It drops from
heaven alike on the high and the low. In spite of the wells people want
rain. So God has sent the Guru, whose word is intelligible to the masses
and within the reach of all.”⁶

“Then the Guru repaired to the river *Jamuna* and there meditated on God. The toll-gatherers offered presents and for the sake of the Guru let all people pass free. All those who meditated on the Name passed free in the wake of the Guru. In the same way those who follow the path indicated by the Word of the Guru will not be molested by the toll-gatherer *Yama*. The whole crowd began to repeat the name of the Guru and thus secured a free passage. Then

5. Ascetics who lived naked.

6. *Suraj Parkash.*

the Guru repaired to the river Jamuna and there meditated on God."

Rag Tukhari, M. 4.

From Jamuna the Guru went to Haridwar. Akbar had abolished *jazia* in Sambat 1622. The pilgrimage tax was abolished in Sambat 1631, but it is just probable that while making a suggestion for the pilgrimage, the emperor might have remitted all taxes in case of the Guru. Anyway the Sikhs declined to pay any tax. Thus records the 4th Guru,

"The third place visited was the Ganges (Haridwar) and there a strange event happened. On obtaining a sight of the holy Guru all were charmed. None charged even half a pie. Not even half a pie fell into their chest and the lips of the tax-gatherers were sealed. 'What should we do brothers, from whom should we charge, all have become followers of the Guru.' The tax-gatherers found that their plans and contrivances were of no avail. They broke their chests and went away. The third place visited was the Ganges and there a strange event happened."

This event must have had a great effect on the Sikhs as well as on the visitors. The 4th Guru continues :

"The big people of the town came in a body and craved shelter of the Guru. They learnt of God from the Guru—the True Guru—and thus realised the truth of the Smrities. All realised the true import of the Smrities and Shastras. Sukhdev, Prahlad and even Sri Ram had realised God through a Guru. They annihilated the five robbers⁷ who dwelt in a fort in the city of the body. Daily there was *Kirtan*,⁸ the reading of the sacred texts and bestowal of alms. People learnt devotion to God through the teachings of the Guru. The big people of the city came in a body and craved shelter of the Guru."

Thus ended the pilgrimage and after about a year the Guru returned to Goindwal.

XI. A work of Charity

Coming back to Goindwal the Guru thought of constructing an open well. Goindwal was situated on the road from Delhi to Lahore and it was thought that the travellers would derive a great benefit if they could get clear and cool water to drink. In the Punjab plains, where natural springs are not found on account of the mountains being at a great distance, the charity of people is often directed in this channel. Bhai Paro accordingly wrote letters to the Sikhs far and wide, announcing to them the wish of the Guru. The disciples at once flocked to

7. Lust, anger, avarice, illusion and pride.

8. Singing the praises of God.

Goindwal with offers of money and personal service. Most prominent was Bhai Jaitha, of whom we have given an account already. It may be mentioned here that he was married to Bibi Bhani, the daughter of the third Guru and was one of his most devoted disciples. After marriage Bhai Jaitha left his home at Lahore and began to live at Goindwal, resolved to practice the teaching of the True Guru. As son-in-law of the third Guru, he was entitled, according to the custom in the Punjab, to great respect and dignified treatment at the house of his father-in-law but he renounced all claims to special distinction and served as a menial in the common kitchen. From the very outset he had made it clear to the world that he wanted to establish a spiritual relation with the Third Guru for, when as a bridegroom he was going to enter the house of his father-in-law, the latter according to custom, asked him demand something of him. Bhai Jaitha humbly sang thus :

"O Servant of the Lord, O True Guru, I pray to thee as Guru. I, a worm, seek refuge with thee. Be kind to me and give me the light of the Name. My friend ! my Guru ! Giver of Light ! Give me the light of the Name of God. Let the word of the Guru, the Name and *kirtan* be ever dear to me as my life. This is my prayer."

And true to his purpose he forsook all worldly ambition and tried to become a humble servant of the Guru.

Now it so happened that when once he was thus engaged in taking basketfuls of earth out of the well that the Guru was constructing, a party of the Sodhis of Lahore paid a visit to Goindwal on their way to Haridwar. Some of them remembered their caste brother Jaitha and were eager to see him. "He must have got a good position here, or else why should he have forsaken his own home and borne the disgrace of residing at his father-in-law's." So thinking, some of his former playmates and near relatives wended their way to the house of the Guru. They learnt that Jaitha was at the well. They at once sought him but their astonishment knew no bounds when they saw him carrying basketfuls of earth on his head. A son-in-law doing the work of a labourer in the house of his father-in-law ! Why the whole Sodhi clan was disgraced. They rebuked Jaitha severely for bringing dishonour to the whole family. But he humbly replied that they were ignorant of the greatness of the Guru and did not know how great those become who served him. But these words in no way appeased their anger. In their rage they went to the Guru. They did not even bow to him. In their pride they thought him to be of lower position, for one of their clan was married to his daughter. The Guru at once guessing their thoughts treated them with due

respect, but they at once broke out :

"All are jealous of the honour of their own family. To you caste is nothing, but we belong to the Khatri clan, to the honoured Sodhi branch. How can we bear to see one of our people treated so shamefully ? If Jaitha (Ram Das) was foolish enough to stoop to menial service in the house of his father-in-law, you are old enough to know the impropriety of such conduct. Why did you allow him to debase himself thus." When they were thus addressing the Guru Ram Das entered with his clothes full of mud and dust, and the enraged Sodhis continued "why was this man born in our family. The whole race has been disgraced by him."

The Guru smiled on hearing these words and quietly replied. "This man has saved the whole race." He looked towards Ram Das who fell at his feet and said "O Great Teacher, these worldly men do not know thy greatness. But you have come to save the sinners, so forgive them." The Sodhis took their leave and Ram Das continued his work of a labourer at the well.

The Sikh chronicler Bhai Santokh Singh mentions that when the well was being dug some officer of the Emperor Akbar visited Goindwal and requested the Guru to bless the emperor so that he may succeed in his siege of Chittor. "When the spring level is reached, the fortress will fall." The prophesy turned out to be true and the subsequent visit of Akbar to Goindwal is attributed by Bhai Santokh Singh to this event.

When the spring level was reached a very hard layer of gravel stopped the progress. The experts guessed that as soon as this layer was broken the water will sprout out with such a force that it will drown the workmen. The workmen failed to devise means to accomplish this without loss of life. The matter was brought to the notice of the Guru. The Guru asked Manak Chand, a stone carver, to risk his life. He at once consented and with a big hammer split open the hard layer. The guess proved to be right. Manak Chand was drowned. His mother came weeping before the Guru. "Manak cannot die. Bring him here," said the Guru, and when the body was brought in his presence, Manak Chand came to life again. The Guru being extremely pleased with his devotion appointed him a preacher of Sikhism.

But this work of charity brought another trouble on the Guru. It was big men alone, who engaged in such undertakings in those days. The son of Gonda, the founder of Goindwal, thought that the Guru, at the successful completion of the well, might lay a claim to the headship of the village and thus deprive him of the honour that belonged to

him by birth. He, therefore, resolved to make the Guru acknowledge him formally as the headman of the village. One day he went to the Guru and requested him to pay the fee due to him as headman of the village. The Guru replied that he was welcome to take as much food from the common kitchen as he required but as for money he hoarded not a single farthing and, therefore, had nothing to pay. He knew well that whatever offerings were received from the Sikhs were spent on maintaining the common kitchen and he should not think of obtaining unjust levies from him. Gonda's son, however, would not agree. Some high caste Khatri also, who were displeased with the Guru's new doctrine of brotherhood of man, asked Gonda to obtain his redress at the Delhi Court. According to the eastern custom he clothed himself in rags and proceeded to Delhi. The 4th Guru has thus recorded the event in *Var Gauri* :

"The ungodly clothed the perverse (complainant) in blue and black rags full of lice and dirt. He was not allowed even to approach, more filth was heaped upon him and the perverse man returned full of dirt, pure and simple. He was sent to backbite and slander others but there also the faces of both perverse men were blackened. At once the whole world knew that along with his servant the perverse man got a sound shoe-beating till he was senseless. Now the congregation and his own relatives would not associate with him. He was secretly brought to his home by his wife and niece. He lost everything in this world and the next. He cried daily hungry and thirsty. Praise be to the Lord, the Creator Who Himself sat in righteous judgement. He who slanders the true Guru is destroyed by God. These words are inspired by Him who has created the whole world."

It appears that while entering the Court to lay his complaint before the emperor he missed some formality in properly saluting the emperor, and the Darbaris at once turned him out for insolence and gave him a sound thrashing without letting him approach the Emperor to lay his complaint before him.

XII. The Test

When the well was being excavated both the sons-in-law of the Guru, Rama and Jaitha worked their hardest. The Sikhs knowing that service was the test of fitness for succession began to make guesses about their future leader. But as in their eyes both Rama and Jaitha were equally diligent in serving the congregation they were unable to decide which of them deserved the honour. In their difficulty they approached the Guru and asked which of the two was destined to lead them after him.

"There are in this world," said the Guru, "men who follow the law. In the fulfilment of law they expect salvation. There are others whose hearts are full of love. They appear to observe no fixed rule of conduct. Day and night they are absorbed in love. In whose hearts the current of love increases daily, they alone are able to conquer the Lord. Rememberance and service without love bring but little merit. Therefore, test the love in both. If you find it difficult to do, I shall do it for you, but you should keep the matter a secret."

So to remove the doubts of his disciples and to choose a successor after him the Guru proceeded to try the faith of his two most devoted disciples.

The test decided upon was a very strange one. But though apparently strange, it is the only true test. Many people will be found great in great things but those alone are really great who are great in small things. In offices of great trust, in leadership of large armies, ambition, love of fame and lust of power might goad a man to actions which might be mistaken to have sprung from greatness of soul, but in humbler duties of life where ambition and lust of power form no motives it is inner greatness alone that makes a man do a thing to perfection. The Guru reached the well where Rama and Jaitha were engaged in their work.

"Rama," said the Guru, "I want a platform to sit. Have it made here and of this shape," and he indicated the place with his stick and drew a plan of the platform on the ground. Rama at once began to work zealously to fulfill the wishes of the Guru. Then the Guru looked towards Jaitha and said, "On the other side you please construct another platform. One I shall use in the morning and the other in the evening," and saying this he went away.

When evening fell he came back to inspect the work done. He went to Rama first and just to test him said, "This platform is not good. It is not fit to sit on. All your labour is useless because the wall that you have constructed is not perpendicular. Pull it down at once and carefully follow what I say." Rama was disturbed on hearing these remarks. Proud of his skill he said, "I had constructed it according to your instructions. I am sorry you discard it. It is nicely built, fit to sit upon. The disciples standing in front will all be able to get a sight of you. It is no fault of mine; I just followed your plan. I spent my best skill." The Guru would not listen to any remonstrance and at once had it demolished. With his stick he again drew lines on the ground to show what he wanted him to do.

Leaving Rama the Guru went to the second platform and stopped

by Ram Das. He fell at the feet of the Guru and stood there with his head bent down in humility. The Guru looked towards him and said "Your pains are in vain. You did not catch my idea, how can a suitable platform be built with curved walls. Demolish this at once and begin anew." Ram Das at once caught hold of a pick and razed it to the ground. "I am sorry I could not do what you wished. Pray explain to me again." The Guru drew an outline and ordering him to build accordingly, went home.

Next morning both began their work again and strove their best to accomplish it according to their instructions. In the evening the Guru came again and first inspected Rama's work. "You have again wasted your labour," remarked the Guru, "you proceed without understanding instructions thoroughly. Demolish it at once."

"I followed your instruction exactly," replied Rama, "I spent my best skill on it. It is built so beautifully that whoever sees it praises it. How can I have it pulled down. I cannot make better." The Guru, however, had it pulled down and went to Ram Das.

"It is not built nicely," said the Guru. "It is unfit for my use. Raze it to the ground. It is not to be kept." Hearing the words of the Guru, Ram Das without uttering a syllable demolished it and very humbly said "your ideas are lofty. We have not understanding enough to grasp them. And still you show kindness to us. I forgot your instructions, I crave pardon for my fault. Pray explain to me once more how I should proceed." The Guru once again drew a plan on the ground for guiding them both and went away.

When the day dawned, both disciples again began their work. The Guru visited them for the third time in the evening. At first he criticised Rama's work and said, "Rama, what is the cause that you are unable to do even this work. I do not approve of it. You did not build as I wished." Rama was puzzled and in his thoughts began to find out the cause of this disapproval. Thinking deeply he concluded that as the Guru had grown very old he had forgotten his own words and, therefore, it was not possible to please him and said aloud, "I followed your plan and spent my best skill. You forget what you say. I see no fault of mine in it." Hearing these words the Guru kept quiet and went away.

Looking at Ram Das's platform he said "This is no good, I explained several times but you did not grasp my idea. Your labour is wasted."

Ram Das heard these words and humbly fell at the feet of the Guru. "I am an ignorant man and daily make mistakes. You always forgive me. In your clemency you put up with a fool. Pray give me the right under-

standing so that I may do as you wish." The Sikhs accompanying the Guru were astonished to see this and the heart of the Perfect Guru became full of joy. Within the hearing of all the by-standers he said, "I accept the service of this man. He never makes a show of his own self. Day and night he remains absorbed in love and devotion." Hearing these words the doubts of the Sikhs were removed. They saw with their own eyes a man who served to fulfil the letter of the law and a man who served in love.

XIII. The Gems

"The kingdom of Heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed." The kingdom of Heaven rests upon small beginnings. "Which (seed) indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof." But small beginnings end in great results. It is astonishing how the humble lives of great spiritual teachers leaven the lives of whole communities and transform their disciples into quite different men. Their lives are not full of those stirring episodes and exciting events that would captivate the imagination for a time and win short-lived admiration. On the other hand they are so quiet in their tenure and so common in their run that one cannot explain how people are attracted to them and become devoted disciples. May be spiritual life has its own magnetic influence. Natural influences, they say, work slowly and do not produce cataclysmic changes all at once. Like seeds of grain they take time to germinate and ripen. It will not be out of place, therefore, to give some account of the Sikhs of the third Guru. Those accounts will show to what extent the lives of certain individuals were influenced by his way of thought.

Lalu, a disciple of Dala, one day brought two rubies as an offering to the Guru, "Throw them into the River, Lalu ! Do not attach yourself to these rubies but keep the jewel of name in your heart," said the Guru. Lalu at once went to the Beas and threw the rubies in its deep waters.

Mahesha of Sultanpur, a powerful and wealthy resident of the place, came to the Guru one day and in great devotion requested him to make him his disciple.

"The path of discipleship is very difficult," said the Guru, "you will lose all your wealth and influence. People will scoff at you and then you will repent of having ever become my disciple."

"No, O giver of light," replied Mahesha, "I shall gladly part with wealth if I gain your love. I crave your shelter. Do not disappoint me."

Seeing him firm in his resolve he was initiated into the path but it

so happened, that he lost all his wealth and influence and people began to scoff at him. "What have you gained by becoming a Sikh. Your riches are gone. You do not get your daily bread even." "I have got a higher position than before," answered Mahesha, "I have got the highest thing in the world, viz love of God." When the Guru heard this, he was pleased to find his disciple triumphant in the ordeal. And when the Sikh remained unshaken in his faith God blessed him again with worldly riches and influence also.

Seeing the beautiful situation of Goindwal some Mohammadan Sheikhs resolved to settle there. Their children, having the insolence of the ruling class in them, broke the pitchers of the Sikhs, who came for water, with their missiles. The matter being brought to the notice of the Guru he advised them to use leather bags. But the boys pierced them with their arrows. When the Sikhs again complained to the Guru, he asked them to use brass vessels. The boys, however, would not desist and used brick bats to bore holes into the brass vessels. When the matter was brought to the notice of the Guru a third time, he did not say anything and kept quiet.

It so happened that a party of armed Hindu Sanyasins visited the town and the boys treated them also in the same manner and one of their missiles struck the eye of the Head. The Sanyasins at once flew to their arms and several of the Sheikhs were killed in the affray. On the same day a party of Mughal soldiers on their way to Delhi halted at Goindwal, a great storm arose and some of their mules strayed into the houses of those Sheikhs. They at once resolved to conceal them and let the soldiers find no trace of the animals. When the storm was over, the soldiers left no stone unturned to search their mules but all to no purpose. When they were about to depart, one of them wandering in the quarter, where the Sheikhs lived, heard a mule bray. They at once raided the quarter and found all the mules with the luggage intact. As a punishment they razed that quarter of the town to the ground.

The matter was reported to the Guru. "Do not return evil for evil," said he, "forgive those who sin against you and do good to them. If they harm you a second time, treat them the same way. If they persist in their evil course God in his vengeance will destroy them. Whatever a man sows so shall he reap. The lowly in the house of Guru shall be exalted. The Great God is able to protect his own Servants. Those who know this, serve the Guru in love."

XIV. The Gems

Lalu, Durga and Jiwanda took shelter at the feet of the blessed

one and engaged in his service. One day when sitting near him, they folded their hands and prayed "We are thy servants, show us the way."

"There is nothing like doing good to others," replied Guru Amar Das, "so try to serve others. This can be done in three ways. Listen and ever remember. Give to the poor and the distressed whatever wealth you possess. Wherever you find a destitute man, give food and clothes to him. If you find one in pain, try to relieve his distress as far as possible. If matters have gone wrong, and with your words you can help a man to success, do it. If you have got learning, feel joy in imparting knowledge to others. In your heart wish well to all. Never think of harming anybody. In these three ways always relieve the pain of others. The greatest of all gifts is to give food at all times. Food gives life to mankind, how can other gifts equal it? Cooked or uncooked, give it in all forms. Never refuse bread to a hungry man. Evening or morning, at all times, give food without hesitation. Do not care for caste. Give food to high as well as low castes." All the three disciples obeyed what the Guru said and in the end reached where he dwelt.

Jagga came to the Guru, obtained a sight of him and fell at his feet. "Wishing my own good I asked a *Yogin* one day what to do. He told me that I should consider my home, family and relations as obstacles in my way. I should give them up and becoming a beggar approach him again. If I desired my own good, I should follow his teaching and leave my house, the cause of all my troubles. I now wish to put the same question to you. How can I obtain my own good? How can my soul be purified? How can I obtain devotion that shall lead me to the gate of God."

The Guru saw his great faith and replied, "Do not think of giving up your home. If one could find God by renouncing one's home, why do the Faqirs come to the cities again? Why do they visit shops and haggle for gifts the whole day long? The disciples of the Guru take to devotion, whilst living as householders, they obtain salvation and are not reborn. The lotus flower grows in water but is unstained by it. It loves the sun that is in heaven. In the same way the disciples follow their own callings. They share what they earn with their fellows and then use their income themselves. When a Faqir lives on alms his austerities and penances run down. Those who serve him and give him food have a share in his merit. But a householder does not lose any part of his merit. He serves others and adds to them. You give grass to a cow and obtain milk from her. The Dharma of a householder is the conferrer of similar benefits in this iron age. With your body follow

your own calling and serve the saints, and keep your heart devoted to the Lord. This is the surer way to obtain what you desire. Do not give up your home. Think of the Guru." Jagga was satisfied and following the words of the Guru reached the supreme goal.

Khanu and Maiya, father and son, and Govind Bhandari came to Guru and said, "We have all taken shelter with thee. Let us know that virtue, which contains all the rest." "Love of God and devotion to Him, are the best of all virtues. By devotion to God one obtains all other virtues because devotion wins the pleasure of God, the repository of all virtues, and when the Lord, the source of all virtues, is pleased, there is no virtue difficult of access." All the three were rejoiced to hear this and tried their best to follow the teachings.

Jodh, the cook, was a Brahmin by cast. He served in the common kitchen, leaving all pride of birth. Whatever wealth the disciples brought as offering to the Guru was handed over to him and he spent it on feeding others. He spent all that he got during the day and kept nothing for the morrow. Even the water in the pitchers was thrown out. In this way he followed the teachings of the Guru and for the sake of spiritual knowledge served in the kitchen. He served all who came to see the Guru. At whatever time a man arrived in the town, Jodh was sure to give food to him. He never allowed laziness to interfere with his duty but fed the hungry whenever they came. The Guru was pleased, with his service. He gave him spiritual knowledge and the Name. The fear of transmigration was at an end. He reached the state where there is eternal joy.

Once the Giver of Bliss visited the village of Dalla. Prithimal and Talsa, both Bhallas by caste, came to see him. In their pride they said "We belong to the same caste as you." "No," replied the Guru, "the Guru has no caste. The caste that depends upon the birth of body perishes with its death. That caste is of no avail after death. The great Guru Nanak has clearly said, 'Caste and force are of no avail hereafter. None gets honour or disgrace on that account. Those alone are considered good, whose faith comes up to the mark.' The faith of those who remember the True Name, and serve their fellows with a humble heart, is accepted and none cares whether they belong to a high caste or a low one."

XV. The Gems

Mallan took shelter with the Guru. He bowed to his feet and said, "Giver of Light, show me the path that will end all my troubles." "Give up pride," replied the Guru, "serve the saints and be happy."

Wash their feet and offer food to them. Distribute clothes in the name of the Guru, and receive blessings of the naked and the hungry. Repeat the True Name and in the end you will be saved." He practiced what the Guru said and lovingly began to serve the saints.

Ugar Sen, Ramu, Dipa and Nagauri came to the Guru. Bowing to his feet they prayed for instruction and the Guru in his mercy said, "Whenever a disciple come to you, offer food to him. Bathe in the early hours of the morning and read the Word of the Guru attentively. Whilst reading ponder over its import. If you cannot understand it hear it explained by some one. For some two hours leave all other work. Either hear the Word propounded or ponder over its meanings yourself. A boat in the river is loaded with goods. It gets immersed in water to a large extent, only a small portion of it remains outside the water. But still it crosses the river safe. Similar is the case with our wordly occupations. We remain absorbed in them for the greater part of the day. But if for sometime in the morning we ponder on the ideal, we can cross this dangerous ocean safely. Keep your attention fixed on the Name, and the Guru will help you in all your undertakings." All the four disciples were pleased to hear this and got emancipation as a result of following the path indicated by the Guru.

Gopi, Ramu Mehta, Mohan Mal and Amru, all four fell at the feet of the Guru and with folded hands prayed, "Give protection to us, O Blessed one ! You are said to be the refuge of the poor. Instruct us so that we may be saved." "Know that egoism is a fetter," replied the Guru. "It is the outcome of a false conception and is a great obstacle hindering the path of all. It makes us forget God and heaps untold miseries on us. Give up egoism, therefore, so that love of God may enter your hearts."

"How can we give it up," enquired all the four.

"Know that the body must perish," said the Guru, "therefore, gradually divert your thoughts from it and direct them towards the spirit. Practise forbearance and forgiveness and never think ill of others. Hearing harsh words of disgrace do not get angry or disturbed." All the four began to practise what they heard and began to live in spirit.

Gangu, Saham and Bhagu came to the Guru and got the following instruction :

"Share your earnings with others and address sweet words to all. Do not get angry at harsh words. First offer food to the disciples and yourself take what is left. That food is most clean which is taken after being offered to others. Meditate on the Name of God,

who will bestow on you the abode of Bliss. Do not worship mausoleums, tanks, huts of ascetics and tombs.

Khanu Churra, Bega Pasi, Taru, Ugru, Nandu Sudan, Puro and Jhanda all came to the Guru and bowing at his feet prayed for instruction.

"In ages gone by men used to perform Yajnas and appeased their gods by oblations burnt in fire. In this age you will get the same reward by offering food to the hungry. Love others and engage in devotion. Keep the name of God, in your hearts and you will be happy as long as you live. Live as householders and enjoy all blessings of life."

Two washermen Malya and Saharu fell at the feet of the Blessed one and the Guru spoke to them as follows :

"Serve you fellows. Mend their torn clothes and wash the dirty ones. As you wash the clothes of others so will your heart be cleansed of all impurities. Then you will form a relation with the Guru and the Company of the saints will purify your hearts. Have faith and serve the Guru and Repeat the Name, the God of all gods."

Bula, a teacher by occupation, took shelter with the Guru, bowed to his feet and said, "I can do no service. People, thinking me a Brahman refuse to accept any service from me. Tell me, O Blessed one, how can I obtain salvation."

"Read the Word of the Guru," said Guru Amar Das, "and expound it lovingly to others. Preach sermons in the congregation so that disciples there may know the path of the Guru. Write the word of the Guru in small pamphlets and distribute them among the disciples for their benefit. If one offers you money for this work, take it, being content with the wages that you receive in this way. But never ask for payment yourself; this service will bring untold happiness to you."

The whole congregation of Dalla village came to the Guru one day and prayed for general instructions for their conduct. The Guru in his mercy was pleased to say, "On the days, of *Gurpurbs* and festivals like Baisakhi, Dip Mala and others gather together in some common place. Prepare *Karah Parsad*⁹ and distribute it among the assembly. Read the Word of the Guru and sing it. If you find a Sikh devoid of clothes, offer new clothes to him. Give food to the hungry and unite all of you in helping others. If you find some one failing in an undertaking for want of help, open a list and contribute all of you your mite and

9. *Karah Parsad* is a nice pudding prepared from *Ghee*, flour and sugar. Whenever the Sikhs meet for worship on the occasion of festivals or even sometimes daily this sacred food is distributed among the company.

supply him wherewithal to succeed. Follow this usage of coming together on festival days and ask your sons and grandsons to do the same. Let this become an established practice. Those who become Sikhs will find great joy in this path."

XVI. An Envious Ascetic

When the sun rises, the darkness comes to an end everywhere. The whole world is pleased with light; but the unfortunate owl, who shuns it, seeks nooks where darkness reigns supreme. Everybody in Goindwal was delighted when he got a chance of obtaining a sight of the Guru's glorious face but a certain ascetic got envious of his fame and passed his days in back-biting and reviling the Blessed One. He happened to be a friend of the *jogi*, who was punished by Amar Das on his offering an insult to the second Guru and could not reconcile himself to the fate that befell his erring friend. But exposure is the severest punishment that a hypocrite dreads most and it was this punishment that the fates meted out to this ascetic for calumniating the Guru. When the open well at Goindwal had been completed it was resolved to celebrate the event by giving a grand feast to deserving persons. Accordingly invitations were sent far and wide to all the priests, the poor people and the ascetics living in that neighbourhood. All thankfully responded to it but the Goindwal ascetic refused to come. The Guru sent to him special messengers thrice but he proved obdurate. The Guru announced that all those who would dine at his would get a rupee in addition to their food. This offer even did not move the ascetic. But when the gift was increased to five, ten and ultimately to fifteen rupees or a golden *muhur* the ascetic could not resist the temptation. He did not think it proper to go himself but resolved to send his son in order that he may not lose the *muhur*.

But when he with his son arrived at the house of the Guru, the company were already in their places and the door was closed. He helped his son to get over the wall and jump into the assembly. The son missed his foot and fell from the wall with a severe injury to his leg. This made him cry loud. The whole assembly hearing somebody weep flocked to the place. Facts were at once made known to them and the real nature of the ascetic was discovered.¹⁰ Ram Das who was standing to serve food to the company recorded the event in the following *shabad*:

¹⁰ It is said that when some persons reached the cottage of the ascetic with his son on a stretcher, he was found in the company of an evil woman.

"He is not an ascetic but really an avaricious person, always hankering after wealth-- inwardly a deformed leper. When invited in time he did not accept the gift of love but he repented of it afterwards and sent his son to join the company. All the headmen now laugh at him saying the wave of greed has overwhelmed the ascetic. He does not go to the place where gifts are of small value but abjures his principles when he sees much money." 'He is not an ascetic but a pretender' so say the real strivers. He calumniates the true men and praises men of the world. The Lord has punished him for this fault of his. Look at the fruit that he now gets of the calumny of the Great One. He has lost his whole reputation. While outwardly he called himself an ascetic he led a sinful life in private, the lord has now revealed to the whole world his secret sins. The God of death has commanded his servants to take this ascetic to the place where vilest sinners go. Do not now see the face of this ascetic, good people, he has now been discarded by the True Guru. Nanak has revealed to all what befalls in the Lord's court. He who is blessed of the Lord will realise it."

The Guru, the ocean of mercy was also sitting in the row. He did not rebuke the boy but ordered the food to be served to him, and duly dismissed him with the golden gift.

A Leper Cured

There was a Khatri Prema by name. He had no relatives to support him and was attacked by the incurable disease of leprosy. His hands and feet crumbled off. None would allow him to come near. Crowds of flies always rested on his sores and the whole appearance of his was disgusting. It was impossible for him to stand up and walk, so he crawled from one place to another on his belly. Somebody took compassion on him and tied a vessel round his back. Kind people put bits of bread in that vessel and on those bits he subsisted. Somehow or other this leper also heard of the third Guru and a strong desire arose in his mind to pay a visit to him.

He found some Sikhs of his neighbourhood preparing to go to Goindwal. He also resolved to accompany them. These kind hearted Sikhs helped him as they could and supplied him with food and drink during the journey. But when the Sikhs sat together to sing the Word of their Guru, the leper could not follow them. He knew no verses by heart. With his heart full of devotion he coined a verse of his own. Whenever his heart was full of love and he could not restrain himself he sang at the top of his voice. "I have found the drawers that I had lost.

I have found the drawers." His audience smiled to see him sing apparently meaningless words but he went on repeating them in his devotional mood. In this way he reached Goindwal after a long time.

But on reaching there his despair knew no bounds when he heard that no leper could join the congregation until he was specially permitted by the Guru. He wept bitterly and considered himself the most unfortunate person on the face of the earth. "If I cannot see the Guru now, all the trouble that I have taken to reach this place will be in vain. But I shall not go back without seeing him. I shall die at his door." Making this resolve in his mind he selected a nook near the public entrance and in his mind began to meditate on the Guru. The Sikhs very kindly gave him whatever he wanted and were delighted when in his devotional mood he sang the verse of his own composition. The Sikhs on their way to the congregation paused to listen to his song and some of them seeing him in an intense mood of devotion requested him to repeat his verses again, and again.

In this way he passed some time before the door of the Guru. Sometimes when this pain was unbearable he wept bitterly and sung his verses at his loudest till he fell to the ground in swoon. When he came to his senses he wept again and repeated his vow of not going back without seeing the Guru. One day some Sikhs were deeply moved on seeing his agonising pains and taking council together resolved to report the whole case to the Guru. Accordingly when they went into his presence they very humbly said to the Guru, "O True King ; there is a leper at your door who amuses all of us by singing his own song. We do not understand what he says but we know this much that he longs to see your face." "I know, what he means," replied the Guru. "He says I have found again through the Guru the covering of body that I had lost. I know his love. Love alone brings welfare to a man." A few more days passed in this way and at last the Blessed One knew that the love of the leper had been transformed into intense devotion. Then he ordered the Sikhs to take the leper to the place where the water that he had used for his bath was stored. He told them to dip him in the water and wrap his body with a cloth dyed in fast red; he was to be covered completely from head to foot and then brought into his presence.

When the Sikhs heard these words, they at once ran to the leper and told him that the star of his destiny was in the ascent. They bathed him in that water and covered him with the red cloth. The Guru looked mercifully at him and with his own hands uncovered his face. As soon as the look of the True Teacher fell on him, his bodily disease left him.

With his own hands then he gave him clothes to wear and expounded the Mantra of *Satnam* (True Name) to him. From a speck of dust he was changed into a mountain and the Guru called him by the name of Murari. Then addressing the congregation the Guru said "If any Sikh has got a daughter of marriageable age in his house, let him give her in marriage to this Murari by my order." Shihan Uppal who was a renowned Sikh at once thought of his own daughter and ran home to fetch her at once. Fearing that his wife might stand in his way he sent her to the Guru's kitchen saying that her services were wanted there. He brought his daughter Matho at once before the Guru and she was in the presence of all married to Murari. When the mother heard of her daughter's marriage she appeared weeping, before the Guru complaining that her daughter was married to a leper of doubtful parentage. The Guru smiled to hear these words and said, "Murari is my son. Will that suffice?" Shihan's wife was silenced and Murari was appointed a preacher of the new gospel.

XVIII. The Worshipper Of A Goddess

Kheda Soiri, a Brahman by caste, was a devout worshipper of the Goddess Durga. Twice a year he collected a large number of adherents and led them to the sacred shrine of the warrior goddess. To earn greater merit he fasted for several days during the pilgrimage, totally abstaining from food and drink. Once he chanced to pass near the Guru's city and thought of paying a visit to the Blessed One. He turned his steps towards the Guru's house but on reaching the place he was informed by the Sikhs that he could not see the Guru without taking food from the common kitchen. When Kheda heard this he fell into a suspense. "How can I transgress the rules of my caste. I always take food cooked after purification. But everybody has access to the Guru's kitchen. I can see the Guru only when I give up my *Varanashram* Dharma. Few would sacrifice everything for the sake of their Guru. *Varanashram* Dharma is a very valuable asset. It is very difficult for me to renounce that." With these thoughts he retraced his steps and went away without seeing the Guru.

But when he had gone only one stage further he saw a dreadful vision in his dreams. The warrior goddess appeared to him assuming a terrible aspect. Kheda trembled to see her in that guise and prayed fervently to be kept immune from harm. He further enquired why the goddess had appeared in that terrible shape to a devotee of hers. He was told in reply that the reward of worshipping all gods and goddesses was to be led to true Guru and since he had not used the opportunity

offered to him and had come back without seeing the Guru, the goddess was displeased with him. As soon as Kheda awoke he was much astonished to recall his dream. He went back to Goindwal, took food from the common kitchen and fell at the feet of the Blessed One with heart full of sincere love. On an enquiry from the Guru he told the whole story and related in detail how he had been sent back to find shelter at his feet.

The Guru was pleased with him. He saw a vision of the true goddess after which the Guru said to him, "O Kheda you are my servant now. Serve the goddess that I reveal to you. Repeat the True Name, the *Gurmantra*. Preach the religion now expounded to you and spread the gospel of Sikhism far and wide." Kheda bowed assent and for the rest of his life did the work assigned to him by the Guru.

XIX. The Victor Vanquished

There was a learned Pandit, Baini by name. He knew all the six *shastras* by heart. Wherever he went he was treated with great respect on account of his erudition. But he was greatly fond of debates. As soon as he got information that some Pandit was holding a class to instruct students in the old systems of philosophy at a particular place he arrived there to test his scholarship. His one condition for all such discussions was that the vanquished person should surrender all his books to the victor. As he far excelled the common run in learning and in the art of debating he always won. He collected to his great delight several camel-loads of manuscripts. After a number of easily got victories he thought of being acknowledged the most learned man in the land, and with this end in view started on a long tour with a long string of book-laden camels in his wake. Many students also accompanied him to derive benefit from his wide erudition. During this itineracy he visited Goindwal and heard of the fame of the third Guru. He wished to obtain a sight of Great Teacher and hold a debate with him if possible.

In the afternoon the Guru came to the Baoli (open-well) near which the Pandit was encamped. When he saw a large number of Sikhs sitting around him hearing respectfully and attentively the sweet words that fell from his lips, he too joined the company. With a pleasant smile the Guru received him and gave him a seat of honour next to himself. After listening a while to the discourse of the Blessed One the Pandit found that he was preaching principles quite contrary to the orthodox and generally accepted old beliefs. This gave him at once the longed-for opportunity and with his heart full of pride he interposed: "Austerities, pilgrimages, fasts, charity and other deeds like these have been deemed good by wise men. These acts purify the soul of a person and then devotion can dwell in his heart. But

in your religion you do not lay stress on them, how will your followers get salvation ? If you wish to do good to them, preach to them the right path and remove their sorrow." On hearing these words of the proud Pandit the Guru replied as follow :

"Read the duties enjoined for this age. The perfect Guru has made the whole thing clear. Here and hereafter the name of Hari alone will befriend a man. Read 'Ram' and in your mind meditate on it and thus by the favour of the Guru remove your impurity. By argumentation and discussion you can not find Him. Bereft of Him mind and body will enjoy no bliss. Follow the Guru's word and fix your mind on Truth. Men are impure because of egoism. They daily bathe in *Tiraths* but their vanity is not removed. Without believing in the Guru the *Yama* will disgrace them. That man who destroys his egoism is true. According to the word of the Guru he annihilates the five lusts. He saved himself and saves his whole race. The juggler has brought into existence this show through illusion and delusion. The perverse, not seeing the reality, are absorbed in it. The followers of the Guru remain unattached, and concentrate thier mind on the reality. A hypocrite puts on many guises. He roams in pride, with his mind full of greed. He does not know himself and loses the game. Wearing an ascetic's guise he talks cleverly. Illusion and delusion have led him far astray. Without serving the Guru he will suffer much pain. Those absorbed in the Name remain ever unattached. They are householders but their minds are concentrated on truth. Saith Nanak, such fortunate people serve the Sat-Guru."

Gauri, M. III.

"Austerities, sacrifices and other such deeds are enjoined for the three *Yugas* that are over.¹¹ Now men in this Kali age are not fit to perform them. When people are dying in hundreds for want of food, how can they undergo austerities living in a jungle ? Neither have they wealth nor strength, how can they engage in sacrifices ? Moreover, it is impossible for them to observe injunctions in the matter of food and drink. Owing to the great deterioration they are unable to perform duties enjoined for the previous three *Yugas*."

"Again what is the reward of all these good works. The soul dwells

11. Cf: *Manusmriti* Chapter 1, Sloka 85. The Dharma of Satya Yuga is different from that of Treta and Dwapara. It is quite different in Kali Yuga. It confirms to the deterioration in man in every Yuga. In Satya Yuga austerities are the Chief thing, knowledge is said to be for Treta. Sacrifices belong to Dwapara, charity alone is for Kali Yuga

for a time in paradise and then again is reborn.¹² None can obtain the unchangeable state on account of these. Such works produce vanity and are of no avail. In their performance there is much trouble but their reward is small. Now it is the Kali age. According to the age, works bear their fruit. Austerities and all those good works cannot equal in merit the service of the Guru. The repetition of the True Name is the highest of all. It keeps us happy in this world and brings salvation in the end. Repetition of Name, hearing the praises of the Lord, devotion and singing His praises bring the highest reward in this age. None will get salvation without these just as no one can extract oil out of sand. Vanity is the greatest defect in man. Those desirous of the supreme state do not succumb to it. You have acquired learning and lit up a resplendent torch; but this light is for the use of others only and you yourself walk in the dark. Now you are pursuing the vanity of vanquishing the whole world. But if you have not subdued your own self, of what avail will this conquest of the world be to you? These Sikhs of mine repeat the name. They are without vanity and pride and have got emancipation. The men of learning sink down, for learning increases their vanity."

Baini heard those words of the Guru and was greatly moved. "Really," thought he, "I am pursuing a vain folly. What availeth a man if he gaineth the whole world but loseth his own soul." Thinking thus he addressed the Blessed One with folded hands; "Take pity on me, O true teacher, and show me the path: On hearing your words my heart is melted and the ice of my pride is broken, turn it, therefore, in the right channel." With his heart full of love, the Ocean of Mercy spoke as follows:

"Is the soul a householder or is it an unconcerned ascetic or again is it colourless and everlasting? Is it fickle or is it passionless? Whence has the feeling of 'ego' become connected with it. O Pandit, just turn your thoughts to spirit. Of what avail are other learning and loads of books. The Creator spread the veil of *Maya* and produced the feeling of 'ego'. This was the order that brought into existence the whole creation. Through the grace of the Guru realise this and for ever take shelter at the feet of the Everlasting. He alone is a Pandit who throws away the load of the three *Gunas* and ever repeats the Name. He gets himself initiated by the True Guru and bows his head to him. Ever unaffected, he lives in a state of perfect

12. Cf: *Gita*, 41-54 Slokas of the second discourse.

repose. Such a Pandit is honoured in His Court. The One dwells in all; a true Pandit should say so. When he sees the One, he should consider all equal. He, whom God forgives and unites, lives in bliss here and hereafter. Saith Nanak how should one proceed and what should he do ? He also gets emancipation on whom He showers His grace. He sings His priases ever after and for him the cries of Shashtras and the Vedas have no significance."

When the Guru had sung the hymn he thoroughly expounded its meaning to the Pandit. On hearing the explanation the vanity of the Pandit was gone. "He is preaching the truth," thought he, and forthwith his mind was filled with love. The Guru then cast a compassionate look at him. The Pandit's thoughts turned inward and he tasted the bliss. He was awakened from a sleep extending over several births. He realised his real self. The spirit became manifest in him. For sometime he sat in a state of concentration and then opened his eyes. The Guru seeing him in that state praised him saying "you have now become a true Pandit, you are blessed now with real joy." The Pandit offered his thanks in a few well chosen words and stayed with the Guru for a few days more. The camel loads of books he consigned to the currents of the adjoining Beas river. Bainsi got peace of mind and returned home full of real joy.

XX. The Lame Walk

Goindwal was situated on the road, running from Delhi to Lahore. Emperor Akbar during one of his visits to the Punjab made a short stay at Goindwal to pay his respects to the 3rd Guru. In the East there is nothing unusual about such visits. Especially in the case of Akbar who for a long time had tried his best to found a liberal religion, there is nothing to be wondered at. Bhai Santokh Singh in his *Suraj Parkash* mentions that the Guru received the Emperor with all the honour due to his position and the Emperor with great relish partook of the saltless *Khichri* which the Guru himself used to take. On his departure the Emperor offered a *Jagir*. The Guru thankfully declined the offer saying "The lord God is kind to the Guru. His stores are always full and he does not leave the Guru in want." But the Emperor urged the acceptance of his offer for the *langar* (common kitchen) and left a *patta* (deed) under royal seal as a love offering. It was this land which was subsequently used by the 4th Guru for the 'Lake of Immortality' and the city of Amritsar.

A lame Sikh lived at Talwandi, a village three miles distant from Goindwal. He had resolved to take his home-made curd every day for the Guru to take with his saltless *Khichri*. However inclement the weather

might be, the lame Sikh never failed in his self-imposed task. One day, when he was on his way, with the curd-pot on his head, the village *Punch* deprived him of his crutch. "Still walking on your wooden leg! Isn't it surprising. What sort of a holy man are you serving, if you are not yet cured of your lameness." The Sikh prayed the *Punch* not to tease him and entreated him to restore his crutch at once as it was already getting late for the Guru's breakfast. After a good deal of fun at the poor Sikh's expense, the crutch was at last handed over to him and he limped on to Goindwal with as much haste as he could.

Meanwhile the Guru was waiting for the curd of the devoted Sikh. With his followers he was sitting in the *Langar* with his usual dish before him, but he would not touch a morsel. The company could not begin without the Guru first tasting his food. At last the lame Sikh arrived, all perspiring, and placed the curd before the Guru. When the breakfast was over the Guru enquired the cause of his being late. The lame Sikh related the whole story. Guru Amar Das, on hearing what had happened, directed him to go to Shah Hussain for the cure of his leg. This Mohammadan faqir was a ferocious looking man who beat every body that approached him. The Sikh approached the faqir trembling but was delighted to see the ascetic making no sign of attack. Collecting himself he disclosed to the faqir the cause of his visit. As soon as he had finished, the faqir at once flew into a rage and ran after him with his big cudgel in his hand. The terrified Sikh ran as fast as he could to save his life, but his astonishment knew no bounds when he found that he was using both his legs instead of one. He at once stopped and looking back saw the faqir sitting quietly in his place. Returning to show his gratefulness he fell at the feet of the faqir and thanked him heartily for his cure. The faqir quietly told him that it was the Guru that had healed him, and he should go and thank him.

The author of the *Suraj Parkash* has related several stories of such miracles. Many dead persons were restored to life when they were made to touch the feet of the Guru. The Guru could not stand the sight of a dead youth, with his parents crying bitterly for him, so instead of bringing all back to life by his miraculous powers, says Bhai Santokh Singh, he ordered the god of death not to take away youthful persons, whilst he was alive at Goindwal.

XXI. The Path

"Explain to us once more, O Blessed one, the path that we are to tread. Let us know in detail the rules of conduct which should guide a disciple of yours in his daily life." Thus accosted lovingly by Bhai

Budha, Guru Amar Das, the shelter of the helpless and the stay of the poor, gave the following reply in accents that showered nectar on the thirsty hearts of the devoted Sikhs. "Listen, O true seekers of the path. He alone is my real disciple who shapes his conduct according to my teachings. For lip devotion I care not. Let a true Sikh get up in the small hours of the morning. After bathing let him seek a retired nook and there meditate on the word of the Guru. Let him collect his mind and with concentrated attention repeat the Name till sunrise. Let him then engage in his daily occupation and earn his living honestly. He should serve good people and never touch wealth belonging to others nor cast an eye on other men's wives. Let him not engage in telling falsehoods and speaking ill of others. On the other hand, let him share the joys and sorrows of his fellow beings. Let him not eat if he is not hungry and let him not sleep till he feels sleepy. Too much indulgence in sleep shortens one's life and taking food without an appetite cause ailments. But all this while let him not forget the True Name. With every breath he should repeat it and not forget it even for a second. Let him resign himself to the Will of God and never find fault with the doings of the Creator. Whatever he does is good. Let him think thus and rest content and try to destroy feelings of worldly pride. Let him not entertain lust, feelings of anger and greed. Let him rest satisfied with whatever he can get honestly. Let him not parade his goodness, for show decreases merit and results in hypocrisy. Let him never give up the repetition of Name, charity and personal cleanliness. Let him ever love these three things. Let him not hear the calumny of God and the Guru. He should fly away from such surroundings or smite the calumniator. Giving up deceit, jealousy and covetousness, let him find his welfare in devotion to the Lord. Let him ever long for eternal bliss and avoid running after the transitory pleasures of this world. Nothing can excel the service of the Guru and devotion to God. Therefore, a wise man should never give up these two and ever move in the company of good people. Let him love the Word of the Guru. Let him ever read and listen to it. When he begins to feel joy in this work then he will attain to his welfare. Let him then mould his conduct according to the Word."

The congregation was delighted to hear the exposition and the fortunate disciples resolved to live up to the ideal.

Once while sitting in the *langar*, Bhai Buddha approached the Blessed One with folded hands and said "O fountain of love ! how is it that you allow the Sikhs to taste all sorts of dainties cooked in your kitchen, but you yourself never take anything but a dish of saltless *khichri*

and a cup of cool water. Is it right for us to feed on delicacies whilst you take only simple food? I think it is not proper for us to take food better than you."

On hearing these words of love and devotion the Blessed One smiled and answered thus:

"I live in *Sangat*, I am one with them. Their joy is my joy.

Their sorrow is my sorrow. I get all the relish out of the food that is savoury to their taste."

Thus advised, Bhai Buddha fell at his feet and thenceforward never doubted that a love offering to the *Sangat* is an offering to the Guru himself.

XXII. Bhai Paro's Death

One day the Blessed One sent for Paro of Dalla and in a private interview made the offer of *gaddi* to him. Bhai Paro on hearing the proposal began to tremble and with folded hands said, "I long to be a Sikh only, O Lord. The Guru alone is fit for *gaddi*. If you are pleased with me, make me true disciple of yours." Saying these words he caught the feet of Guru and beseeched him not to place the responsibility of Guruship on his shoulders.

"If you are so minded, Bhai Paro," replied the Guru, "Then know that thy time of stay in the world is over. Go home and prepare thyself for leaving this body and be united with me in spirit."

Bhai Paro was glad to hear these words and returning to his village gave all his wealth to the deserving poor, keeping three things as a special present for the Guru, viz, a beautiful mare, a suit of fine clothes and a bundle of *mohars*. He then took a bath, fixed his mind on the Guru and expired. The Dalla Sikhs performed the funeral rites with great reverence and sent a man to inform the Guru of the death of his devoted disciple.

The Guru sent his son Mohri, with five more Sikhs, to Dalla to offer consolation to the congregation there for the loss that they had suffered. Mohri passed a night at Dalla, recounting with the whole congregation the good deeds of Bhai Paro and expatiating on the virtues that he possessed. At day dawn he returned to Goindwal and placed the presents of the devoted Sikh before the Guru. Guru Amar Das handed over all those things to his beloved disciple Ram Das, exhorting him to keep them for his personal use only.

Mohri, the younger son of Guru, in his talk with some Sikhs said, "Alas, my father does not keep any wealth for us. The Sikhs make all sorts of offerings but everything is spent on feeding the poor. Up till now,

I have not even *seen* a lac of *takas* heaped together." Somehow or other the Guru came to know of this desire of his son and thought of removing his doubts on the point. He ordered that every Sikh coming to see him should bring an offering of five pice for him the next day. As soon as the Sikhs were made aware of this wish of the Blessed One, a regular heap of pice was piled up in front of the *gaddi*. The Guru sent for Mohri and asked him to count the money and keep it for his private use. Mohri was much pleased with the fulfilment of his cherished desire and began to count the money carefully. When such a heap of copper coins passed through his hands, they became dirty and much soiled. When the Guru noticed this he said, "You now see the real nature of riches. Mere touch has soiled your hands. By always thinking of them, the mind becomes impure. You will always feel disturbed for their safety when you carry them to your house and in the end they will not accompany you. Therefore, leave all desire for the riches of this world, my son, and concentrate your attention on the Name. No thief can steal the wealth of Name, nor can it be destroyed in any other way. It brings you peace of mind and in the end will carry you to the abode of perpetual bliss."

Mohri realised his mistake and for the rest of his life never permitted the idea of greed to enter his heart.

XXIII. A Daughter's Devotion

After having his morning bath the Blessed One used to sit on a low wooden stool to meditate on the Supreme Reality. His younger daughter Bhani was the usual attendant at this time. One day when the Guru had taken his seat on the stool, Bhani observed that its legs were placed on an uneven spot.

"If my father shifts his position, the legs of the table must move. This motion might cause a loss of balance and thus disturb his meditation. It will be a pity if, through such a paltry cause, he loses the bliss of communion even for a moment." So thinking she cast a hasty glance all round to find some prop that would just fit in to make the leg steady. Finding nothing suited to her purpose she put the palm of her hand underneath the leg. Just at that time the Blessed One moved and the weight of his body was equally distributed on all the four legs. The palm of her delicate hand was squeezed and unbearable pain began to shoot through her whole arm, but she bore all this with patience and neither moved nor uttered a cry. This went on for full three hours. Her delicate skin was bruised and blood oozed out of it, but still she kept firm. When it was day, the Blessed One opened his eyes and was astonished to find

his dear daughter sitting near him and in such a plight. When he noticed the pool of blood, he enquired the cause of it. Bibi Bhani with folded hands related the whole story. "It was cruel, dear father, to see your meditation disturbed even for a moment. Finding no other prop I put my palm underneath the leg and this blood has come out of my hand." The Guru, noticing this rare devotion in his own daughter was pleased and said "It is very seldom that near relations hear the divine message with such faith. Thy faith is great, my daughter, and so will be thy position. Thy father is a Guru. Thy husband will succeed him and thy son and grandson will occupy the *gaddi* afterwards. Thy progeny will make thy name famous throughout the whole world, and thou thyself will be awarded the rare gift of true discipleship." Thus blessed Bibi Bhani fell at the feet of her father and thanked him heartily for all that he had predicted for her children.

One day when she was going to the room of her father, her youngest son Arjan also followed her. Seeing his grandfather sitting on his couch he waddled towards him. His mother seeing him approach the couch with his hands and body covered with mud ran to keep him back but before she could catch him he reached the couch and with his muddy hands on a side of it was smiling to win the attention of his grandfather. The Guru asked Bhani not to snatch him away and tried to lift him up the couch. On finding him a bit heavy remarked that he would become a very great teacher. The child was still making his own attempts to ascend the *gaddi*. "Desist my darling, desist for the present," said the Guru laughingly. "You are to get the *gaddi* from your father. Do not try to ascend it before time." Arjan was the youngest child of Bibi Bhani. She now understood that though her children would occupy the *gaddi* after her father, the worldly law of promogeniture will not be followed, but the worthy alone will get the distinction.

XXIV. The Last Moments

His devoted daughter Bhani was sitting near the Blessed One, one day, when all of a sudden he put a strange question to her. "What would you do, if your husband dies today, my daughter?" said the Guru. Bibi Bhani at once understood what was implied. She immediately took the ring out of her nose¹³ and placed it at the feet of the Guru and replied, "I shall put on the widow's weeds, dear father, and try to live the life of

13. Married women in the Punjab used to wear nose ring as long as their husbands lived. When the husband died, the wife put off this ring as a sign of her widowhood. This custom has fallen into disuse now.

a widow as contentedly as possible." Her perfect balance of mind pleased the Guru, and he said "your husband was to die to-day, but your devotion for Sikhism is so great that I do not want to see you a widow. I am, therefore, resolved to die in his place and transfer my remaining span of life to him. Call your husband to my presence so that I may install him on the *gaddi* before I close my eyes."

The news that the Blessed One was going to end his earthly existence spread like wildfire. The Sikhs of the neighbouring villages flocked to Goindwal. The Guru sent for his two sons Mohan and Mohri and asked them to fall at the feet of Ram Das, whom he had appointed his successor. Mohan refused to obey. "Ram Das is our brother-in-law. During your life time he has been staying with us with his whole family and we never grumbled. Why should he rob us of our right of inheritance now?" Mohri, on the other hand, gladly obeyed his father. He knew that the earthly possessions of the Guru could belong to his sons by the law of inheritance but the gift of *Guruship* would go to the most deserving. He, therefore, fell at the feet of Ram Das, who was duly appointed as Guru by Bhai Budha. The customary present of one cocoa-nut and five pice was placed before Ram Das by the Guru, who himself touched his feet to complete the ceremony formally. Sundar, an elderly relative of the third Guru, has thus commemorated the event in his *sadd* in Ramkali measure.

"The Benefactor of the universe, the Beloved of His devotees pervades all the three worlds. He, who loses himself in the Word of the Guru alone knows him. None else knows Him, excepting him who, under the instruction of the Guru, meditates on the One Name. Through the grace of Guru Nanak Guru Angad found the supreme position. When the order to depart (from this world) came, the Third Guru was absorbed in God's Name, Through devotion in this world, he found the Deathless, Everlasting and Immeasurable Hari. The Guru resigns himself to the Will of the Hari and he now goes to Him. The *Sat Guru* prays thus to Hari: "Grant protection to me O Lord. Protect Thy servant and shower the gift of Thy Pure Name upon him. Thy name will be his stay at his last moments and will destroy Death and his myrmidons." The prayer, that the *Sat Guru* offered, was accepted by the Lord, Hari showered his grace upon the Guru united the Guru with Himself and said "Well done! All hail to thee."

Listen to me, O my disciples, sons and family members, it is the Will of the Lord that I should now go to Him. I resign myself to His Will and my Lord is pleased with me. He alone who bows to the Will of the Lord, is His devotee, is the True Teacher. Exquisite

symphonies of blissful music will play for him. The Lord will embrace him. O my sons and family members, carefully ponder over what I say. The writ of his court cannot be disobeyed, so I am going to Him."

The True Guru was pleased to sit up and summon all his relatives to him "Do not weep after me; that would never please me. When a friend is honoured, those who wish well to him are pleased. Behold ! O my sons and relatives, the Lord is now honouring me." While alive the *Sat Guru* appointed Ram Das as his successor and ordered his disciples, sons and relatives to fall at his feet.

Finally the *Sat Guru* said "When I am gone, sing without a break God's praises. Invite Pandit Kesho Gopal and ask him to read old scriptures that discourse on Hari. Read discourses on Hari, listen to the name of Hari, I like the bier of God's love. Let rice balls and other funeral ceremonies consist of Name alone; entrust my bones to the waters of Hari's Name."

"The *Sat Guru* spoke what the Lord desired him to speak and was then united with the All-wise. He crowned as Guru Sodhi Ram Das and endowed him with *Shabad*, the true banner of Guruhood. Whatever the *Sat Guru* spoke the disciples obeyed. His son Mohri followed his advise and fell at the feet of Ram Das. All fell at the feet of the True Guru in whom Guru Amar Das had infused his spirit. If one did not bow through jealousy, he was made to bow by the Guru. The Lord and the Guru were pleased to give greatness to him who was predestined to have it. Says Sunder, hear O good men ! the whole world was made to fall at the feet of the *Sat Guru*."

Datu, the son of the 2nd Guru, who, our readers will remember, had given a hard kick to the Blessed One, while he sat discoursing to a devoted congregation of his Sikhs at Goindwal, also reached the place at the last moment. His foot still ached, and he beseeched the Guru to forgive him. Guru Amar Das told him that as Ram Das has been duly appointed his successor, all powers now belonged to him. He would, however, be cured by the fifth Guru, who will pay a special visit to him for the purpose.

Thus furthering the cause of true religion for about 22 years, Guru Amar Das breathed his last on the 15th day of the light half of Bhadon in the year 1631 of Bikram era. Besides doing the work himself he had instituted a regular mission consisting of 52 men and 22 women preachers, who carried the Gospel to all parts of India. Interdining had become common among the Sikhs during his lifetime. He also forbade the cruel custom of *satti*, i.e., forced burning of living Hindu widows with the bodies of their dead husbands.

Guru Amar Das : Life and Thought

DR FAUJA SINGH*

Guru Amar Das was the third of the ten Masters of the Sikhs. Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Angad Dev preceded him while Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjan Dev, Guru Hargobind, Guru Har Rai, Guru Harkrishan, Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh followed him one after another in unbroken succession. Together they covered a period of 239 years, from the birth of Guru Nanak Dev in 1469 to the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708. This corresponded partly to the Lodi Sultans' period, from Bahlol to Ibrahim, and partly to that of the Great Mughals, Babar to Aurangzeb, who came immediately after the Lodis. Among the ten Masters, Guru Amar Das had the longest span of life. His was the third largest contribution to the holy *Guru Granth Sahib*. His contribution ranks among the greatest service rendered by the Gurus individually to the growth and development of the Sikh community.

Origin of Sikhism

The founder of the Sikh faith was Guru Nanak. Born at Talwandi Rae Bhoie in West Punjab in 1469, he showed promise of his future greatness from his very childhood. His uncommon behaviour during those early years was a mystery to every one who saw him, including his parents, relatives and teachers. Every possible effort was made to transform his ways but all in vain. He remained most of his time self-absorbed and if at all he talked, he talked mystically. He was a man of God. He lived in God, moved in God, slept in God, awoke in God: indeed he carried on all his functions in His divine presence. His whole life was a life of *vismad* (spiritual ecstasy) induced by the supreme power and inexpressible workmanship of the Lord Almighty and his heart was never tired of singing His praises.

But he was no recluse, no hermit seeking to cut himself adrift from the work-a-day world and the mass of people. He was not one of those men who, overwhelmed by the pleasures of meditation, take to a life of solitude. To Guru Nanak such a life was devoid of all meaning and purpose, for he held :

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1. *Adi Granth*, Sri Rag, Mohalla I, p. 26.

"Only service done within this world
shall win us a place in heaven."

Far from being a recluse or hermit, he was essentially a teacher with a divine mission. He moved among people, observed them in the midst of their multifarious mundane activities and strove to lead them upto the realm of godly life. He had no appreciation for things that were associated with religion but did not really belong to it. Religion for him was the essence of spiritual and moral values and was inseparable from actual day-to-day life. Religion which did not teach the true way of living had, in his view, no meaning. He looked upon renunciation of life and asceticism as irreligious.

He was a man of the people. He loved them. He felt for them. He shared their joys and sorrows. He grieved at their sufferings. For instance, see how strongly he protested to God against Babar's tyranny against the people of Saidpur :²

"When there was such slaughter, such groaning, dust
Thou not feel pain ? Greater, Thou belongest to all. If
a powerful party beat another powerful party, it is no
matter for anger; but if a mighty lion assaulted a herd of
cows, then the master of the herd should show his
manliness."

Guru Nanak loved humanity irrespective of any consideration of caste, sex, colour, race or creed. To him all people were children of the same Father and worthy of equal respect. He gave top priority to the service of all people, high and low, rich and poor. The lowly and the poor, in his eyes, deserve special attention and he unreservedly identified himself with such people. He was opposed to all artificial divisions of society. The caste system of the Hindu society was viewed as man-made, devoid of divine sanction and an institution that had long outlived its utility and needed to be removed forthwith. Similarly he thought that the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims, and the people of different countries or races was unnatural and unhealthy. Equality of all human beings was a basic principle with him. In order that the stream of social life should flow uncorrupted and uninterrupted, it is most essential, he stressed, that it should be informed by spiritual and moral values. To this great and laudable end he not only devoted his own efforts but also urged others to do the same. According to him, faith in the One Supreme Lord and the practice of spiritual and moral values in the

2. *Ibid.*, Rag Asa, Mohalla I, p. 360.

actual conduct of life were the two most important catalytic agents for the regeneration of any society. But besides these, there were a few other factors as well the importance of which in the task of social reform could not, in his opinion, be underestimated. The more important among them were education and rationality which give one the capacity to understand one's self and to distinguish good from bad, right from wrong.

He gave up the comforts of his domestic life and travelled far and wide to instruct the people in the importance of spiritual and moral values of life. He visited the great religious centres of Hinduism and Islam, attended their fairs, moved among large gatherings of people and delivered his message of enlightenment to them. In the course of these missionary travels, he had very often to face hardships from men as well as nature, but his sense of social responsibility was so great that he never took any notice of such difficulties.

Guru Nanak attached great importance to the manner in which the rulers, administrators, priestly classes, and spiritually-advanced people conducted themselves for, by virtue of their exalted position, they have the power to make or mar the lives of the people at large. He was greatly pained to see that the kings and administrators of his time were not discharging their responsibilities properly and he called them tigers and dogs. His feelings towards the priestly classes of Hinduism and Islam were no better. He found them misleading the people for their selfish ends. They insisted on dogmas and forms because this helped to perpetuate their hold on the simple minds of the people. The Guru on several occasions discussed things with these so called leaders of the society and told them to their face that theirs were the ways of the devil and not of God.

Similarly, the Guru chided the *Sidhs* and the *Naths* for their colossal indifference to the people of the world. They claimed to be men of high spiritual attainments and miraculous powers, but to Guru Nanak all these things were nonsense because they served no useful social purpose. Bhai Gurdas, in his biographical account of Baba Nanak, says that at one time in his conversation with such people he put it to them half-humourously but sarcastically :³

"Sidhs have betaken themselves to the high mountains and now they are asking me : How goes the human world ?"

How nicely it sums up the Guru's approach towards life and its problems !

3. Bhai Gurdas, *Var I*, Pauri 29.

Guru Nanak made a deep impact on the society into which he was born. He became the founder of a new movement which came to be known as the Sikh movement. Of all the reform movements that appeared during the medieval period of Indian history this movement is perhaps the only one which has stood the test of time and has continued with ever increasing vigour up to the present day. The names of Ramanuj, Ramanand, Chaitanya, Kabir, Ravi Das, Mirabai and Nam Dev—to mention only a few of the galaxy of the great saint-reformers of the period—are remembered with great respect even today, and their surviving works, if any, are read with deep reverence and not unoften with religious devotion. But by and large, their respective impacts lost their effectiveness soon after they themselves disappeared from the world, and now they are regarded mostly as historical figures, important in their own time, but commanding little real following at present. On the other hand, Sikhism is still a flourishing and vigorous creed and counts millions of people among its votaries. One important explanation of this great historical phenomenon is the element of social involvement inherent in the creed of Guru Nanak.

Being keen that the great Mission he had embarked upon should not come to a close after his passing away, Guru Nanak nominated Guru Angad Dev as his successor. The new Master was a Trehan Khatri, son of one Pheru, who was an inhabitant of Matte di Sarai, a village about six miles from Muktsar. The family had later shifted to village Khadur (near Amritsar) where subsequently Guru Angad Dev permanently settled down to guide and direct the affairs of the newly founded Sikh faith.

Guru Angad's ministry extended over a period of 13 years from A.D. 1539 to 1552. During this time he served his master's mission with utmost devotion. His undivided attention was directed towards the consolidation of the institutions of *kirtan*, *sangat*, and *pangat*. Every morn and eve regular congregations were held where sacred hymns from the compositions of Guru Nanak as well as his own were sung melodiously with fervour and reverence. By means of this programme followed persistently for years the institutions of *sangat* and *kirtan* struck deep roots among the Sikh devotees. The Institution of *pangat* was not left behind because it went inevitably with the other two. Those who came to attend the Guru's congregations did not always return immediately and for them a regular community kitchen had to be run. But this was not meant for them alone. Others also could eat there if they so wished. Rather it was the keen desire of the Guru that as many people as possible should

partake of the food cooked in the common kitchen which was appropriately called *Guru ka Langar*, because behind it lay a certain social ideology: It was a useful vehicle of reform. All eaters, whether high or low by caste, were required to sit together on the ground in long rows before they were served the meals. These meals too were often enough prepared by people of low origin. In a caste-ridden society like the one that prevailed in India at that time it was considered an effective practical measure to break caste barriers.

Guru Angad attempted a few other important tasks as well. He evolved a reformed *Gurmukhi* script to record his writings as also his Master's. Later Sikh Masters followed in his footsteps and adopted *Gurmukhi* as their medium of writing and instruction. Another important task to which he gave his close thought was the collection of scattered oral traditions relating to the life and teaching of Guru Nanak. It is commonly believed that the first *Bale di Janamsakhi* was written during his time and under his instructions.

Like the first Guru, Guru Angad Dev was also a poet of great sensitivity and wrote a number of hymns which were later incorporated in the *Adi Granth* by Guru Arjan Dev. The following composition of his has become an inseparable part of the morning prayer of the Sikhs, called *Japji* :

*Slok*⁴

The air is the Guru, water our father,
and the great earth our mother;
Day and night are our two nurses, male and
female, who set the whole world a playing ;
Merits and demerits shall be read
out in the presence of the Judge;
According to men's acts, some shall be
near and others distant from God;
They who have pondered the Name and departed
after the completion of this toil,
Shall have their countenance made bright,
O Nanak; how many shall be emancipated
in company with them.

Thus Guru Angad Dav did much useful work and placed the new-born Sikh faith on a secure footing. When he sensed that the end of his mortal life was fast approaching, he nominated Amar Das as his succes-

4. Macauliffe, M. A., *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. I, p. 217 (S. Chand & Co., 1963).

sor and passed on to him the responsibilities of his exalted office. He was anxious that the great mission that he had inherited from Guru Nanak should continue to flourish after him and not come to an end with his death.

GURU AMAR DAS

Birth and Early Life :

He was born into a Bhalla Khatri family of village Basarke, situated about 7 miles west of the holy city of Amritsar. There is some controversy about the date of his birth but by the generally accepted Sikh tradition he was born in Bikrami Samvat 1536 on Vaisakh Sudi 14 corresponding to 5 May, 1479. A few of the names of his ancestors have been given by the chroniclers. His great grandfather was Vishnu Das and his grandfather, Harji. Harji had one son Tej Bhan who in turn had four sons, Amar Das being one of them. The names of the other three are given as Isher Das (father of Bhai Gurdas), Khem Rai (father of Baba Sawan Mal) and Manak Chand. The mother of Guru Amar Das has been variously called : Lakho, Lachmi, Bhup Kaur, Rup Kaur, Bakhat Kaur and Sulakhani. In all probability they are all variations of the same name, possible Lakho. A popular tradition traces the origin of the Bhallas back to Bharat, son of Raja Dashratha of Ajudhya.

Chroniclers are not in agreement about the exact occupation of the forefathers of Guru Amar Das. According to some they were traders, and according to some others, agriculturists. May be, they were both because no hard and fast lines were then drawn between the two professions. It is said that Amar Das, when a young boy, used to hawk provisions of general use and occasionally even helped in the family profession of agriculture. Economically, the family was of a moderate status, neither very rich nor very poor.

Amar Das had his elementary education locally, possibly from his own parents or from the local priest. That adequately fitted him for the trading profession which he adopted subsequently on growing up. When he grew older he embarked on his long pilgrimage programme. It was perhaps at this time, during his visits to Hardwar, that he acquired an extensive knowledge of the old Hindu religious texts. One gets from his sacred writings, incorporated in the holy *Granth Sahib*, ample evidence of his great proficiency in the knowledge of ancient Hindu creeds and philosophies.

Unlike the prevailing custom of the time, the marriage of Guru Amar Das was solemnized after he had attained the age of majority. Most of the Sikh chroniclers are agreed that his age at that time was 20 to 23

years. As regards his wife, three different names have been mentioned : Mansa Devi, Rami and Malan. Most married Hindu ladies used to have two names given to them by their parents and parents-in-law respectively. The confusion about her name, it seems, has sprung from this popular Hindu practice of married ladies having double names.

Among the offspring of Guru Amar Das two sons and two daughters are mentioned. The names of the sons were Mohri and Mohan and those of the daughters were *Bibi Dani* and *Bibi Bhani*. The eldest of all was Bibi Dani. Next to her was Bibi Bhani. Both the sons were younger to them by several years as they were not even born when the two daughters were married off. The sons were twins but as to who was born first, opinions differ. According to some, Mohri was born first and hence his name which means first or leading. Some others hold that Mohan was the first to be born. All the four children were born at Basarke, the native place of Guru Amar Das.

Of the two daughters Bibi Dani was married to Bhai Rama of Suri (Bedi according to Macauliffe) Khatri family while the other, Bibi Bhani, was wedded to Bhai Jetha, son of Shri Hardas, a Sodhi Khatri of Lahore. A very interesting anecdote is told of how this latter marriage was determined. It is said that one day the Guru's wife realizing that Bibi Bhani had grown up remarked to her husband that it was time that they looked around for a suitable match for her. The Guru asked the family Parohit to help them in this matter. When the Parohit was on the point of starting off, Bibi Bhani's mother's eyes suddenly fell upon the young Jetha who accidentally was then passing by the house. On carefully observing him, she said to the Pandit, "Search for a youth like him." Hearing this the Guru ordered the priest to pause and exclaimed, "You need not now go. He is his own parallel for God has made none other like unto him." After this the Guru called the youth and enquired from him about his family. This was soon followed by betrothal ceremony. This same Jetha later on turned out to be the best devotee of Guru Amar Das and succeeded him under the name *Ramdas*.

A Traditional Hindu Pilgrim

Amar Das had a deeply religious bent of mind from his very childhood. He cherished the company of holy men and took pleasure in serving them. He was a regular temple-goer and worshipper of *Saligram*. He venerated Brahmins and observed fasts with strict regularity. Macauliffe has described him at that early age as "a zealous believer in the Vaishnav faith." He led a life of austerity and gave charity to the poor and the needy. Having a keen desire for *Ganga Ishnana* (dip in the

sacred waters of the holy Ganga) and *Ganga Darshana* (sight of the holy Ganga) he went on a pilgrimage to Hardwar. His experience during his first visit gave him great encouragement and he determined to repeat it every year. His enthusiasm increased with passing years and at times he would even make two trips a year. Nothing was allowed to come in his way. Neither the hardships of the long weary travels on foot nor the heavy expenses involved therein, nor even the amount of time taken by the visits or his advancing age could dampen his spirits. He was nearly 60 years old when he completed the twentieth trip to Hardwar.

He might have gone on this but for certain unique happening in course of the return journey of his last trip, which radically changed the pattern of his life for the future. The first incident happened at village Mihra where Amar Das had stopped for a brief spell of rest at the *dharmsala* of one Pandit Durgo.⁵ The Pandit who was also an astrologer observed a lotus mark on a foot of Amar Das while he was asleep and made the prediction that he would rise in life and become a great prophet or a great ruler. He was so sure of himself that when some commission was offered to him, he declined it saying that he would receive it afterwards when his prediction would come true. The other incident⁶ which followed shortly after was even more effective. A few days after his departure from Mihra, a Brahmchari (a celebrate Hindu monk) joined him on his journey. They became very intimate and cooked and ate together for many days. They also conversed on religious topics and each much appreciated the other. Amar Das took him along to his native place Basarke. There while after the night's meal they were sitting and talking on the roof of the house, the Brahmchari suddenly enquired of Amar Das as to who his Guru was. He was greatly shocked when in reply Amar Das told him that he had not been able to find one so far. Hearing this he immediately rose and left in great dismay saying that by associating with a guruless man like him he had lost the whole merit of his *Ganga Ishnana*.

The blunt and plain language of the Brahmchari left Amar Das utterly aghast. That whole night he could not have even a wink of sleep. When the dawn came, a daughter-in-law in the house of his brother Manak Chand was heard quietly reciting the Sikh prayer *Japji*. An electric effect was produced on his mind by her recitation. Casting off all his notions of personal prestige he slowly and haltingly approached the

5. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mehma Parkash* (Punjab Bhasha Vibhag, 1971), p. 43.

6. *Ibid.*

lady, Bibi Amro, daughter of Guru Angad Dev. After a few preliminary enquiries he appealed to take him to her father's place which she agreed to do. When Amar Das met Guru Angad Dev at Khadur, he fell at his feet in all humility.⁷ The Guru took him into his embrace and showed him all respect due to a close relative. But Amar Das wanted to be treated not as a relative but as a disciple. Before agreeing to this, the Guru liked to test his *bonafides*. Knowing as he did that Amar Das was a strict vegetarian, the Guru ordered that for the meal on that day meat should be cooked for every one including himself except Amar Das for whom a special vegetarian food might be prepared. When the food was ready, they all sat down in rows (*pangats*) to eat. The meal was served according to the instructions of the Guru. Amar Das passed the test to the entire satisfaction of the Guru. He threw away all his prejudices regarding taboos of food and implored the Guru to give him a few leavings from his plate and having got some ate them with great relish and devotion. This was in fact the very thing the Guru had desired to test. Pleased with him, Guru Angad Dev addressed him thus:⁸

"The meats it is proper to abstain from are these—others' wealth, others' wives, slander, envy, covetousness and pride. If anyone abstaining from meat is proud on the subject and saps 'I never touch meat, let him consider that the infant sucks nipples of flesh, that the married man takes home with him a vessel of flesh.

A Disciple at the Court of Guru Angad Dev

Opinions differ about the age of Amar Das at the time of his coming to Khadur Sahib. Some writers have said that he was 72 years then. Some others have mentioned his age at that time to be 71 years. There are yet others who hold that he was about 61 years or so. It is difficult to say with certainty which of these views is correct. But all considered, the last view seems to be more plausible than the rest. It is believed that Amar Das came to Guru Angad Dev's Durbar about the year 1540 and stayed with him for 12 years. This was a period of rigorous training and discipline for him. When this phase was over, Amar Das was head and shoulders above everybody else among the Guru's followers and succession to Guruship came to him as a natural and obvious choice.

But to earn that exalted office he had to pass through the mill. His unstinted devotion and robust physique carried him successfully through

7. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

8. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 33.

all ordeals and tests. His daily routine was so regular and so hard that the people around were wonderstruck to see him doing all that. He would rise three hours before day and fetch fresh water for the Guru's bath. During the day he would work in the community kitchen or *Guru ka Langar*, as it was called, helping in the cooking and service of meals and in the cleaning of utensils. When free from this work, he would go out to bring firewood from the nearby forest for the *Langar*. In the morning as also in the evening he engaged himself in prayers and meditation. His food was simple and frugal. He usually ate *Ogra* which was a kind of saltless rice pudding.

Chroniclers have mentioned several anecdotes showing Amar Das's utter dedication to his Master. One of them in the words of Macauliffe reads as follows :⁹

On the 14th of the month of Chet, when there was no moon, it rained all night. Cold winds blew, lightning flashed, and every human being glad to find shelter in his house and to go to sleep. Three hours before day the Guru called out that he wanted water. He called again but no one answered him. The third time he shook one of his sons to awaken him and told him to go and fetch water. When the son showed no inclination to obey his father, Amar Das at once said,¹⁰ 'Great King, thy slave will fetch the water.' The Guru objected and said that Amar Das was now too old for such service. Amar Das replied that he had grown young on hearing the Guru's order. He at once put a pitcher on his head and started for the river. Intoxicated with the wine of devotion he thought not of his body. On arriving at the Beas he filled his vessel, began to repeat the *Japji* and made the best of his way to his Master. He paid no regard to the element and went straight towards the Guru's house, feeling his way in the thick darkness as he went along.

On the outskirts of Khadur there was a colony of weavers. The holes in the ground into which the weavers put their feet when sitting at their looms, were filled with water. Into one of these holes Amar Das fell, striking his foot against a peg of *Karir* wood. Notwithstanding his fall he still succeeded in saving the water on his head. On hearing the noise and uproar, some of the weavers awoke. They cried out, 'Thief ! thief !' and called on their people to be on the alert. On going out of doors

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 42.

10. According to another view, Amar Das had taken up his residence at Goindwal on the bank of the Beas and used to come from there to Khadur daily in the early hours of the morning with a pitcher of water on his head for the Guru's morning wash. The distance between Goindwal and Khadur was only a few kilometers.

they heard someone repeating the *Japji*, and one of the weavers' wives said, 'Fear not, it is not a thief. It is that poor homeless Amru whose beard hath grown gray and who hath taken leave of his senses. Having abandoned his sons and daughters, his house and home, his commerce and his dealings, he is now without occupation and wandereth from door to door. Other people go to sleep at night, but he will not rest even then. Singlehanded he doeth the work of twenty men. He is ever bringing water from the river and firewood from the forest, and what a guru to serve !

Amar Das could endure hearing disrespectful language of himself, but not of his Guru. He told the weaver's wife that she had gone mad, and hence her slander of the Guru. Saying this he took his vessel of water to the Guru. It is said that the weaver's wife did in fact go mad as the result of Amar Das's censure. They sent for physicians who, however, knew no medicines to restore her. It soon became known that she had offended the Guru by her language, so on the failure of the physicians the weavers decided to take her to him with the object of imploring his pardon.

The weavers informed the Guru of what had occurred and implored him to pardon the mad woman's error. The Guru said,¹¹ 'Amar Das hath done great service and his toil is acceptable. His words prove true; wealth, supernatural power, and all earthly advantages wait on him. The peg against which he struck his foot shall grow green and the weaver's wife shall recover. He who serveth Amar Das shall obtain the fruit his heart desireth. Ye describe him as homeless and lowly but he shall be the home of the homeless, the honour of the unhonoured, the strength of the strengthless, the support of the unsupported, the shelter of the unsheltered, the protector of the unprotected, the restorer of what is lost, the emancipator of the captive.'

It is said that this incident finally decided Guru Angad Dev's mind in favour of Amar Das. He had watched him continuously for several years and had come to the conclusion that he was by far the best among all his Sikhs. He had also observed that neither of his two sons, Datu and Dasu, was fit enough to be his successor. So without further delay he nominated Amar Das as his successor. The formal ceremony was performed by offering the would-be Guru a piece of cocoanut and five copper coins. Baba Budha, as the old custom went, applied the *tilak* of Guruship to Amar Das's forehead. Guru Angad Dev made a solemn brief speech on

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 43.

this important occasion. Addressing Amar Das he said,¹² "What Guru Baba [Guru Nanak] said to me, has ever remained steady in my mind. Herewith I pass that same commission to you : build up the *Gurmukh Panth* on the foundation of truth." Then turning to the Sikhs assembled there he spoke these words !¹³ "Whoever serveth him shall obtain happiness in this world and salvation in the next, and he who envieth him shall have sorrow as his portion."

A few days after on the fourth day of the light half of the month of Chet in the Bikrami year 1609 (29 March, 1552) Guru Angad Dev breathed his last and Guru Amar Das assumed the charge of the Guru's office. **The New Pontificate Begins**

Guru Angad Dev's parting advice to Guru Amar Das was to hold his congregations at Goindwal and not at Khadur. This precaution was considered necessary in view of the fact that his sons Datu and Dasu were not well disposed towards Amar Das. Otherwise, too, this change was most convenient as Guru Amar Das had built up his residence at Goindwal.

In a few months' time started an unending stream of visitors to the new Guru to seek his blessings. The fame of the Guru began to spread far and wide. Datu and Dasu tried their level best to misguide the people and even held a regular court at their place, Khadur, to give out the impression that they were the legitimate successors of their father. But all their efforts failed. Then one day Datu walked down to Goindwal and in great anger gave a strong kick to Guru Amar Das. The words he uttered on this occasion showed the hollowness of his mind. "Only yesterday thou wert a water-carrier in our house and today thou sittest as a Guru." The Guru's reply to this was as humble as his office was high. "O great King, pardon me. Thou must have hurt thy foot."¹⁴

Thereafter, the Guru left Goindwal and retired to his native place, Basarke and shut himself up in a house. The whole thing had been done so quietly that none of his followers except perhaps his personal attendant could know where he had gone. A search was made in all directions but in vain. Ultimately on the suggestion of Bhai Budha, the Guru's mare was employed to get the clue to his whereabouts. The mare led them straight to the place where the Guru was. But how to get in was a big problem because by putting up a notice outside the house the Guru had strictly forbidden admission in the house. After much careful thought it

12. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 44.

13. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 44.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 64.

was decided to leave the door untouched and to make entry through a fresh opening in the back wall of the house. The ingenuity of the device to effect entry much amused the Guru who not only pardoned them for their defiance of his instructions but also granted their appeal to return to Goindwal. His return was celebrated with illuminations.

Having firmly settled down, the Guru planned to take some concrete steps for the further growth of Goindwal. He sent a special mission headed by his nephew Baba Sawan Mal to Haripur in the Kangra territory to procure timber for building purposes. The mission met with complete success. The Raja of the Haripur State was so much impressed with the personality of Baba Sawan Mal that he made available free of charge the entire load of timber wanted by the mission. After that he along with his family accompanied Baba Sawan Mal to Goindwal to have the holy *darshan* of the Guru. When the Raja was to return, he appealed to the Guru to depute Baba Sawan Mal permanently to his State for the benefit of his people. The appeal was duly granted and a regular *manji* was set up there.

In due course of time some fanatical Muslim Shaikh families of Goindwal turned hostile to the Guru and his Sikhs. But they did not want an open clash. Keeping themselves in the background they directed their little children to harass the Sikhs who went to collect water for the Guru's kitchen. The earthen vessels of these Sikhs were pelted with stones and clods and some of them were even broken to pieces. The Sikhs complained to the Guru about their misbehaviour. Thereupon the Guru advised them to use goat-skins instead of earthen vessels. The urchins who were bent upon mischief pierced the goat-skins with arrows. The matter was again reported to the Guru who now advised them to use brass utensils. The urchins too changed their tactics and resorted to the use of big stones and bricks. Still the Guru's patience was not exhausted. He had a firm faith in divine chastisement and urged upon his people patiently to watch the mysterious ways of God.

Many days had not passed when these evil-minded Shaikhs got the tit for the tat. A band of armed Sanyasis happened to be passing through Goindwal on one of the occasions when the Shaikhs' children were causing harassment to the Sikhs. It so happened that one of the stone-pieces being hurled by the mischief-mongers struck the leader of the band on the eye. Thus provoked the Sanyasis made a fierce attack on the aggressors and taught them a lesson to remember.

A much severer chastisement was visited on the Shaikhs when some-time later they became objects of official wrath. A convoy carrying

government treasure was on its way from Lahore to Delhi. When it was passing through Goindwal, a mighty dust storm scattered the mules laden with treasure. One such mule was stolen away by the Shaikhs. The matter was reported to the higher authorities who took a very serious view of the offence. They were imprisoned, their houses were razed to the ground and their property was confiscated. The Sikhs wondered and asked themselves : Isn't it a miracle wrought by the Guru ?

As the popularity of Guru Amar Das increased with the passage of years, and more and more people began to enter into the fold of Sikhism, the leaders of Hindu orthodoxy, Brahmins and Khatri in particular, were greatly upset and they launched a malicious propaganda against the Guru. He was openly accused of violating the *Varnashram*, disregarding the Vedas and preaching against the Brahmins. They failed to appreciate the humanistic tenor of the Guru's teachings and beguiled the simple-minded folk by misrepresenting and distorting his noble views. When Emperor Akbar visited Lahore in 1566-67, they waited upon him in the form of a deputation and lodged a complaint against the Guru. Among other things the complaint, in the words of Macauliffe, contained :¹⁵ "Thy Majesty is the protector of our customs and the redressor of our wrongs. Every man's religion is dear to him. Guru Amar Das of Goindwal has abandoned the religious and social customs of the Hindus and abolished the distinction of the four castes. Such heterodoxy hath never before been heard of in the four ages. There is now no twilight prayer, no *gayatri*, no offering of water to ancestors, no pilgrimages, no obsequies and no worship of idols or of the divine *Saligram*. The Guru hath abandoned all these and established the repetition of *Wahguru* instead *Ram*, and no one now acteth according to the Vedas or the *Simritis*. The Guru reverenceth not *Jogis*, *Jatis* or Brahmins. He worshippeth no gods or goddesses, and he ordereth his Sikhs to refrain from doing so for ever more. He seateth all his followers in a line and causeth them to eat together from his kitchen, irrespective of caste—whether they are Jats, strolling minstrels, Muhammadans, Brahmans, Khatri, shopkeepers, sweepers, barbers, washermen, fishermen, or carpenters. We pray thee, restrain him now, else it will be difficult hereafter."

After hearing the complaint, the Emperor sent a special messenger to Goindwal to request Guru Amar Das to come personally or to send a nominee to answer the charges levelled against him by the memorialists.

15. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 105.

The contents of this petition are corroborated by *Mehma Parkash*, p. 137.

The Guru decided to send Bhai Jetha, his most trusted and most competent disciple, to appear before the Emperor. It is said that Bhai Jetha's answers on all the points that had been raised were found so convincing by the liberal-minded Emperor that he forthwith dismissed the petition. He also sent his respectful regards to the Guru through his nominee.

In 1571 the Emperor made another short visit to Lahore. This was a sort of pilgrimage tour. Before reaching Lahore he had visited the Dargah Sharif of Muin-ud-Din Chishti at Ajmer and that of Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakkar at Pakpattan. On the way back from Lahore enroute to Ajmer Sharif he passed through Goindwal and had a meeting¹⁶ with Guru Amar Das. He was highly impressed with the Guru's mission and personality and offered a land-grant in the name of his daughter Bibi Bhani. As goes the tradition, the Emperor took food in the *Guru ka Langar* prior to his meeting with the Guru. The Emperor's visit not only silenced the Guru's critics, both Hindu and Muslim, but also gave a great boost to the Sikh movement.

Visits to Kurukshetra and Hardwar

Guru Amar Das was an indefatigable traveller. Before he became the desciple of Guru Angad Dev, he had made as many as twenty trips to the Ganga on foot. On some occasions he had even accomplished a double feat within one year. His travels, however, ended suddenly when he went over to Khadur. When he ascended the *gurgaddi* in 1552 A.D., he was already past 70 years and hence much advanced in age to undertake any long and arduous journeys. All the same, he was not oblivious of the useful role of missionary tours and, despite all difficulties arising from old age, undertook one major journey in the year 1553 A.D. to Kurukshetra and Hardwar.¹⁷

The purpose of the Guru's visits to these Hindu *tirthas* has been misunderstood by some people. It was not a concession to traditional Hinduism on the part of the Guru and no deflection from the chosen Sikh path. He was as firmly opposed to *tirthism* as the founder of the Sikh faith had been. He has clarified this point amply in his writings. For instance he writes in *Rag Gauri*:¹⁸

This world is impure with egoism. Even though one performs tirath-bath every day, his egoism remains with him.

16. Sarup Das Bhalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-43.

17. *The Panjab Past and Present*, October 1971—Art. : 'Date of the visit of Guru Amar Das' to Kurukshetra,' Dr Balbir Singh.

18. *Adi Granth*, p. 230.

And yet he went on the tour because he thought, and rightly so, that it would afford him an excellent opportunity of preaching true religion among the large crowds of people who visited these famous Hindu places of pilgrimage on occasions of fairs and festivals.

The Guru first visited Kurukshetra. The occasion was of a highly specialized significance because it was the *Abhichu* (Sanskrit *Abhijit*, Prakrit *Abhiji*) type of solar eclipse. He received several visitors during his stay, mostly from the ascetic classes. From there he went to the Ganga where several leaders of high-caste Hindus called on him to hold discussions with him on matters of *Varnashram*. Such was the *charisma* of his personality that he and all the people who accompanied him were exempted from the payment of pilgrimage tax.

Bhai Jetha, the Guru's son-in-law, was also accompanying him on this journey. He has given an eye-witness account of the tour, which is available in the pages of the holy *Guru Granth Sahib*. The account is being given below in its English rendering :¹⁹

I

During the bath of the *Abhichu Purb* people had sight of the True Guru,

The filth of evil inclinations was cleaned and the darkness of ignorance dispelled.

The ignorance of those who saw the Guru was dispelled and light beamed on their hearts.

The pains of transmigration vanished in a moment, and men obtained God, the imperishable Lord.

God the Creator Himself made this auspicious time when the True Guru went to the fair at Kulkhet (Kurukshetra).

During the bath of the *Abhichu Purb* people had sight of the True Guru.

II

Sikhs travelled with the True Guru on his journey.

Every day, every hour, and every moment service was held.

God's service was held and all people came to behold the Guru.

God blended with him those who obtained a sight of him.

The True Guru made the toil of pilgrimage in order to save all people;

And Sikhs travelled with the True Guru on his journey.

19. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 112-14.

III

First, the Guru arrived in Kulkhet and his visit made it a real auspicious time.

When it was known, the beings of the three worlds came to behold him.

All the demigods, Munis and saints of the three worlds came to behold him.

The sins of those who touched the perfect True Guru were all erased.

Jogis, Digambars, Sanyasis, and men of the Six Schools conversed with him and made him offerings.

First the Guru arrived in Kulkhet and his visit made it a real auspicious time.

IV

Secondly the Guru proceeded to the Jamuna where he caused people to repeat God's name.

The tax-gatherers met the Guru with offerings and allowed his followers to cross over.

All those in the Guru's train who meditated on God were exempted from toll.

Death the tax-gather approacheth not those who walk in the true way according to the Guru's instruction.

Everybody took the Guru's name and by taking it all the pilgrims were excused toll.

Secondly the Guru proceeded to the Jamuna, where he caused people to repeat God's name.

V

Thirdly he went to the Ganges and there was a marvellous scene.

All were entranced on seeing the saintly Guru, and there too no one took half a *dam* from him.

No one paid half a *dam* or put any money into the toll-box: the toll-collectors' mouths were sealed.

They said, "Brethren, what shall we do? Of whom shall we ask? Everyone is escaping under cover of the Guru.

The toll-collectors by their skill and cleverness saw it was best to close their boxes and go away.

Thirdly he went to the Ganges and there was a marvellous scene.

VI

The leading men of the city went in a body and took shelter in the True Guru.

They asked the True Guru concerning God, and he proved His existence from the Simritis.

(He said) The Simritis and Shastras all established God's existence; Sukhdev,

Prahlad and Sri Ram uttering God's name meditated on Him. In the city of the body is the fort of the soul which the five deadly sins would rob, but the Guru hath destroyed their abode.

The Puranas everywhere contain praises of charity, but it is from Guru Nanak's words that God's service is obtained.

The leading men of the city went in a body and took shelter in the True Guru.

Creation of New Institutions

The institutions of *kirtan*, *sangat* and *pangat* had been in existence ever since the days of the first and founder Guru Nanak. The second Guru Angad Dev had further strengthened and consolidated them. On the basis of these institutions a new community had slowly and steadily begun to emerge. The person of the living Guru was the centre round which people flocked and rallied. Some of them came because they were attracted by the Sikh teachings. Some other came out of curiosity to have a sight of the Guru. Gradually the number of the genuinely interested people began to grow. Regular congregations were held twice everyday—one in the morning and one in the evening. But even at other hours of the day quite often social and religious matters were touched upon. *Kirtan* played a major role at the regular congregations. Sacred hymns composed by the Gurus themselves were sung individually or in chorus. There were also discourses in which the Guru explained his teachings in simple words. After the assembly was over the people assembled were fed from the free kitchen run by the Guru. Everything here was managed by volunteers from among the Guru's own followers. Rare bonds of solidarity were forged among those who participated in such activities.

All this formed the precious heritage of Guru Amar Das. His first task was to cherish this heritage and if possible to enrich it further, as much as he could. Realizing that the institution of *sangat*, *kirtan* and *pangat* were of fundamental importance in the growth and development of the Sikh community for which the terms then popularly used were

Nanak Panth or *Nirmal Panth*. He held his daily congregations with strict regularity and punctuality and made *kirtan* and *katha* essential parts of the proceedings of such assemblies. To the institution of *pangat* in particular he gave much thought and laid down a rule that anybody wishing to meet him must first eat in his free kitchen. And the rule was no respecter of persons. Everybody, whatever be his status in society, was required to observe this practice if he was keen to see the Guru. Otherwise he had to go back. Obviously, the purpose of the community kitchen, *Guru ka Langar*, had been expanded. It was not merely a facility provided to the devotees who came to attend the morning and evening services held at Guru's Durbar, or a place to train them in the habits of social service; it was now intended also to serve as a vehicle of social reform, an instrument to break barriers of castes and creeds—an element of vital importance in the context of the Indian society of those days.

But Guru Amar Das did not stop at that. He realized that since the earlier institutions had taken firm roots, it was time to go ahead and devise new measures for the further growth of the community. Moreover, with the passage of time new challenges had appeared which the young community had to face. For this purpose, too, something more had to be done and without much delay.

(i) *Manjis*

Among the innovative measures introduced by the Guru, the creation of *manjis* occupies a most conspicuous place. The word *manji* literally signifies cot or *charpoy*, a common Indian bedstead. But here it stands for a responsible religious position conferred by the Guru upon a pre-eminent devotee or a seat of delegated authority. The man thus honoured was authorised to act as a missionary of the Sikh faith. He was required to hold congregations regularly at his place and at time to move about in the countryside explaining the principles of Sikhism. He was given the power to administer *charan pahul* and thereby to bring new people into the Sikh fold. A *manji* thus was the greatest honour that could be bestowed upon a follower of the Guru. It was also the need of the hour and was intended to meet the requirements of the growing Sikh community. In the words of Dr Indubhushan Banerjee,²⁰ "The Sikhs had grown rapidly in number and lay scattered throughout the province," so that the Guru "found it necessary to devise some measures for administering to the local needs of his followers." The *manjis*,

20. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I, p. 168.

however, were not independent seats of authority. A regular liaison with the Guru at the centre, the fountain of all inspiration, was maintained through periodical visits to Goindwal. On such occasions more often than not the *manjidars* were accompanied by local *sangats* enthusiastically wanting to seek the Gurus' blessings. The total number of *manjis* created from time to time according to the long-standing Sikh tradition, was 22. The identification of all these bodies, however, bristles with difficulties. A few attempts have been made to unravel the knotty problem but the results show wide variations and the problem remains where it was. Its difficult nature will become evident from the perusal of the three different lists given below :²¹

Bhai Kahn Nabha's List

1. Allahyar (Lahore), 2. Sachan Sach, 3. Sadharan (Goindwal), 4. Sawan Mal (Goindwal), 5. Sakhan (Dhamyal-Pothohar), 6. Handal, 7. Kedari, 8. Kheda, 9. Gangu Shah (Garhshankar), 10. Darbari, 11. Paro, 12. Phera (Miranpur Jammu), 13. Bua (Sri Hargobindpur), 14. Beni Pandit (Chunian, Lahore), 15. Mahesa (Sultanpur), 16. Mai Das (Naroli), 17. Manak Chand (Vairowal), 18. Matho Murari (Khai Pind, Lahore), 19. Raja Ram (Sandhma), 20. Rang Shah (Madhore, Jullundur), 21. Rang Das (Gharuan), 22. Lalo (Dalla).

Mehma Parkash Sri Guru Amar Das List

1. Sawan Mal, 2. Sachan Sach, 3. Lalu, 4. Mahesa Dhir, 5. Bhat (Sultanpur), 6. Paro (Dalla), 7. Khanna Chhurra (Dalla), 8. Phira Katara (Malwa), 9. Gang Das (Ghagon), 10. Prema (Behrampur), 11. Bibi Bhago (Kabul), 12. Manak Chand Jeewra (Vairowal), 13. Mai Das (Narli), 14. Kheda Soeri (Khemkaran), 15. Matho Murari, 16. Handal (Jandiala), 17. Sadharan Luhar, 18. Bhalle Bibi ke, 19. Durgo Bhambi (Mahera), 20. Bhikha Bhat (Sultanpur), 21. Kesho Pandit, 22. Sain Das Gosiain.

Gurdwara Haveli Sahib Goindwal List

1. Paro Julka (Dalla), 2. Lalu Budhwar (Dalla), 3. Mahesha Dhir (Sultanpur), 4. Mai Das Bairagi, 5. Manak Das Jeewra (Vairowal), 6. Sawan Mal Vairowal, 7. Mallji Sewa, 8. Andal (Hanedal), 9. Nesach, 10. Gangu Khatri (Ghagon), 11. Sadharan Luhar (Bakala village), 12. Matho, Murari, 13. Kheda Soeri (Khemkaran), 14. Phirya Katara (Malwa), 15. Sain Das Gosian, 16. Ditte ke Bhalle (Jamdaub), 17. Mai Sewan (Kabul), 18. Durgo Pandit (Mahera), 19. Jeet Bengali, 20. Bibi Bhago (Kashmir), 21. Ballu Nai (Vairowal).

21. Dil, B. S., *Amar Kavi Guru Amar Das* (Punjab Bhasha Vibhag, 1975), pp. 57-58.

13 of the names given above are common to all the three lists. One may accept them on the ground that they have been accepted by all the three. But then what about the remaining 9? Obviously, the question requires further careful research.

(ii) Bisova Divas

The need for having an annual gathering where Sikhs from different places could assemble and discuss matters of common interest had long been felt. But the question was first broached by Bhai Paro Julka of Dalla. The Guru welcomed the proposal and issued instructions to put the idea into practice at the earliest. According to the author of *Mehma Prakash*, he expressed his reaction to Bhai Paro's suggestion thus :²² 'What you have thought is already in my mind. All should come on the day of Baisakhi. Send letters to all Sikhs. On hearing this everybody will come in promotion of love and devotion.' The idea caught the fancy of the Sikhs and they came in large numbers to attend the function which was given the name of *Bisova Divas*, i.e., Baisakhi day. The function was a great hit. Encouraged by this the Guru decided to make it an annual feature. These annual gatherings marked a new milestone in the evolution of the *Sikh Panth*. They further promoted feelings of solidarity among the Sikhs and quickened the pace of their community's growth. At these meetings they could hold deliberations on common problems and benefit from one another's experience. They could also frame common programmes of action in face of the vital issues confronting them. However, the reaction of the adversaries of the Sikh faith to the *Bisova Divas* was one of sharp hostility. Henceforth, they were much more active in their nefarious activities against the Guru.

(iii) Construction of Baoli

Baoli is a well with steps descending to the level of water in it. Such a one was constructed by Guru Amar Das at Goindwal around the year 1567 and not 1559 as has been mentioned by some of the Sikh chroniclers. In all probability it followed as a necessary consequence of the decision to hold the *Bisova Divas*. The main purpose of the project seems to be to develop Goindwal into a major Sikh centre. A special significance was attached to the 84 steps leading down to the water level. It was believed that they corresponded to the 84 lakhs of existences mentioned in India's religious tradition and that one could secure release from the entire cycle of these existences by undergoing 84 baths with the baoli water in the order of one bath at each step. There was also a subsidiary purpose of the baoli. That was to make an adequate provision for the

22. Sarup Das Bhalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-33.

supply of drinking water to the large crowds of visitors to the Guru's Court, particularly on the occasion of the *Bisova Divas* celebrations.

Some interesting anecdotes are associated with the baoli. Two of them may be briefly mentioned here. When the baoli was under construction, some people from Bhai Jetha's family at Lahore passed through Goindwal enroute to Hardwar. Seeing Bhai Jetha working like an ordinary labourer at the baoli, they took offence and chided Jetha for disgracing the name of his family. Later they called on the Guru himself and complained to him as to what he had made of his son-in-law. To this the Guru's reply was emphatic and straight,²³ "I have not made him carry filth on his head but I have put filth on the heads of his slanderers, and I have caused the umbrella of true sovereignty to wave over him. If he had not been born in your family, you would all have been damned. It is he who hath saved the whole of your tribe."²⁴ They all felt very small and left the place.

The other story relates to Manak Chand,²⁵ a highly dedicated Sikh of Guru Amar Das. In the course of digging the baoli, a real difficulty appeared when the flow of water from under the soil was blocked by a rock of hard stone. A hole had to be made into the rock to remove that obstruction. Manak Chand volunteered his services for the purpose. He went down and successfully drove an iron peg right through the rock. When he removed the peg the water from below gushed forth with great force and overpowered Manak Chand. Everybody thought that he was drowned but the Guru was optimistic. When the body of Manak Chand surfaced, it was immediately got hold of and brought out. The man soon recovered his consciousness to the pleasant surprise of everyone there.

(iv) Idea of a Second Sikh Centre

Towards the end of his period Guru Amar Das thought of establishing a second centre of Sikhism. He had done his utmost to build up Goindwal as a major centre and even considerable progress had been made but as years rolled by it became growingly apparent that there were certain serious disadvantages inherent in its very geographical situation. Standing by the side of the Grand Trunk Road as it did, Goindwal was too much exposed to official gaze. Troops, convoys, officials and other important people were frequently traveling along the road, which fact posed a constant danger to the peaceful and quiet tenor of its life. It

23. The quotation is from Macauliffe's book *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p. 147.

24. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 145. 25. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 95-96.

was, therefore, felt that a place away from the highway and yet not far removed from it would make a better Sikh centre than Goindwal. Keeping this in mind, Bhai Jetha was commissioned to make a search for a suitable site. He conducted a careful survey and finally recommended the place where later on the city of Amritsar was founded. The recommendation was duly approved by Guru Amar Das. The place selected was an ideal one for a new Sikh centre for several reasons. It was not far away from the Grand Trunk Road, nor was it much too close to it. It was also situated at a junction of two important roads : once linking the sub-montane route in the north with the Grand Trunk Road in the south and the other connecting Jullundur with Eminabad, usually followed by caravans. Thus it possessed the necessary potential for rapid growth. Moreover, the place carried some sacred traditions with it. This was a big additional advantage as these traditions were connected with the names of Lord Rama and Guru Nanak Dev.

The proposal having been finalized, Bhai Jetha was instructed by Guru Amar Das to proceed to the spot and launch the scheme. He was given a few guidelines as well for the purpose. Jetha first built a residence for himself and then engaged people to excavate the earth for the construction of a tank. After sometime when a portion of the work had been done and several people had built huts for themselves on the new site, Jetha returned to Goindwal to report the progress to the Guru. In due course he was sent back to resume the work. The work proceeded rapidly for several months until it was time for Guru Amar Das to appoint his successor. Before he returned to Goindwal, Jetha had excavated a somewhat deep pit near the *ber* tree now called *Dukh-bharjani beri*.²⁶ But the tank was yet incomplete. The remainder of the work was done after the death of Guru Amar Das.

(v) Collection of Bani

By the preparation of authentic copies of his predecessor Gurus' writings as well as his own, Guru Amar Das laid the foundation of a new institution of very great value and significance, which appeared in its full fledged shape in the time of Guru Arjan Dev in the form of the *Granth Sahib*, the holy Sikh scripture. Such a step was then urgently called for. Knowing full well that the writings of the Guru carried such a great weight, many imposters and ill-wishers of the Sikh faith were hard at work to create confusion in Sikh ranks. A common device followed by them towards this end was to show up spurious writings as the Gurus'

26. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 95-96.

compositions and thereby to introduce some extraneous elements into the fundamentals of the Sikh creed. Guru Amar Das took effective measures, to check this wrong tendency. In his writings as well as in his discourses he repeatedly impressed upon his followers the need of distinguishing the genuine *Bani* from false or spurious compositions. Not content with that, he directed his grandson Sans Ram²⁷ to compile the writings of Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Angad Dev as well as his own writings. Sans Ram took up this task with great enthusiasm. Fortunately the two *Pothis* prepared by him are still extant. One of them is in the custody of Baba Dalip Singh of Mandi Darapur in the district of Hoshiarpur while the other is preserved in the family of Bawa Bhagat Singh of Patiala City. They are believed to be the same *Pothis* for which Guru Arjan Dev had to proceed to Baba Mohan's house personally to request him to lend the same to him for a short time.

Social Reforms

The Hindu society from which most of the Guru's followers came was afflicted with certain grave social evils, such as caste system, maltreatment of women and intricate rituals. Guru Amar Das carried on a constant campaign against all these evils. Through his compositions as well as his talks he strove hard to drive home the point that in the eyes of God there was none high and none low; all were equal whatever be their caste, creed, sex or profession. But percept alone was not enough. It must be followed by practice if it was expected to produce tangible results. The Guru knew this well and insisted that all his visitors must eat in his free kitchen. For this a strict condition was laid down that the Guru would not admit anyone into his presence who had not first partaken of the food cooked in his kitchen. The condition was so rigorously enforced that even Emperor Akbar, when he came to see the Guru, had to accept food from the kitchen. Regarding the position of women, severe restrictions had been imposed on their liberty. They were virtually treated as slaves. They had to stay most of the time within the four walls of their houses and even there they were required to keep their faces hidden in *pardah*. The rigours of *pardah* were even stricter for their movements outside their houses. Similarly, great injustice was done to them when they were forced to become *sati* on the pyres of their deceased husbands. No such rules existed for men whose wives died. Not only they were not under compulsion to burn themselves with the dead bodies of their wives; they could also re-marry if they so wished. To

27. Sarup Das Bhalla, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

woman all such privileges were totally denied. In case a woman had the good luck of escaping the commission of *sati*, she was condemned to the degradation of forced widowhood. Guru Amar Das was all sympathy for them and in the manner of the founder of Sikhism he tried hard to improve their lot. He raised his powerful voice against the evil *sati* practice. He wrote :²⁸

They are not *Satis* who are burnt
alive on the pyres;
Rather *Satis* are they who die of the
blow of separation (from their husbands).

On the question of *pardah* system his strict injunction was that no lady observing *pardah* would be admitted into his presence. The fate of lady from the *entourage* of the Raja of Haripur is too well known to be repeated here. The lady suffered heavily for violating the Guru's instruction in regard to the prohibition of *pardah*.²⁹

The pernicious Brahmanical influence over the minds of the people was so extensive that it had to be attacked all along the life. Rituals was one of the principal instruments in the hands of the Brahmans to enslave the minds of the people. Therefore, it was very essential that Sikhs should be urged upon to abandon rituals if they really wanted to be released from the clutches of the Brahmans. He asked them to have simple and inexpensive ceremonies on all occasions—births, deaths, marriage, etc. A wonderful insight into the working of his mind is provided by Bhai Sunder in his *Sadd*³⁰ incorporated in the *Guru Granth Sahib*.

Selection of Successor

When the Guru realized that the end of his earthly life was close at hand, he nominated Bhai Jetha as his successor and the fourth Guru and gave him the name Ram Das. He was the best and most suitable person for this high responsibility among all his sons and sons-in-law. In fact, the Guru had long been convinced about his merits. That was the reason why he had been charged with the responsibility of defending the Sikh causes at the Mughal Emperor's court. Again the choice had fallen on him when the site for the new Sikh centre was to be found. Still it was necessary that others also should be convinced about it, particularly because some of his followers had as much as said to him one occasion :³¹

28. *Adi Granth*, Var Suhi, Mohalla 3, p. 787. 29. Sarup Das Bhalla, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

30. *Adi Granth*, Ram Kali, Mohalla II, p. 923.

31. Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 142.

'Jetha and Rama are equally related to thee, and both perform service with great self-sacrifice. Rama is the elder, yet thou bearest greater love to Jetha. What is the cause thereof ?; In order to show why he gave preference to Jetha, the Guru asked both of his sons-in-law to prepare for him two platform which he said he wanted to use for prayers. Their first attempts were disapproved by the Guru and they were asked to try again. The second attempts also failed to satisfy the Guru who asked them to demolish their platforms and to make still another attempt. The elder son-in-law, Bhai Rama, declined to act as asked and left the competition. The other, Jetha, made five more attempts but all of them, one after the other were disapproved by the Guru. When the seventh attempt also failed to give satisfaction to the Guru, Bhai Jetha fell at his feet and in all humility implored him to help his defective intelligence. The Guru was much pleased to hear this and affectionately took him into his embrace. Then turning to the Sikhs the Guru said,³² "I have now tested the devotion of both my sons-in-law. You have seen the result; that is why Jetha is dearer to me.

A few days after, the installation ceremony was performed. A special function was arranged for the purpose. The Guru offered a cocoanut and five pice to Bhai Jetha, now called Ram Das, and Bhai Budha applied the *tilak* to his forehead. This completed, the Guru, and following him the Sikhs present on the occasion, made a bow before him. Out of the Guru's two sons Mohri did obeisance to him without a moment's hesitation but Mohan held back for a time though he too was ultimately prevailed upon to follow suit. The Guru left for the heavenly abode on Bhadon Sudi 15, Samvat 1631 (1st September, 1574).

Religious Philosophy

Conceptually speaking, the religious philosophy of Guru Amar Das was not different from that of his predecessors, Guru Nanak and Guru Angad. His conception of the fundamental metaphysical reality was fully analogous to theirs. His views regarding God, universe, man and the nature of relationship between them were also similar to their views. However, despite this close identity of views the compositions of Guru Amar Das, when closely studied, may be seen to bear the mark of the changed historical context in which he had to function. Earlier during the periods of the Lodis, Mughals and Surs the challenges from the side of the Muslims were much more serious than those from the side of the Hindus. The Lodi rulers were notorious for their religious fanaticism. Babar and Hamayun, who ruled from 1526 to 1540, practically followed

32. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

the same policy in their relations towards non-Muslims, though in some respects they were a little better than their predecessors. The Surs, particularly Sher Sur, showed a certain amount of liberalism in the matter of appointments, but in his case, too, there was not much qualitative difference from the prevailing position. Throughout all these years, the Hindu orthodox elements remained suppressed and almost relegated to the background. On the other hand, Muslim orthodoxy relying upon the might of the Muslim state was actively engaged in creating difficulties in the way of any open religious activity in the non-Muslim camps.

With the advent of Akbar's rule, however, a material change was effected in the objective social reality. The new ruler suppressed the forces of Muslim orthodoxy and created an atmosphere of toleration and liberalism in which Hindus were brought almost on par with the Muslim subjects. This led to the revival of Hindu orthodoxy with the result that the priestly and ascetic classes of the Hindu community felt free to launch malicious propaganda campaign against the Sikh Gurus and their followers. Signs of this new trend had begun to show themselves as early as the period of the second Guru Angad Dev, but it was during Guru Amar Das's time that this trend consolidated and strengthened itself so much so that it became a serious challenge for the infant Sikh Panth. Brahmins, Yogis, Tāpas and high-cast Hindus began not only to indulge in open criticism of Sikhism but also to lodge complaints against it with the government of the day. Naturally, Guru Amar Das addressed himself to the new challenges much more than to the challenges coming from the ruling community. This may be evident from the numerous references in his writings to the malpractices rampant in the Hindu society. Comparatively speaking, his reference to evils prevalent in the Muslim society are very few.

Having noticed the change in emphasis in the thought of Guru Amar Das and the reasons thereof, we now proceed to get a brief idea of what constituted his but religious philosophy. We first take up what he thought was not religion but only a pretence of it. Broadly speaking, any religious activity which is not based on truth and which is not sincere and genuine, has nothing to do with religion, according to him. Such activities only promote egoism whereas true religion should lead to its eradication, for where egoism is true religion is not. The contemporary religious scene in India in the time of Guru Amar Das was marked by a multiplicity of practices which were wrongly passing for religion. The *Jogis* and *Sidhs* attached all importance to the observance of the externals peculiar to their respective orders. They prided themselves on renouncing

the world, putting on strange garbs, smearing their bodies, wearing big ear-rings, keeping clean-shaven heads or growing matted hair. They either remained confined in far-off recesses of forests and hills or moved about in small groups blowing cuncthes and begging alms from door to door. The Pandits did not practise renunciation like the *jogis* but laid maximum stress on performance of rituals, pilgrimages, fasts, charity, protection of Brahmans and cows, and things like that. They arrogantly paraded their learning and loved indulging in scholastic disputations. Under their influence the Hindus at large cherished superstitions and worshipped idols, trees, snakes, *marhis* and *smadhs* (monuments raised over sites of cremation). Their minds were obsessed with considerations of fate, caste, purity and strict taboos in matters of food.

Guru Amar Das rejected all these and similar other practices which underlined externals rather than internals of religion. This is evident from the numerous references to these things available in his writings. A few illustrations may not be out of place here.

*He writes about the Brahman:*³³

The Brahman when reading shouteth aloud through love of mammon;
The foolish and ignorant man recognizeth not God who is within him.

He preacheth to the world through wordly love, but he understandeth not divine knowledge.

The perverse read and are called Pandits;

They suffer great pain from their wordly love;

They are intoxicated by their evil passions and know nothing;
they enter wombs again and again.³⁴

*About going on pilgrimage:*³⁵

Impurity attacheth not to the true; it attacheth to those who love worldly things.

It will never depart by ablution even though one bathes at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage.

*Regarding the Jogis and Sidhs:*³⁶

Jogis, Jangams, Sanyasis have gone astray; they have allowed their arrogance and pride to greatly increase.

33. *Adi Granth*, Sri Rag ki Var, Mohalla 3.

It may be noted that most of the English renderings of *Gurbani* given here have been taken from Macauliffe's book *The Sikh Religion*.

34. *Ibid.*, Majh Rag, M. 3. 35. *Ibid.*, Sri Rag ki Var, M. 3.

36. *Ibid.*, Gujri ki Var, M. 3.

They accept not alms of clothes and food offered them, but want more; through obstinacy they ruin their lives.

Even if a man take off his clothes, become naked,

And wear matted hair, how can he obtain union with God ?

His mind is not pure, nor tarrieth at the tenth gate.

The foolish person wandereth and returneth again and again in transmigration.³⁷

About the worship of numerous gods and goddesses :³⁸

Curses on the lives, curses on the habitat of those who worship strange gods !

They abandon ambrosia and turn to poison; they earn poison; poison is their stock in trade.

Poison their food, poison their dress, morsels of poison they eat.

Here they are totally miserable and, when they die, their abode shall be in hell.

At the centre of the Guru's religious thought lay his firm faith in God. He held God to be the only one Reality and the even idea of there being any other reality was a blasphemy to him. The God of his conception is the Creator and Supreme Lord of the Universe, omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient. The universe, is subject to His will and functions exactly as He wills it to function. He dwells everywhere and in everything. Man is His supreme creation and the soul within him is an emanation from the Supreme Soul. The essence of man being divine, his self-fulfilment lies in the re-establishment of an intimate link between his soul and the original source from which it has emanated. Therein also lies his happiness, his emancipation from all kinds of bondages that keep him tied down to baser things. But it is easier said than done because the path is strewn with innumerable difficulties. However, these difficulties are not insurmountable and, given proper guidance and resolute will, it is possible to get over them and to attain the cherished goal. Love and adoration of the Name is, according to the Guru, the best and the only effective remedy for this purpose. This was to him the most precious wealth. He has written in *Bihagre ki Var*:³⁹

O my soul, the Name is wealth from which happiness ever and ever springeth.

Loss never accrueth there from. but ever gain.

It lessenth not by eating or spreading, God bestoweth it ever and ever.

37. *Ibid.*, Basant Rag, M. 3.

38. *Ibid.*, Wadhans ki Var, M. 3.

39. *Ibid.*, Bihagre ki Var, M. 3.

He who possesseth it hath no anxiety whatever, and never sustaineth loss.

The Name, or *Nam* as it has been called, signifies the revealed aspect of God, i.e., *Sargun Brahm* in contradistinction to his *Nirgun* form. In that sense the entire universe being the revelation of God represents the *Sargun Brahm* or the Name. The worship of the Name is called *Nam Simran*, meaning remembrance of the Name. The following forms of *Nam Simran* were recommended by Guru Amar Das :

1. Meditation (*dhyān* and *smādhi*).
2. Performing and listening to *kirtan* (holy music) in *sangat* (congregation).
3. Recitation of sacred hymns composed by the Gurus.
4. Chorus singing of God's praises in *sangat* or otherwise.
5. Performing and listening to *katha* (discussion on spiritual subjects) in *sangat*.
6. Regular offering of daily prayers (*nit-nem*).
7. Pondering over the contents of the sacred word of the Guru (*babek* or *shabd di khoj*).

But *Nam Simran* must be accompanied by service (*sewa*). This again may take many forms : for example, causing others to worship the Name, rendering help in the *Guru ka Langar*, charity to the poor and the needy, and protecting the weak and the hopeless.

However, the requisite mental orientation required for the accomplishment of the two-fold tasks of *Nam Simran* and *Sewa*, is unattainable without the aid of a competent spiritual guide or Guru. The need of such a Guru is urgent for several reasons. He has realized the goal himself and knows very well what hurdles a seeker has to cross, what pitfalls he must avoid and what methods he must observe in order to achieve success. He is best qualified to provide guidance, training and discipline to those who desire to tread this difficult path. The most difficult of the difficult problems that a young aspirant has to face is how to get rid of egoism which is the root cause of all evil. So long as egoism is not crushed, one cannot be free from the pernicious influence of the five great evils, namely lust, anger, greed, attachment and arrogance. The Guru has successfully overcome all these obstructions and is absolutely free from egoism. Having achieved all that, he has become one with God. The guidance and help of such a spiritual master, therefore, is indispensable for any new aspirant in the course of his mental struggles. This necessitates a firm and steady faith in the Guru and his word, *Gurushabd* or *Gurbani*. The faith in its intensity should go to the extent of implicit obedience to the will of the

Guru. Guru Amar Das has written in *Sorath ki Var* :⁴⁰

As the elephant offereth his head to the goad, as the anvil offereth itself to the hammer.

So should the disciple put his soul and body before his Guru, and stand and wait on him.

In this way the pious man, while humbling himself, assumeth the sovereignty of the whole universe.

The person who strictly follows in the footsteps of Guru and subjects himself completely to the Guru's will achieves the lofty status of a *Gurmukh*. Such a person is an ideal being, ever self-composed, ever happy, ever living in the will (*Hukam*) of God, and always ready to render help to others. He is above the three qualities of mammon (*maya ke teen gun*) or the various mental states produced by materialism. The meridian point of his spiritual evolution is variously known as *chautha pad* (the Fourth State), *Amrapad* (State of Eternity), *Sehj Anand* (State of Happiness-cum-Equipose), *Puran Pad* (Supreme State), *Mukti Pad* (State of Emancipation), etc., etc. A *Gurmukh* of this description is *jiwan mukt* (liberated in life) so long as he stays alive. After his death he secures entrance into his own home (*Nij Mahal* or *Nij Ghar*), which in other words means that he attains union with God. The opposite of *Gurmukh* is called *Manmukh*, meaning a person oriented towards his own lower self. He is also called by the name *Sakat* meaning perverse. With regard to such a person Guru Amar Das has stated :⁴¹

The hearts of the perverse are tortured by doubts; they kill themselves with wordly affairs.

They are lulled to sleep by love of the world and never awake : they remain attached to mammon.

They remember not the Name; they think not of the Word; such is the conduct of the perverse.

They obtain not God's Name : they waste their lives in vain; Nanak, Death shall punish and dishonour them.

Guru Amar Das found no incompatibility between worldly life and spiritual concerns. On the contrary he regarded them as essential or complementary to each other. The real test of spiritual development is in worldly life and hence the latter is an urgent need of the former. Contrarily, the latter too needs the former very badly because secular life gets rotten if it is not informed by spiritual and moral values. Guru Amar Das was never tired of advising people against renouncing the world and

40. *Ibid.*, *Sorath ki Var*, M. 3. 41. *Ibid.*, *Gujri ki Var*, M. 3.

retiring to forests and hills in search of God. The main thread of his argument was : why should people leave their homes and hearths and go out when God who dwells in the heart can well be realized while residing at home and discharging family and social responsibilities ? His repeated counsel to his followers and visitors was that they should live pure in the midst of worldly impurities like the lotus flowers does in the midst of impurities of mud and water. He has stated in *Asa Rag* :⁴²

In thine home, O man, is everything; abroad is nothing;

By the Guru's favour everything is obtained and the doors of the understanding opened.

What can be found by marching abroad ? The real thing is in one's own home, my brethren.

The whole world wandereth astray in error; the perverse lose their honour.

The false one who leaveth his own home and goeth elsewhere to worship,

Shall be seized like a thief, and being without the Name shall suffer punishment.

They who know God in their own homes are happy, my brethren;

They recognize God in their hearts by the power of the Guru.

God bestoweth gifts and conferreth understanding ; whom shall I address except Him ?

Nanak, meditate on the Name, so shalt thou obtain glory in the court of the True One.

Our account of Guru Amar Das's religious philosophy will remain incomplete if we do not refer to his conception of God as Protector of the weak, the good and the pious and conversely as demolisher of the wicked, the evil and the impious. He writes in *Sorath Rag* :⁴³

Thou ever cherisheth the pious. Thou hath chrished them from eternity.

Thou protected Prahlad and destroyed Harnaksh.

The good have trust in Thy kindness, the evil are led astray by distrust.

O Lord, this is due to Thy greatness.

Thou protecteth the pious; they take refuge in thee.

The pious are not tormented by the *Yama* (Death Angel) ; death does not go near them.

They only depend on Thee; only through thy Name they get emancipation.

42. *Ibid.*, Ashtpadi, M. 3.

43. *Ibid.*, Sorath Rag, M. 3, p. 637.

Writing in *Sri Rag*.⁴⁴ Guru Amar Das attributes to God the quality of being the destroyer of the wicked (*Asur Sanghar*). Elsewhere he states that God is fearless (*Nirbhau*)⁴⁵ and he who meditates on Him also becomes fearless. This strand in the thought of Guru Amar Das has special significance as in the subsequent decades it played a crucial role in the further development of the Sikh community.

It is interesting to note what the Guru thought of his, or for that matter the Sikh, system of religious philosophy in terms of the Indian tradition of religious philosophy. He writes in *Rag Asa* :⁴⁶

Six Hindu religious systems pass current,

But the Guru's system is profound and unequalled.

And yet he had no fanaticism about it. His mind was broad enough to recognize the value of other systems. That was the reason why in his prayer for the humanity at large he says :⁴⁷

O God, of Thy mercy save the world which is in flames.

Save it in any way that it may be saved.

Social Philosophy

The social philosophy of Guru Amar Das was derived from his religious philosophy. From his belief that there is only one God who is the creator of the entire Universe, it followed as a natural corollary that all people irrespective of their race, colour, sin, creed and caste are members of a single fraternity and hence equal to one another. Consequently, all social barriers splitting humanity into water-tight categories were unjustifiable in his view. Hence his opposition to the caste system, maltreatment of lower castes and degradation of women. He has clearly put forth his views in this respect in *Rag Bhairon* :⁴⁸

Let none be proud of his caste.

He who knoweth God is a Brahman.

O Stupid fool, be not proud of thy caste;

From such pride many sins result.

Everybody saith there are four castes;

But they all proceeded from God's seed.

The world is all made out of one clay;

But the Potter fashioned it into vessels of many sorts.

Thy body is formed from the union of five elements ;

Let any one consider if he hath less or more in his composition.

44. *Ibid.*, *Sri Rag*, M. 3, p. 30.

45. *Ibid.*, *Wadhans ki Var*, *Slok M.* 3, p. 586.

46. *Ibid.*, *Rag Asa*, M. 3.

47. *Ibid.*, *Bilawal ki Var*, M. 3, p. 853.

48. *Ibid.*, *Rag Bhairon*, M. 3.

Apart from the common fatherhood of God, he viewed ethic as constituting an essential factor in the governance of relations between man and man. The basis of this ethic, both individual and social, as conceived by him, was truth. Or it may be said that truth was regarded as the master virtue from which all other moral values, such as honesty, tolerance, love, sympathy, compassion, humility, etc., spring. These values, if genuinely practised, not only establish peace and harmony in the mutual relations of people but also may lead one to realization of God and ultimate salvation. The logic lying behind this belief is very simple. God cherishes truth because God is truth and truth is God.

Three other ideas, to which brief references have already been made under religious philosophy, formed essential ingredients of his social philosophy. One of them was concerned with the earning of livelihood, the second with the development of undaunted courage and the third with *Sewa* (social service). The Guru denounced begging and laid stress on people earning their livelihood by honest means. He writes in *Ramkali ki Var*:⁴⁹

They should not be described as *Abhyagats* (saints) who eat in others' homes,

And who to fill their bellies adopt many sectarian garbs.

They are *Abhyagats*, O Nanak, who study their hearts.

Who search and find the Lord, and dwell in their own homes.

Obviously, the Guru wanted all people, particularly his followers, to be at once householders and saints. Only such people, he held, know and tread the right path. In conducting themselves through their activities of life, the people must, he stressed, have no fear of anyone except of God and the Guru. Only in this way can they develop fearless and heroic spirit and truly serve God and man.

One must not live for one's own self alone. If he does, he is selfish and self-centred—a personification of egoism, no better than an animal. A truly religious man is he who feels for others and helps them in their difficulties and hardships, if necessary even at the cost of his own comforts. In recognition of the urgent need of social service, Guru Amar Das taught people not only to lead householders' lives but also to alleviate other people's suffering and misery with the help of their earnings. But all this service is to be done in the name of God and the Guru, otherwise there is every likelihood that it may promote egoism. Hence in the words of Guru Amar Das this was called *Gur sewa*, meaning service of the Guru.

49. *Ibid.*, *Ramkali ki Var*, M. 3.

Guru Amar Das : A Brief Biographical Note

HARBANS SINGH*

Observance of the Gurus' anniversaries is a conspicuous feature of the Sikh way of life. A line frequently quoted from the sacred texts reads : *Bābānīān kahānīān put sput karen*, i.e., it only becomes worthy progeny to remember the deeds of the elders. The Sikhs have a special word for these celebrations—'Gurpurb,' or the holy festival in honour of the Guru. Among the more important annual events are the birth anniversaries of the First and the Tenth Gurus, Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, and martyrdom days of the Fifth and the Ninth Gurus, Guru Arjun and Guru Tegh Bahadur. Alongside these may be mentioned Baisakhi, or the first of the Indian month of Baisakh, which marks the birth of the Khalsa Panth, manifested on this day by Guru Gobind Singh. What happens on these occasions is a mixture of the religious and the festive, the devotional and the spectacular, the personal and the communal. Over the years a standardized pattern has evolved. Yet no special sanctity attaches to the form and variations can be, and are indeed, made depending on the imaginativeness and initiative of local groups.

Sikh fervour for *Gurpurb* celebration had an unprecedented outlet in the tercentenary of Guru Gobind Singh's birth in 1966-67 and the quincenary of Guru Nanak's birth in 1969. In 1975 was observed the 300th anniversary of the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur and two years later the 400th anniversary of the founding of the holy city of Amritsar. 1979 is now inscribed to the quincenary of Guru Amar Das's birth. Guru Amar Das was third in the line of Ten Gurus or prophet-teachers in whose hands the Sikh faith evolved. As the Sikhs believe, all the Gurus were of the same light. This belief is central to the Sikhs' understanding of their history. In the Sikh image, the light passed from one body to the other like one flame kindling another. To this day, all the Gurus are revered equally by the faithful. This phenomenon of Ten Gurus or equal spiritual rank and sharing the same revelation is peculiar to Sikhism.

Guru Amar Das, who inherited Guru Angad's light, was his senior in age by twenty-five years. But he proved to be a true disciple. He was born on May 5, 1479, a bare ten years after Guru Nanak. His parents,

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Tej Bhan and Bakhat Kaur, lived in the village of Basarke, near the present-day city of Amritsar. They were Kshatriyas of the Bhalla caste and were staunch in their Vaishnava faith. Amar Das shared the family's religious zeal and, year after year, made pilgrimage to Hardwar to bathe in the sacred waters. This he did without fail until, as he was once returning from his holy duty, he was reproached by a sadhu for not owning a Guru. Without a Guru or enlightener, all his exertions, he was told, must remain abortive. Since that day Amar Das had been in search of such a teacher.

In his own family one day enchanting notes of sacred Punjabi verse fell on his ears. This was Bibi Amro, Guru Angad's daughter married to Amar Das's nephew, reciting the hymns of Guru Nanak. Amar Das became inquisitive. He desired to see the Guru who sat in Guru Nanak's place and travelled with Bibi Amro to Khadur. Beholding Guru Angad, he at once knew that he had found what he had been in search of.

For Amar Das this was the beginning of a new life. He was old, yet he took to the teaching of the Guru with vigorous zeal. He performed his daily devotions and derived special joy from rendering service to the Guru. He brought water from the river every morning for his bath. He served food in the *langar* and fetched firewood from the forest. After a day filled with such deeds of service, he would retire to the village of Goindwal. Here he had at the Guru's bidding started living with his family of wife and two sons and two daughters. Going away from Khadur, he always walked backwards so that his face was not turned away from where the Guru was. Amar Das's life was an example of humility and devotion. Guru Angad acknowledged the perfection he had achieved by proclaiming him the future Guru. To quote the *Bansāvalī-nāmā* : "Through deeds of devoted service, he [Guru Amar Das] attained to Guruship."

Amar Das entered upon the office of Guru at Guru Angad's death in 1552. In his hands, the Sikh faith was further consolidated. He created a well-knit ecclesiastical system and set up twenty-two *manjis* (dioceses or preaching-districts), covering different parts of India. Each was placed under the charge of a pious Sikh, who, besides preaching Guru Nanak's word, looked after the *Sangat* within his jurisdiction and transmitted the disciples' offerings to Goindwal. The Guru appointed the first days of the months of Baisakh and Magh as well as Divali for the Sikhs to gather at Goindwal. The *bāoli*, a well with 84 steps, which he had completed in 1556 became an important point of pilgrim interest. Guru Amar Das laid down for the Sikhs simple ceremonies and rites for

birth, marriage and death. In this way, the Sikh order began developing the signs of a well-marked social group.

In the Sikh Scripture, compiled by the Fifth Guru, there is scarcely a *sabad* alluding to any historical event. The whole volume consists of poetry of spiritual temper. Yet there is a hymn by the Fourth Guru which contains a reference to Guru Amar Das's visit to some of the sacred places. As the *Mahimā Prakāsh* says, "The Guru went to all the places of pilgrimage and made them holy. He conferred favour on his Sikhs by letting them have a sight of him. He planted the seed of God's love in their hearts. He spread light in the world and ejected darkness." Liberation of the people was also cited by Guru Ram Das, Nanak IV, as the purpose of the pilgrimage undertaken by his predecessor. According to his *sabad*, Guru Amar Das visited Kurukshetra at the time of Abhich Nakshatra. This by astronomical calculations made by a modern scholar, fell on January 14, 1553. This is one date authentically abstracted from the *Guru Granth* and one of the fewest so precisely known about the life of Guru Amar Das.

The *Guru-ka-Langer* became still more renowned in Guru Amar Das's time. The Guru expected every visitor to partake of food in it before seeing him. By this he meant to minimize the distinctions of caste and of high and low. Emperor Akbar, who once visited him at Goindwal, had to eat out of the common kitchen like any other pilgrim. As the *Mahimā Prakāsh* records, the Emperor refused to step on the silks spread out for him by his servants when going to call on the Guru. He turned aside the lining with his own hands and walked to the Guru's presence barefoot.

The food in the *langar* was usually of a rich Punjabi variety. Guru Amar Das himself, however, lived on coarse bread earned by the labour of his own hands. Whatever was received in the kitchen during the day was used by night and nothing was kept for the morrow.

Guru Amar Das gave special attention to the amelioration of the position of women. The removal of the disadvantages to which they had been subject became an urgent concern. He assigned women to the responsibility of supervising the communities of disciples in certain sectors. The customs of *pardāh* and *satī* were discouraged. *Mahimā Prakāsh* relates the story of the visit of the Raja of Haripur. The Raja and his wife were escorted to Goindwal by the Guru's nephew, Sawan Mall. Yet the Guru did not waive the prescription that the Raja and Rani eat in the common *langar* before they could see him. A further direction was that ladies must come dressed in white with their faces uncovered.

The *bānī*, the Gurus' revealed word, continued to be a precious

endowment. Guru Amar Das himself composed verse of vivid spiritual insight. He also collected the compositions of his predecessors and of some of the Bhaktas of that time. When he compiled these into two volumes—both preserved in the descendant families to this day—an important step towards the codification of the canon had been taken.

One day, says the *Mahimā Prakāsh*, the disciples begged Guru Amar Das to pronounce how a Sikh must conduct himself in his daily life. The Guru Compassionate made this answer : "He who firmly grasps the Guru's word is my beloved Sikh. He should rise a watch before dawn, make his ablutions and sit in seclusion. The Guru's image he should implant in his heart, and concentrate on Gurbani. He should keep his mind and consciousness firmly in control. He should never utter a falsehood, nor indulge in slander. He should make an honest living and be prepared always to serve holy men. He must not covet another's woman or wealth. He should not eat unless hungry, nor sleep unless tired. He who breaks this principle falls a victim to sloth. His span is shortened and he lives in suffering. My Sikh should shun those who feign as women to worship the Lord. He should seek instead the company of pious men. Thus will he shed his ignorance. Thus will he adhere holy to devotion."

Guru Amar Das now desired to name a successor. None was worthier of the holy responsibility than Bhai Jetha, one of the Guru's devoted disciples. From the day he had set foot in Goindwal, he seemed marked for the honour. He was fully enlightened in the teaching of the Gurus and his training in living the life of a true Sikh had been equally perfect. With all his knowledge and wisdom, he was humble and obedient. All his joy consisted in complying with the will of the Guru. Countless were the examples of his dedication to the Guru and to the truth he preached.

Guru Amar Das made several tests, and each time his confidence in Bhai Jetha was enhanced. He was convinced that, of all his disciples, Bhai Jetha had mastered the teaching of Guru Nanak most worthily. He judged him suitable for the position of Guru and consecrated him as such by his own hand. Jetha, as Guru Ram Das, became the fourth Guru of the Sikhs. As the bards Satta and Balwand sang, "He was Nanak, he was Lahina, he was Amar Das himself." So did the Sikhs acknowledge him after Guru Amar Das, who passed away on September 1, 1574.

Guru Amar Das

G.S. ANAND*

The career of Guru Amar Das (1479-1574), previous to his nomination to Guruship, was one of constantly sincere and assiduous piety. Guru Angad, delighted by his exemplary toil and service, once foretold that Amar Das, the future Guru, shall be the "home of the homeless, the honour of the unhonoured, the strength of the strengthless, the support of the unsupported, the shelter of the unsheltered, the protector of the unprotected, the restorer of what is lost, the emancipator of the captive."¹ This Amar Das, of such high destiny, was born at Basarke, a village in the Amritsar District, on the 5th May, 1479, in a staunch Vaisnava Khatri family. His parents were Tej Bhan and Bakht Kaur. Having been brought up as a zealous Vaisnava, he often felt impelled by the traditions of his own faith to place himself under the protection and guidance of a religious preceptor, and often fervently prayed to God for a Guru such "as will possess the alchemic power of turning dross into gold." One morning when he was in this exalted frame of mind he heard the chanting of the Guru's hymns by Bibi Amro, Guru Angad's daughter, who had been recently married to a nephew of his. He was so much charmed by the lovely melody and thrilling words that on learning that these were the songs of Guru Angad, he at once sought out the Guru's Dharmsala (residence) at Khadur in her company. On beholding the Guru, his joy knew no bounds; and soon in a transcendent state of ecstasy he fell down at his feet.² For several years afterwards he served the Guru with unflinching devotion in a spirit of complete self-surrender and was consequently rewarded with the Guruship on his death, in 1552.

Guru Amar Das began his pontificate by observing for a while a retreat in silent and lonely prayer, and then assumed the responsibility of the Guruship. But it was no easy task having been full of stress and trouble. Guru Angad's son Datu would not tolerate his installation to the *Gaddi* of his father. Regarding him as a usurper, and derisively calling him a servant of his family, Datu, whose claim for the Guruship had been set aside on grounds of unsuitability, insistently declared himself

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1. *Mehma Parkash Vartak*, p. 38; Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p. 43.

2. *Mehma Parkash Vartak*, p.36.

to be the rightful successor of his father. But his proclamation went as if unheard, and people flocked to Amar Das and accepted him as their true Guru. Thus getting enraged, the unworthy Datu proceeded to Goindwal where Guru Amar Das had established himself in obedience to the wishes of the Guru, and kicked him away from his seat. Now Guru Amar Das retired to a secret retreat in his native village, Basarke, quietly, and in spirit of complete non-resistance forbade his followers to indulge in any retaliation.

As regards Datu, the Sikhs treating him as a usurper would not accept him as Guru. Thus disappointed he went back to Khadur, taking with him from Goindwal everything he could lay hands upon. Subsequently, the storm having blown over, the pious Sikhs, led by Bhai Buddha, sought Amar Das out in his village retreat and successfully persuaded him to return to Goindwal where the Guru resealed himself on his rightful *Gaddi*.

Another seemingly insurmountable difficulty which Guru Amar Das had to face as Guru of the Sikhs, cropped up from the contemporary Udasi sect. This rival system, which claimed the same amount of sanctity as Sikhism, had been founded by Guru Nanak's elder son Sri Chand. Its ideology, which differed from Guru Nanak's mission in that it, unlike the latter, instructed its followers to remain unmarried and without fixed home and property, was gaining ground every day. The selfdenial and renunciation practised by its founder and followers commanded reverence and adherence from the people of the Punjab, particularly because of their traditional belief in the nothingness of life. Coupled with this Shri Chand being a recluse and an ascetic was apparently superior to pious Amar Das as a spiritual guide, and was, therefore, successfully attracting the people to enter into the fold of Udasism. In face of such circumstances, particularly at the time when the adherents of Nanak's church were undecided as to whether to support and follow Sri Chand, the son of Nanak himself, or the nominee (Amar Das) of his nominee (Guru Angad), it required without doubt all the spiritual power and piety and statesmanship of the Guru to save infant Sikhism from absorption into Udasism. Happily for the Sikhs, the old Guru Amar Das rose to the occasion, lived up to the expectations of his faithful adherents and admirers, and saved the church from an early collapse. Very politely and skilfully he appealed to the Sikhs to follow the tenets and examples of Guru Nanak who himself was a householder. Guru Amar Das pointed out to them Guru Nanak's motto : "Renunciation while in the world," and argued how one could live in the world

and still not be of the world ? Further, he cogently explained to the Sikhs that the practical life of Guru Nanak ran a middle course between asceticism and worldliness, and hence in his choice for his successor the Guru discarded his own son Sri Chand for his asceticism.

On the other hand, fortunately for Guru Amar Das, Sri Chand, an ascetic, was cynically indifferent, just in tune with the characteristics of his sect towards, making a bid for the headship of the infant Sikhism, perhaps also because it did not carry with it as yet the power and prestige which might have appealed to his lower sentiments. Thus in the absence of any opposition Guru Amar Das scored an easy and complete triumph in separating the active and worldly Sikhs from the inert and torpid sect of Udasis, and thus prevented the former from being lost in oblivion as a distinct creed. Now they were free, fit and ready to tread the path of progress under the guidance of the Guru who, to begin with, took up the much-needed work of organisation and reforms. He made the Guru's free kitchen (*Langar*) still more famous. The offerings which were increasing in quantity every day went entirely to its maintenance. What he received daily was spent daily and nothing was left for the morrow. In the *Langar* all castes were served together, and no visitor was allowed to behold him before partaking of the food served therein. This dealt a further blow to caste prejudices. There were in the kitchen 'clarified butter and flour to eat,'³ but the Guru himself lived, as before, on coarse food and observed the most ascetic habits. The popularity of the *Langar* increased so much that once the Emperor Akbar, while on his way to Lahore, paid a visit to him and partook of the *Langar's* food, relishing it with great reverence.⁴

Guru Amar Das exhorted his followers to take up vigorously the work of carefully collecting and compiling the hymns of the Guru as a highly meritorious act. He himself composed verses, numbering 907 which have been incorporated in the *Guru Granth Sahib* and are much appreciated for their purity of idea and simplicity of diction.

Sikhism was now gaining ground every day because of Guru Amar Das being a successful teacher; and because of his zeal and activities in preaching, coupled with his genial habits and affable disposition, converts to his faith were constantly increasing. Even several Muhammadans embraced it, the most important of them being Alayar, who settled down at

3. *Guru Granth*, p. 968.

4. *Mehma Parkash Vartak*, p. 58; Macauliffe, II, 97.

5. Macauliffe, II, 77-78.

Dalla, an important Sikh centre under the name of Allah Shah.⁵ Because of the rapidly growing number of the Sikhs who lay scattered throughout the Punjab, the Guru could not possibly offer instructions to all of them in person, and the *Sangat*, i.e., daily congregation, that met around him no longer sufficed. Consequently he devised the *Manji*⁶ system for administering to the local needs of his followers. The whole Sikh spiritual empire was divided into twenty-two bishoprics or *Manjis* as they were called; each was placed under a pious and devoted Sikh who taught and organised the *Sangats* as a vicegerent of the Guru. Thus the Sikhs were provided with convenient local centres.

The Guru himself acted as a strong binding force, and strengthened the position still further by creating a central place of pilgrimage at Goindwal. Here was built a Baoli,⁷ a large oblong tank together with covered chambers for travellers to rest in and take refreshment during the heat of the day. Every year a grand fair is still held at this Baoli to which the Sikhs from far and wide come to pay homage to the memory of departed Guru. In short Sikhism was no longer an obscure creed of select band of religious enthusiasts; every day it was increasing in popularity.

Guru Amar Das was also keenly alive to the acute need of social reform. Following the policy initiated by Guru Nanak, he disapproved of *sati*⁸ which was sanctioned in the country by the usage of ages, and advocated the remarriage of widows, maintaining that "the true *sati* was one who, bereft of her husband, laboriously supported herself in a noble way, and did not end her existence by consuming her living body in flames along with the dead body of her husband at his funeral pyre."⁹ This was indeed the mild form in which the wise Guru heartily denounced the baneful practice of *sati*. He also asked his followers to abstain from the use of wine.¹⁰

In the end Guru Amar Das, just as Guru Angad had done with him, severely tested Jetha, the husband of his daughter Bhani of whom he was particularly fond because of her filial love and obedience, to prove him worthy of Guruship, bestowed upon him the apostolic blessing and

6. Macauliffe, II, p. 151. *Manji* means *Charpai*; it was a substitute for the diocesan *gaddi* which the Guru's vicegerents occupied and from which they communicated instructions to their audience.

7. *Mehma Parkash Vartak*, p.52.

8. Macauliffe, II, 228.

9. *Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 787.

10. *Ibid.*, 554.

then installed him in 1574 as Guru Nanak's true successor under the name of Ram Das, in preference to his own two sons, Mohan and Mohri, and all other disciples. Subsequently at a great feast in Jetha's honour, Guru Amar Das announced his own immediate departure. Next day after reciting the *Japji* amid joyous shouts of God's name from the congregation, the old Guru covered himself with a sheet of cloth and passed away on 1st September, 1574.

Philosophy of life of Guru Amar Das

SUDARSHAN SINGH*

Diverse religious beliefs and cultures of ancient and medieval India created dissensions and confusion in the Indian Society. Various schools of thought advocated different religious philosophies which made the confusion more confounded. Religion became a hoax, an organized fraud in the name of which the innocent and gullible masses were duped with false hopes and promises of the other world. Caste and class distinctions, superstitions, hypocrisy and idol worship became the order of the day. Some of the reformers of the Sufi and the Bhakti Movement, tried to some extent to remove the blind faith in ritualism and awaken the spirit of the down-trodden people by criticizing the social evils like the caste system and inculcated the spirit of goodwill among the people. But the orthodox revivalists of the Hindus and the Muslims, reinforced their orthodox views for their personal ends.

It is against this background that the evolution of the Sikh philosophy of life is to be traced and appreciated. Guru Nanak's philosophy does not owe its origin to any single religious system, belief or doctrine. It was rather evolved out of his authentic knowledge of human life and the social and spiritual problems faced by the people of the contemporary society. He waged a relentless war against empty rituals and ceremonies, superstitions, caste distinctions, hypocrisy and ignorance. The essence of his teachings was unity of God and brotherhood of man. He tried to build up a classless society by demolishing man-made barriers of caste, tribe and station. He exhorted human beings to live like a Lotus in a pond—to be in this world and yet be not of it. He advocated control on worldly desires and asked human beings to be humble and to resign to the will of the Lord. He tried to remove the sense of despair in the people and inculcated the spirit of optimism and boldness. He told the people that by truthful thoughts and truthful actions, one could conquer one's lower self, rise above worldly temptations and could obtain salvation. He, thus, advocated the philosophy of 'Gurmat Sehaj Marg' or 'Karm Yoga' and made the human life more purposeful.

The religious philosophy of Guru Angad Dev is a continuation of religious philosophy propounded and systematized by Guru Nanak. He

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elaborated the religious ideals of his spiritual master. An embodiment of love, service, obedience and humility, Guru Angad was an ideal personality. He was greatly influenced by the spiritual personality of Guru Nanak. Due to his constant association with Guru Nanak, he got practical training and experience of doing selfless service and these qualities became an integral part of his consciousness. Like him he also preached the gospel of unity of God and brotherhood of man, *simran* of the Name, need for the spiritual guidance of true Guru, futility of worldly pursuits, folly of the pride of caste and resignation to the will of the Lord.

The philosophy of life of Guru Amar Das is a direct continuation of the life-thoughts of Guru Nanak which were later elaborated by Guru Angad. The life and works of Kabir, Farid, Nam Dev and other Bhaktas, of course, played an important role in shaping his views. But his personality can be judged as a whole, if we study deeply his life and works from his birth till his death. The period of his training as a disciple, his sufferings and wanderings at innumerable places in search of the true guru, his hard toil and selfless service, his extreme self-control, patience and mental equipoise under circumstances of worst provocations, his mature thoughts and spiritual experiences flowing liberally in his verses, give us a deep insight into dynamic personality which flowed like a limitless ocean.

Guru Amar Das alerted the innocent people of his times about the futility of empty rituals, useless ceremonies and religious hypocrisy.¹ He also spoke against the bookish knowledge of the Brahmans and advocated the practice of truth in life.²

He wanted the people to live in this world with a sense of detachment.³ He never wanted them to renounce the world, but to renounce ego, pride and attachment which stood in the way of salvation.⁴ He never gave any importance to outer observances and distinctions of birth and caste.⁵ According to him "He who controls his mind and is always busy in the *simran* of the name is a real Brahman."⁶

He advocated the worship of one God and said that the spirit of the

1. ਮਨ ਕਾ ਬੁਠਾ ਬੁਠ ਕਮਾਵੈ । ਮਾਇਆ ਕੋ ਫਿਰੈ ਤਪਾ ਸਦਾਵੈ ।
ਭਰਮੇ ਭੁਲਾ ਸਭਿ ਤੀਰਥ ਗਹੈ । ਉਹੁ ਤਪਾ ਕੈਸੇ ਪਰਮਗਤਿ ਲਹੈ । (ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ, ਮ: 3.)
2. ਪੜਿ ਪੜਿ ਪੰਡਿਤ ਮੋਨੀ ਥਾਕੇ ਦੇਸੇਤਰ ਭਵਿ ਬਕੇ ਭੇਖਧਾਰੀ ।
ਦੂਜੇ ਭਾਇ ਨਾਉ ਕਦੇ ਨ ਪਾਇਨਿ ਦੁਖ ਲਾਗਾ ਅਤਿ ਭਾਰੀ । (ਵਾਰ ਸਾਰੰਗ ਮ: 4, ਸਲੋਕ ਮ: 3.)
3. ਜਿਉ ਜਲ ਮਹਿ ਕਮਲੁ ਅਲਿਪਤੋ ਵਰਤੈ ਤਿਉ ਵਿਚੇ ਗਿਰਹ ਉਦਾਸ । (ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਦੀ ਵਾਰ, ਮ: 3.)
4. ਸੋ ਜੋਗੀ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੈ ਹਉਮੈ ਤ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਮਾਰੀ । (ਰਾਮ ਕਲੀ, ਮ: 3.)
5. ਸੋ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮੁ ਜੋ ਬਿੰਦੇ ਹਰਿ ਸੇਤੀ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਾਤਾ । (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਗੁ, ਮ: 3.)

Lord pervades the whole universe. However, he believed that only an enlightened soul could see God in the whole universe.⁶ As regards the form of God, he respected both the 'Nirgun' and the 'Sargun' form of the Lord. The 'Sargun' Brahm of Guru Amar Das did not mean the popular Gods and the Avatars, rather the Omnipotent Brahm in the whole Universe. But he said that the knowledge of the omnipotent Brahm could only be attained by a man of spiritual equipoise.⁷ His views about God, human beings and nature are very liberal. He presented Him as omnipresent and tried to draw realization upon the humanity engulfed in darkness that they were all a part of the great self.⁸

He condemned distinctions of caste and birth and took practical steps to do away with these evils by extending the 'Langar' and introducing the 'Pangat'.⁹ He forcefully advocated the unity of man and said the human beings were the vessels of the same clay.¹⁰ Hence the pride of the caste and tribe was false. He said 'the whole world is the creation of God and as such all are brothers.' He took the whole humanity in his fold and prayed for the welfare of all.¹¹

The need and importance of the Guru for the realization of God has never been emphasized so emphatically as Guru Amar Das did. He said 'The whole world is running under the orders of the Lord and the key of happiness is to understand and to resign to His Will. The realization of the God's Will is only possible through the Guru's word, and resignation to the Will of the Lord is only possible, if one learns to resign to the will of the Guru.¹² No other reformer of the Bhakti movement or the Sikh Gurus laid so much stress on 'Gurshabad',¹³ 'Guru-Bhakti' and 'Gur-Sewa',¹⁴ as Guru Amar Das did. The essence of the philosophy of Guru Amar Das is 'Gurmat Sahaj Marg.' He is also known as a poet of

6. ਗੁਰਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਬੁਝਿਆ ਜਾ ਵੇਖਾ ਹਰਿ ਇਕੁ ਹੈ ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ।
ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਦੇਹਿ ਨੇਤ੍ਰੁ ਅੰਧ ਸੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਦਿਬ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟਿ ਹੋਈ । (ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮ: 3, ਅਨੰਦ.)
7. ਨਿਰਗੁਣ ਸਰਗੁਣੁ ਆਪੇ ਸੋਈ ।
ਤਤੁ ਪਛਾਣੇ ਸੇ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਹੋਈ ॥ (ਮਾਝ ਮ: 3.)
8. ਮਨ ਤੂੰ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਰੂਪੁ ਹੈ ਆਪਣਾ ਮੂਲੁ ਪਛਾਣੁ । (ਆਸਾ ਮ: 3, ਛੰਤ ਘਰ 3)
9. ਜਾਤਿ ਕਾ ਗਰਬੁ ਨ ਕਰੀਅਹੁ ਕੋਈ । ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਬਿੰਦੇ ਸੇ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣੁ ਹੋਈ । (ਭੋਰਉ ਮਹਲਾ 3.)
10. ਮਾਟੀ ਏਕ ਸਗਲ ਸੰਸਾਰਾ, ਬਹੁਬਿਧਿ ਭਾਂਡੇ ਘੜੈ ਕੁਮਾਰਾ । (ਭੋਰਉ ਮ: 3.)
11. ਜਗਤੁ ਜਲੰਦਾ ਰਖਿ ਲੈ ਆਪਣੀ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਧਾਰਿ ।
ਜਿਤੁ ਦੁਆਰੈ ਉਬਰੇ ਤਿਤੇ ਲੇਹੁ ਉਬਾਰਿ । (ਵਾਰ ਬਿਲਾਵਲ, ਮ: 3, ਸਲੋਕ ਮ: 3.)
12. ਅੰਤਰਿ ਬ੍ਰਹਮੁ ਪਛਾਣਿਆ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ । (ਆਸਾ ਮ: 3.)
13. ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਬਦੁ ਮਨਿ ਵਸੈ ਮਨੁ ਤਨੁ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਹੋਇ । (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਗ ਮ: 3.)
14. ਗੁਰਸੇਵਾ ਤੇ ਜੁਗ ਚਾਰੇ ਜਾਤੇ । (ਮਾਝ ਮ: 3.)

'Sahaj Anand'. He never preached the renunciation of the world, rather he considered the world as the manifestation of Hari.¹⁵ He condemned the hypocrisy of the *Sidhs* and *Yogis* and said that one cannot achieve the Supreme bliss by renouncing the world or going on pilgrimage.¹⁶ The renunciation which he preached was that of lust, anger and attachment which stood in the way of the attainment of 'Sahaj Anand.'

The 'Sahaj Anand' of Guru Amar Das is much above worldly pleasures. Worldly comforts and pleasures are transitory and are obtained through the human body and the senses. Whereas, 'Sahaj Anand' is a state of mind and is of permanent nature. 'Sahaj' and 'Anand' are interconnected with each other and cannot be expressed in words. It is not easy to achieve 'Sahaj Anand.'¹⁷ Doubts, suspicions and attachments stand in the way of the attainment of this state of mind. One can attain to this state of mental equipoise and eternal joy by the Grace of the Guru, if one ponders over 'Gurshabad' with true devotion. But when one reaches to this state of mind all his fears and doubts are dispelled.¹⁸

We find several valuable suggestions in the verses of Guru Nanak to reach this state of mind. But the interpretation of 'Sahaj Anand' given by Guru Amar Das in 'Ramkali Anand' elucidates in a very simple manner the various climbs to this destination. He said that the human mind was unhappy due to worldly desires and attachments and suggested that it should be constantly kept busy in the *simran* of *Hari* to develop self-control. Worldly desires will thus automatically cease to disturb the mind and all fear of death will be removed. The realized soul will hear from inside the eternal song of joy. He said '*Hari Nam*' is a priceless jewel but nobody can achieve it with worldly wisdom. One can attain it only with the grace of the Guru and with

15. ਏਹੁ ਵਿਸੁ ਸੰਸਾਰੁ ਤੁਮ ਦੇਖਦੇ ਏਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਰੂਪੁ ਹੈ ।
ਹਰਿ ਰੂਪੁ ਨਦਰੀ ਆਇਆ । (ਰਾਮ ਕਲੀ ਮ: 3, ਆਨੰਦ.)
16. ਇਕਿ ਭਸਮ ਲਗਾਇ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਭੇਖਾਧਾਰੀ
ਬਿਨ ਸਬਦੇ ਹਉਮੈ ਕਿਨਿ ਮਾਰੀ
ਅਨਦਿਨ ਜਲਤੁ ਰਹਿ ਦਿਨੁ ਰਾਤੀ ਭਰਮਿ ਭੇਖਿ ਭਰਮਾਈ ਹੋ । (ਮਾਰੂ ਮ: 3.)
17. ਆਨੰਦੁ ਆਨੰਦੁ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਕਹੈ ਆਨੰਦੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇ ਜਾਣਿਆ
ਜਾਣਿਆ ਆਨੰਦੁ ਸਦਾ ਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੇ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ
ਕਰ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਿਲਵਿਖ ਕਟੇ ਗਿਆਨ ਅੰਜਨੁ ਸਾਰਿਆ
ਅੰਦਰਹੁ ਜਿਨ ਕਾ ਮੋਹੁ ਤੁਟਾ ਤਿਨੁ ਕਾ ਬੁਦੁ ਸੱਚ ਸਵਾਰਿਆ ।
ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਏਹੁ ਆਨੰਦੁ ਹੈ ਆਨੰਦੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇ ਜਾਣਿਆ । (ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮ: 3, ਅਨੰਦ.)
18. ਹਉਮੈ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਬਿਨਸਿ ਜਾਇ ਸਹਜੇ ਸੁਖਿ ਸਮਾਈਐ । (ਗਉੜੀ ਬੇਰਾਗਣਿ ਮ: 3.)

true devotions.¹⁹

The 'Gurmat Sahaj Anand Marg' of Guru Amar Das is in real sense the natural path leading human beings towards salvation. His philosophy of life is fresh, true and applicable for all times to come. To the present-day world torn with power-politics, groupism, racial conflicts and hatred, it reminds and carries the message of the Guru that the spirit of the Lord pervades the whole universe and all are brothers. As such, all human barriers are useless and futile. It also provides inspiration to the human soul, suffering under mental agony of mad race for worldly power and wealth, to climb to a state of mental equipoise and eternal joy, and thus work for human happiness and bliss.

19. ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਬਦੁ ਰਤਨੁ ਹੈ ਹੀਰੇ ਜਿਤੁ ਜੜਾਉ ।
 ਸਬਦੁ ਰਤਨੁ ਜਿਤੁ ਮੰਨੁ ਲਾਗਾ ਏਹੁ ਹੋਆ ਸਮਾਉ ।
 ਸਬਦੁ ਸੇਤੀ ਮਨੁ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਸਚੈ ਲਾਇਆ ਭਾਉ ।
 ਆਪੇ ਹੀਰਾ ਰਤਨੁ ਆਪੇ ਜਿਸਨੋ ਦੇਇ ਬੁਝਾਇ ।
 ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਸਬਦੁ ਰਤਨੁ ਹੈ ਹੀਰਾ ਜਿਤੁ ਜੜਾਉ ॥ (ਰਾਮ ਕਲੀ ਮਹਲਾ 3, ਅੰਨੰਦ.)

Guru Amar Das—The Apostle of Bliss

TARAN SINGH*

(1)

In the sixtieth year of his life, quite old and about to retire from active household, (Guru) Amar Das (b.1479 A.D.) saw, suddenly, a ray of light, by coincidentally, hearing the divine words of the revealed *shabad* of Guru Nanak Dev, from the lips of Bibi Amaroji, the daughter of Guru Angad Dev (1504-1552), married to a nephew of (Guru) Amar Das in the village of Barsarke of the District of Amritsar, in an early morning of the year 1540 A. D. He had, all the night, been tossing in bed as he had not been able to find and meet his Guru in whose search he had ever been, and had undertaken pilgrimages to the sacred Haridwar, twenty times, annually, having been born to a well-to-do pious Vaishnavite parents of the Khatri-Bhalla *gotra*, engaged in trade and farming at Basarke. Suddenly, that morning, he found his Guru, the *Shabad* Guru, the spiritual master incarnated in the form of the Word. His joy was unbounded. He leapt out of the bed. He, at once, journeyed to Guru Angad Dev, who was living at the village of Khadur, quite nearby, and placed his head at his feet, never to lift it without full realisation, salvation and illumination. He firmly grasped with the divine touch of the holy feet of the Guru that the 'Guru-oriented' never grow old to be weary and disappointed,' 'nor is it too late ever for the Grace to come which shakes the sleeper out of slumber to wake up to illumination.' He, for twelve years, served the Master, and ceaselessly meditated and contemplated the Name Divine. The Blessed moment arrived, the Light of the Master blended with his light, he found himself coronated, as Guru, seated on the throne of Guru Nanak with the manifold blessings showered upon him, as the Master had his ascension in 1552 A.D. He was blessed to be the refuge for those who had no refuge, to be the pride of those who had nothing to pride upon, to be the strength of those who had no strength, to be the shield of those who had none to shield them, to be the succour of those who had nothing to fall back upon, to be the saviour of those who had none to save them, to be an honour of those who had no honour and to side with those who had none to side with them. He became the Guru Amar Das. He became the hope of the mankind. He was accepted as the saviour of man as he ascended

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the spiritual throne of Guru Nanak Dev. Guru Amar Das was the third apostle of the Sikhism.

(2)

The divine bards whose panegyric verses have been appended to the *Guru Granth*, the Sikh Scripture, and, particularly, Kalsahar, the leader of the *bhatts* (divine bards), expound that Guru Amar Das was essentially devoted to the Name, in *bhakti*, which brought to him the spiritual illumination and realisation, as it had done so to several *rishis*, *devas*, *gandharyas* and *bhaktas*. A true man of the Name, and much more, the Guru finds expression in *dan*, contributing his mite to the society. As such, Guru Amar Das did his best to consolidate the work that his predecessors had done before him and to help Sikhism and the Sikh Society to take further strides. A rare feat, at the age of 72, on his coming to the *gaddi*, the spiritual throne, he undertook a long arduous preaching tour to the renowned holy places of the Hindu faith himself and had congenial discussions with the learned men of the all denominations and even faiths and sweetly prevailed upon the men who mattered to adopt the way of the *Gurmat* which they did as is shown by a hymn in *Rag Tukhari* of Guru Ram Das included in the *Guru Granth*. Firstly, he consequently, established his ministry at Goindwal. Secondly, for the mission, he appointed twenty-two *manjidars* priestly and missionary order directly controlled and administered by the Guru, the chief pontiff, to interpret the message of *Gurmat*, Guru's creed and doctrine, in different parts of India, particularly in the places which Guru Nanak had visited in his itineraries and where he had established *Sangats*, congregations. Thirdly, to institutionalise the message of the Gurus, he thought of compiling the Word, already revealed to Guru Nanak and Guru Angad, in the form of a Scripture, appending thereto the early revelations received by *bhaktas* like Jaideva, Namdeva, Trilochan, Ramanand, Kabir, Ravidas and others whose hymns, possibly, had been known to Guru Nanak too. Guru Amar Das commissioned his grandson Sanhasanram to arrange the revelatory material in the form of *pothis*, books, which have come down to us as *pothis* of Goindwal. Fourthly, the Guru, very rightly, gave a centre for the community to congregate and gather together, at least, twice a year, on the occasions of Baisakhi and Diwali, at Goindwal, by the creation of a sort of *tiratha*, a holy place of pilgrimage, in the form of a *Baoli*, a deep well, which could otherwise be approached by downgoing stairs, eighty-four in number, not without a mystic symbolic value. Fifthly, he raised the importance of inter-dining, without any prejudice of caste, colour, country and creed, in the *langar*, free-kitchen,

by proclaiming that none would have the Guru's presence without partaking food from the *langar*. Even Emperor Akbar the Great, not only abided by this but also expressed an earnest wish to donate land, sufficient to sustain the *langar*. Sixthly, and this is simply surprisingly, he went to socially reform the customs of *sati*, burning alive of the widows on the pyre of the dead husband, of *pardah*, women not showing their faces to strangers and in public, of abolishing cursed widow-hood by persuading the afflicted ones for re-marriage which he sanctified as a custom or rite, etc. He preached prohibition actively and encouraged economically beneficial trades and crafts. He discouraged begging and living on charity.

(3)

In the divine spark, called *joti* or light, lies the supreme excellence of the Guru. In the annals of the world-poetry, who else started uttering divine verses after he was past 72 years? It must have been very very rare. Anyway, Guru Amar Das has been the one. A rarest moment of inspiration or revelation of his hymnology came when he was moved to write out a full long poem on the subject of 'bliss.' The 40-stanza poem is the culmination of Guru Amar Das's divine inspiration. The *Ramkali Anand* is his *magnum opus*; *Ramkali* is the musical measure to which the utterance is tuned to be sung and *Anand* or 'Bliss' is the title borne by the composition. By the way, it should be noted that *Ramkali* has been the measure, popular with the *yogis* of India, and the Sikh Gurus have addressed themselves to the *yogis*, mostly, in this very measure. The *yogis* aimed at achieving the bliss of self-realisation through the 'stilling' of the mind which was signified by the availability of the 'unstruck music' within the 'tenth house.' Guru Amar Das, in the poem of *Anand*, frequently resorts to the terminology of Yoga but gives it new meanings. As such, for a person of above 72, to be inspired to write on the subject of 'happiness'—a secular interpretation of *Anand* and admissible by all means, should be a treat. This provides in itself the proof and evidence of the veracity of the subject treated on the basis of self-experience of that happiness/bliss in that advanced age. The terms happiness and bliss are not interchangeable but they are not mutually excluding as experiences. If any creation reflects the personality of the writer, he did continuously live in the state of bliss ever since he came to occupy the *gaddi*. Who else has written on this subject so thoroughly and consistently at such a stage of life? In this perennial state lies the proof of the efficacy of the path of *bhakti* through which Guru Amar Das had achieved that state. The poem on *Anand* reveals to man the secret

of happiness and how to achieve it. The nature of the poem and of the secrets of happiness expounded therein is secular and non-ritualistic and thus non-communal or esoteric. Mankind is seeking happiness. The *Anand* is re-assuring, it re-assures every man that he can have joy and happiness, without sacrificing pleasure, and also the bliss. The poem re-assures that bliss is the truest destiny of man, as pain/suffering could be banished as foreign to his destiny. The secret of happiness revealed truly works as it did work in case of the Guru-poet himself.

We should now proceed to exactly know, interpret and examine the secret of bliss/happiness revealed in the *Ramkali Anand* :

A tradition holds that Guru Amar Das composed the poem of the *Anand* upto the stanza xxxviii to which Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan dev, respectively, added stanzas xxxix and xL. This may be correct. Taking it that way, stanza xxxviii gives the summing up of the theme of *Anand*, as built up in the 37 stanzas preceding it, by Guru Amar Das himself. The stanza xxxviii, as translated by Macauliffe, is like this :

- (1) God having put the soul into the cave of the body, blew breath into it as a musical instrument;
- (2) He blew breath into it as a musical instrument; nine doors of the body He disclosed, and the tenth He concealed;
- (3) To some through the Guru He gave faith and disclosed the tenth door;
- (4) There are the various forms of God, there the nine treasures of His Name, but His end is never found;
- (5) Saith Nanak, the beloved God having put the soul into the cave of the body, blew breath into it as a musical instrument. (38.)

The first line, refers to the soul which is the element of divinity and the body which, for its life, depends upon the regularity (harmony) of breath. Guru Amar Das, elsewhere in his hymnology and compositions, has paid handsome tributes to the dual nature of the integrated human body, calling it even the 'temple of God' (var *Ramkali*, 11) or 'fort or fortress of God, filled with gems and jewels.' In var *Ramkali*, 14, he clearly says that human body is not made of dust only but also has the swan-like spirit (*hansa*) which, as situated, steers through the pond of the world unsoiled by the water of lusts and evils therein. Not unoften has he returned to this description of the body that it has ten doors, out of which nine are visible while the tenth one is concealed. The nine doors are the apertures of the body which act as the sensory organs and reveal to us the world of matter, existing in space and time, the world of form, touch, taste, smell and hearing. The tenth door has the dwell-

ing of the divinity, the light or *joti*, it is the spiritual part of the man. Again, in this context, what Guru Amar Das has tirelessly harped upon again and again, is the idea that as the nine doors are closed the tenth one opens up to let the man in. However, the physical and the spiritual are not in disharmony or in conflict. They are harmoniously co-existing. The state of poise and balance is the most desirable. The totality of man is disturbed if he minds the nine doors which open to him the outer world of matter only and neglects the tenth door which conceals his spiritual reality. That is, the man is at his best when he has access to all the ten doors. Now, coming to the second line, the principle giving arrangement of control of the ten doors is such that as wide the tenth door opens, the nine doors tend to close up, partially, if not wholly. In other words, as one dies to the worldly joys and carnal pleasures, he begins to grow up spiritually. To Guru Amar Das, the extremes, are abhorrent, he tends towards the 'middle path,' the path of *Sehj*, natural course of balance. That is the path of living among the impurities of the world and still transcending them. That is the way in which a swan swims across the pond or the lotus stands in the pond. The third line of the above given stanza refers to the grace of the Almighty for the opening up of the tenth door which is possible only under instruction from the true Guru. His teaching alone can lend this faith to man that all is not revealed through the nine doors which fail to reveal the self of man to him which is revealed if the tenth door opens. In simple words, the teaching is that matter is not the reality, spirit is real. The fourth line of the stanza under discussion gives a glimpse of the spiritual life that is experienced with the opening of the tenth door. There is, in plurality, there is Unity. In short, the stanza under review opens this secret of the Anand/bliss that the path of happiness lies in the way of *Sehj*, the way of the swan or the way of the lotus; one need close the outer doors and open the tenth door; one should rise above material and carnal joys and experience the spiritual bliss. Man need strike the right balance between life terrestrial and life spiritual. This is development of both the aspects in right proportions.

The theme of closing/opening of the apertures/doors has been discussed, both explicitly and implicitly, quite comprehensively in the poem on Anand. The explicit references are included in stanzas xxx to xxxvii. The implicit references are to be found in the remaining stanza of the poem.

(1) Complete self-surrender to the Guru closes the nine doors and opens the tenth door.

If thou meet such a true Guru as will dispel thy pride,
entrust thy head to him;

So shalt thou meet God who owneth thy soul, and He will
come to dwell in thy heart. (Anand, 30.)

Here self-surrender implies complete obedience to the Guru's will,
which, in reality is God's Will, enshrined in the Word, revealed to the
Guru.

(2) God, the capital, is gained by the mind, the merchant, if it
repeats ever the Name, under the Guru's instruction.

God is my capital, my mind is the merchant;
through the true Guru I know my capital. (Anand, 31.)

(3) The thirst of the tongue is quenched, when it tastes the elixir
of God's name. The sense of material tastes dies away by repeating the
Name and from the elixir God is met. The name opens the tenth door.

O my tongue, thou art attached to other savours,
thy thirst departeth not.

Thy thirst will not depart by any means until
thou obtain God's elixir.

If thou obtain and drink God's elixir,
thirst will not again effect thee. (Anand, 32.)

(4) Light is the integral part of the body. Non-attachment to the
world gives the realization of God (light), if the world is realized as
merely a 'show,' a play, something purely transient.

O body of mine, God infused light into thee, and then thou
camest into the world. (Anand, 33.)

(5) Soul, when truly awakened, realises the presence ;
My soul was delighted when I heard of God's coming ;
O my friends, sing a song of welcome to Him; my house is turn-
ed into a palace to receive Him.

Under the Guru's instruction I knew the unbeaten strain,
and enjoyed the divine relish of God's Name. (Anand, 34.)

(6) Addressing the body, again, the Anand gives this exhortation :
O body of mine, what hast thou done by coming into this
world ? (Anand, 35.)

(7) Guru Amar Das exhorts the eyes thus :
O eyes of mine, God infused light into you,
look at none but God.

All this world which you behold is God's image ;
God's image appeareth in it. (Anand, 36.)

(8) To the ears, he says :
O ears of mine, you were sent to hear the truth;

You were sent and attached to this body to hear the truth;
hear the true Word. (Anand, 37.)

(4)

True it is that the way to bliss lies in closing the nine-material apertures or the external senses or diverting into healthier and wholesome channels as directed by the Guru (Anand, 30-37), but how to do so? Of course, the Guru alone can give out the secret. So, what is the Guru's secret as given out in Guru Amar Das's Anand? Here it is as given in the very first stanza which stands at the head of the poem.

Joy, my mother, that I have found the true Guru;
I have easily found the true Guru, and the music
of gratulation is in my heart.

The excellent Ragas and the race of the female
singers of heaven have come to sing hymns.

They who have fixed God in their hearts sing His praises.

Saith Nanak, I feel joy that I have obtained the true Guru. (1)

Anand or Bliss is obtained when the true Guru is obtained. The true Guru give realisation, in perfect degree, of five things. The terms used to denote these five things, in the text are: *satgurū*, *sehj*, *rāg*, *shabad* and *hari*. It is to be noted that most of these terms have been translated into English in the above given translation by Macauliffe very inadequately, as is generally the case in all translations. The original terms indicate the states of living as the attitudes to life. These states of living, together, give the states of life. The first stanza of the Anand is the key-note stanza of the poem. The remaining stanzas elaborate the five themes referred to in the opening one. Briefly, the five themes which generate the state of blissfulness are like this:

(1) **Satguru (True Master)**

The true Guru banishes all darkness of ignorance; that is, the Guru and knowledge are synonymous. Guru stands for perfect knowledge or right knowledge. *Jnana*, knowledge, is the first requirement for the acquisition of the state of bliss. In the poem of Anand, aspects of right knowledge are many: Hari or God, the Supreme Being, truly abides in the human mind (1); inclination towards Hari banishes pain, for Hari never fails in time of need (2); Hari, the true dispenser is a treasure of abundance (3); His praise by meditation on the Name bestows peace (4); and His grace gives meditation which results in the unstruck music to resound in the personality. These, for illustration, are the aspects of right consciousness as implied in the first five stanzas of the Anand. The true Guru alone can give true knowledge, and he alone can really tell what

ignorance is. For example, he tells that a body without an idealistic devotion, *liv*, can never be happy (6); Anand does not lie in attachment to worldly possessions (7); nescience always results in imperfection and transmigration (8); true knowledge does not consist in knowing everything and all of the Reality but it consists in obedience to the Will (9); designing does not lead to union with God (10); ritualistic actions do not lead to knowledge or *Sehj* (18); inner purity is far higher than the outer decorations (19); and *māyā* will invariably produce pain (29). These aspects of knowledge are far too fundamental. However, perfect knowledge in all behaviours, conduct, situations of life is essential. Without that, no situation will yield happiness and with that all situations will yield happiness. All manners, etiquettes and situations require consciousness of the right conduct that is expected of a man. All jobs, professions and vocations require perfect knowledge. Pleasure results from the right use of words, right habits, and right thoughts. So true knowledge is the first and foremost requisite for the state of bliss. The true Guru is the symbol of true knowledge.

(2) *Sehj* (Poise/nature)

The literal meaning of the term *sehj* is that which is 'born with, which is the 'true nature' of man. It is the state in which poise or balance is attained and maintained. The true Guru alone can reveal the true nature of man to him. Unless this is revealed and maintained, there can be no *anand*/bliss/happiness. In the poem on *Anand*, the true Guru reveals that divinity pervades mind (31), tongue (32), body (33), eyes (36), and ears (37). In *māyā*, true nature sways and vacillates (29) but under love it gets poise and non-vacillation (6). Enlightenment, harmony, experience of identification with Reality (1) are *sehj* and give the state of *sehj*. To remain on the side of God (2) is to attain *sehj*. Satiety gives *sehj* (3). Belief in the fact that the Name is a dependable prop in all situations of life gives *sehj* (4). Subduing the five lusts (5) results in *sehj* and this achievement comes from meditation. Enlightenment banishes sins and this results in *sehj* (7). Freedom from wandering in darkness of falsehood or superstition gives *sehj* (8). Unless man knows his true nature, he cannot behave in the true or right way. To achieve bliss, one must maintain balance in crisis caused by the violent changes in material and environmental conditions. Poise is the true nature of the divinity of man. He should not lose poise or balance in any circumstances. He should not overdo nor should he underdo; he should not speak too much; nor should he speak too little; he should not wish too much, nor should he desire too little; he should not crave

too much, nor should he be too poor: Middle path is the path of *sehj*. All extremes are to be avoided. A balance has to be rightly struck between this worldliness and the other-worldliness, between want and affluence, violence and non-violence, etc. The path of *sehj* lies in right balance between *deg* and *teg*, *raj* and *jog*, *miri* and *piri*, to express in the Sikh parlance.

(3) Rag (harmony)

Literally, *rāg* means love and by implication harmony, harmonious living. Rag means a musical measure too. The *rāg* of the composition of the Anand is Ramkali. *Rāg* is the capacity to live in harmony with others. To obtain bliss man must live in harmony with himself, with other members of his family, with colleagues in the office, with fellow-beings in all walks of life. What is this harmonious living? It is the capacity to pull on with others with the least possible of friction and conflict. It is the capacity to make friends with others, to co-operate with others and to sincerely appreciate others and love them. But above all, it is the capacity to live at peace with oneself. As long as man is divided in mind, he cannot be at peace. If there is a conflict between his intellect and emotions, he cannot be at peace. If he is opposing his own conscience, he cannot have bliss. If man is not at peace with his own divinity, his own God, bliss remains far away. Guru Amar Das has made a reference to the unstruck music or to the unstruck music of the five instruments several times in the Anand, for example, in stanzas 1, 3, 5, 34, 38 and 40. The unstruck music is an essential expression of the state of bliss. Guru Amar Das has interpreted the nature of *rags* or the musical measures in terms of divine nature of man and in terms of man's devotion/*bhakti* or love for God which is possible only with the attainment of certain moral and ethical excellences and virtues and by driving out evils and evil tendencies. A state of *rāg* is the state of purification of mind, intellect and spirit. So, bliss comes with the development of personality on these lines of purity, morality, ethics, co-operation with others and spiritual harmony.

(4) Shabad (intuition)

Sabd in Sanskrit or *shabad* in Punjabi stands for the intuitive experience or the *sruti*. It is a state when man is in direct communication with God. It is that spiritual state in which God Himself speaks out to the man. It is first hand experience of the Reality. It is spiritual or religious experience, so called.

Shabad refers to the word of the Guru (1); *shabad* refers to the unstruck music (3); *shabad* refers to the Name of God (4); *shabad* refers

to the way or level of living (7); etc., too. At best, it is the direct experience of Reality, it is knowing God most intimately. Such an experience transforms man at all levels—physical, emotional, intellectual, moral and spiritual. To know intimately is to get identified with the Reality. This is the stage where man gets all the excellences of the Reality. This is true experience of bliss which never passes away.

How to have this experience ? The Anand has suggestions to make at every step (1); Be on the side of God (2); experience richness of God (3); have satiety which comes by meditating on the Name (4); banish the five lusts which steal away qualities of life (5); live devotedly (6); earn the grace (7); walk under the Will of God (8); obey the command of God (9); shun cleverness and designing (10); live a life of self-transcendence (11); accept the world as a play (12); banish the lusts of avarice, greed and pride (13); surrender the self (14); meditate on God (15); contemplate on the Guru's Word (16); be pure (17); overcome faithlessness (18); banish desire (19); be good in thought, word and deed (20); etc. So, direct experience of the Reality requires most sensible development of the being. Such a development of personality gives bliss.

(5) Hari (Supreme Reality)

Anand comes if Hari gets fixed in the mind. This becomes a possibility if one constantly meditates on the Name. Bhakti alone can do this for man. The true Guru only can help a man on the journey of devotion to God. Devotion to the Guru is devotion to God. Invariably, in each stanza of the poem on Anand, meditation on the Name is prescribed. First of all, meditation requires unflinching faith in the existence of God, in the Reality. Guru Amar Das has laid the greatest emphasis on the undividedness of mind and on banishing what is called the *duja bhau*, love of the second or the other. The love of the second or the other means attachment to matter or things material. It also implicates egoism or love of the self, love of Man's own comfort, love of one's opinion or feeling, it is I-ness and my-ness. Love of God drives all these tendencies away.

God alone should be the centre of one's devotion:

The Lord is omnipotent in all things, why forget Him ?

(Anand, 2.)

They hear the unstruck music whose mind is fixed on God.

(Anand, 3.)

They who were so predestined are attached to Thy

Name, O God. (Anand, 5.)

Man hath no other refuge than the Word, by attachment to which he is adorned. (Anand, 6.)

The True One hath adorned with the Word, those whose hearts have parted with worldly love. (Anand, 7.)

(5)

Going stanza-wise through the poem of Anand, the life of bliss comes with (1) illumination, (2) faith, (3) contentment, (4) desirelessness, (5) self-control, (6) idealism, (7) detachment, (8) purity, (9) dedication, (10) non-attachment, (11) foresightedness, (12) humility, (13) egolessness, (14) self-lessness, (15) submission, (16) dynamism, (17) piety, (18) enlightenment, (19) harmony, (20) holiness, (21) surrender to truth, (22) right discrimination, (23) inspired living, (24) poise, (25) wisdom, (26) liberation from passions, (27) watchfulness against passions, (28) purposefulness in living, (29) fortitude, (30) submission to Guru, (31) quest for truth, (32) noble tastes, (33) self-knowledge, (34) godliness, (35) gratitude, (36) discernment, (37) truthfulness, (38) self-realisation, (39) grace, and (40) self-fulfilment. According to Guru Amar Das, attainment of the level where the excellences become an integral part of human personality, results in blissfulness. The path is hard, it is razorsharp, to put it in the words of Guru Amar Das himself (stanza-14), but one cannot miss joy, happiness and bliss while treading it. Guru Amar Das lived in the bliss, he has shown man the way to live in bliss. That is the finest thing he could do for mankind. Guru Amar Das is indeed the apostle of bliss.

Guru Amar Das—The Prophet of Good Life

DR GOPAL SINGH

One is indeed amazed at the life-story of Guru Amar Das, third in succession to Guru Nanak. Born 1479, for about sixty years, he is content with the life of ritualistic piety and customary good to seek individual redemption. He is content to reject nothing, choose nothing. And, then, when he is considered by the world around him to be past the age of choosing, he totally repudiates his past and chooses to be 'born anew' in the house of discrimination and reason, in order not merely to redeem himself and his little ego but as much to redeem, illuminate and fulfil others around him.

He throws himself heart and soul not only in preaching the new gospel but living it, and even sweating it out, through physical exertions. 'Service in detachment,' as a *sine qua non* of God's worship (*Seva as Bhakti*) becomes his beacon-light. He builds a new city (Goindwal), this man of humble origin, cures the sick, sympathises nay identifies himself with the poorest of the poor, organises the Sikh church throughout this vast, disjointed and confused land of ours as a symbol of a living faith interested in good life on this very earth (good, for it is meaningful), and sharing it with the others as a means to one's deliverance (deliverance not through dying to all living life calling it *Maya*, but by dying to one's self and living for all life in order to invest it with a purpose and by laying bare the essential core of man's existential being). He says it is not enough to be alive, but to be aware. Individual awareness is also of little significance if it cannot be co-related to social living. And, social living is meaningless if its application or content is not universal but sectarian, exclusive, possessive rather than progressive, humanistic and all-inclusive.

The Guru, therefore, sets himself out upon his manifold tasks with a thoroughness which is matched only by his singleness of purpose and high idealism resulting in practical success. He sifts first the True Idea from the False one, True life from living death and True spiritual discipline for one's inner illumination from the customary, formalistic piety. He thus becomes a rebel, an innovator and a builder rather than a con-

formist or a man of new "goody, goody" ideas "full of sound and fury signifying nothing."

In nowhere are his ideas so well adumbrated as in his unique composition, **Anand** (or, the **Song of Bliss**). Everyone is in search of Bliss, says the Guru, but finds it not, though Bliss is within one's easy grasp. It is so spontaneous (ਸਰਜ ਸੇਤੀ), being an innate part of our very being. A soul or mind not in Bliss is diseased and needs cure. But, the cure is also not far to seek, it is within ourselves. He who Realises the True Word attains Bliss. Realises and not merely utters. Realises not only intellectually, but physically and spiritually. And Realises not for self-gratification, but the expression of God-nature through man, every man and woman, everywhere, in every kind of circumstance. Thus, Bliss is not individual happiness or contentment. Bliss is more his who though in physical suffering himself (like **Guru Arjun**, for instance) imparts to mankind and its history a new dimension in its search for a meaning in this seemingly meaningless round of "coming and going" called life.

How is this state to be attained? Says the Guru, in order to live in eternity, one must overpower 'death' (ਕਾਲ ਕੰਟਕ ਮਾਰਿਆ). As one seems to live or drag along in time, one dies constantly, every moment of his life, in every part of him. But, if one overwhelms the **Five Demons** (ਪੰਚ ਦੂਤ) the source of which is **Ego**, or the consciousness of selfhood or I-amness, (out of which flow the other four namely, (**Anger and Greed, Lust and Undue Attachment**), one overpowers "death." For he alone "dies," says the Guru, who is alive only to himself, the little ego-bubble rising and dying with the rise and fall of the winds beating recklessly on the ocean of life. But, he who is the part of the ocean's deeps is not buffeted by chance-winds and currents and cross-currents of the outer atmosphere. It is the destiny of every drop to be the part of the surface and the inner recesses of the life's deeps. And, it is within one's hands to be a part of both simultaneously, and yet being wholly neither the one nor the other but something over and beyond as well, being the **Whole**, which one may call **God** and which the **Guru** also calls **The Name (Nam)** or the **Word (Sabda)**, the primary or Basic **Idea**, the All-Ground which is also *The Guru*.

This state is attainable though it is unutterable or indefinable (ਅੱਕਸ਼). In such a state, one surrenders one's body, mind and riches to the True Guru, spontaneously, without an effort, and accepts His Will (*Hukam*) which is never arbitrary, is universal in its application and makes one an expression of God's Moral Law. This acceptance has to be total, for through half-heartedness or cleverness (ਚਤੁਰਾਈ), one's God or awakened

Consciousness cannot be deceived.

Some axiomatic truths man must accept before he traverses this treacherous and tortuous path, "finer than a hair, sharper than a dagger." The world of man is permanent and not an illusion (*Maya*), but the *nau* in it comes and goes. How it came about and how finally it will dissolve, if at all, is not of any immediate consequence to the awakened man who with a few brief moments of what he calls his life has to grapple with evil, both within himself and in his society, without which his coming into the world of being becomes fruitless and life for him becomes a house of pain. So one must not involve oneself with the transient and assemble the Eternal Truth (ਸਦਾ ਸਚ), which is that one must not commit deeds in haste which one has to regret at leisure. This guidance is provided man through the Guru's word. Man has to guard himself not against his fellowmen (who reflect the same light) but against his own ego by which he sets himself up as a thing apart. In fact, the more one identifies himself with this eternal truth, the more is one at peace with himself and his surroundings. And, even when he has to fight with the others, he fights not men but the evil they do.

The Bhaktas of God has thus a different approach to life (ਚਾਲ ਨਿਰਾਲੀ). They are distinguished, however, not by their idiosyncracies and special foods and garbs or rituals or esoteric and mysterious language or talk. They are distinguished by their comparative silence (ਬਹੁਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਬੋਲਣਾ), by their frugal habits, by the intensity of their faith and endeavour, by their inner cleanliness (ਅੰਦਰੋਂ ਨਿਰਮਲ) and not by their outer show of piety. It is their self-inflicted suffering for the others that marks them out as the devotees of God. It is not necessary that one must live in the physical proximity of a Guru to rekindle his faith in God and in his own possibilities. The Word of the Guru inscribed on the very tablet of his soul, if expressed through this miraculous living life, cuts him out to be the Guru's chosen one on whom has indeed descended the Grace of the Good God.

It is, therefore, necessary for the seeker of Good life and of Bliss to sift the True Word from the false one. The false ones utter the Word in order to earn the merit of the approbation of the world. The True ones live the Word, and even if the world rejects them or stands in opposition to them, they feel fulfilled in themselves and by their God. The *Sastras* and the *Smiritis* talk of good and evil, says the Guru, but they know not the quintessence (ਤੈ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਜਾਣੀ). Following them, one rises not above the norms of habitual good or evil which any status-quoist society would evolve for its own stability. But, a true Bhakta is a true revolutionary and comes to demolish and destroy as much as to build and recreate. He,

therefore, must rise above the norms and mores of society and its fossilised notions of good and evil; and identifying himself with the Higher Truth create new concepts of good and evil. He gathers the goods of life but only to share; he nurtures his body, which houses the light of God, only to enable himself to become a worthy instrument of God's passion and compassion, of His goodness and beauty, consciousness and bliss.

There are nine doors, says the Guru, that open out on the world. But there is a Tenth Door which opens upon itself. It is that which when opened leads one to true discrimination and a purposive life. Most Hindu thinkers thought if the nine doors were to be kept inactive and closed, one would hear no evil, see no evil, and, therefore, possibly do no evil. But the Guru warns against this negative attitude towards this life of virtue and wonder. Hear good, not evil, with the ears, says the Guru; see and cooperate with the creatures of the good God with your lustrous eyes, not the creations of the devil. And look upon the world not as an illusion but as the self-expression of the Supreme Reality, which is nothing but Goodness, Beauty, Consciousness or Truth, Consciousness and Bliss. Man being endowed with a mind has the option to choose: it is only the animal who follows the writ of habit. He who chooses good, has no sorrow or pain in life, even while he suffers, and is wholly fulfilled.

It is Guru Amar Das who said: "O God, the world is on fire; save it through whichever door he comes unto Thee," thus sanctifying and approving all ways that lead to a purposive and hence a God-grounded life. That the Guru though he makes a particular allusion does so with an eye on its universal application (Sorath). That the Word is not confined to a specific formula, or a particular age: the Word resounds through the four ages; for it expresses only what is eternally true (Sri Rag). That it is in the human body that God resides and His Word is heard and realised (Suh). That it is within the possibility of man to turn from a base metal into a philosopher's stone (ਪ੍ਰਿਥਵੀ) whose touch transmutes every other metal into gold (Sorath). That the True Guru's task is to reclaim the fallen one and not to punish him (Sorath). That the worship of the Guru is to serve the Guru's ideals and not his person (Sri Rag). That the service of the Guru entails indeed the purification of the self (Sri Rag). That they who are attached to the Guru's Feet (i.e., serve humankind in humility) are endowed with extra-psychic powers, though they do not crave for them nor use them to the detriment of man (Sri Rag). That pain is when one thinks of Other (i.e., separates mankind into For and Against). That the Guru is he who makes one aware of the Quintessence of life, the Truth of being (Sri Rag) and

goodness wells up in one (Asa). That the Guru is without envy and hate and is ever compassionate and looks upon all as the creation of the one God (Sorath). That "seeing" the Guru leads not to one's emancipation, but reflection on the Guru's Word (Vadhans). That the Guru awakens Wisdom within us (not mere knowledge) and Merit, and meditation in equipoise and the "seeing" of God (ASA), and the eradication of falsehood (Gujri). That one becomes detached in one's household is a sure expression of one's devotion to the Guru (Sri Rag). That the Guru makes one lose the sense of Two-ness (duality), and one is no longer torn in the mind, being in bloom like the lotus flower (Gauri). That emancipation can be attained while joying the joys of life if one meets with the True Guru who imbibes in him the true understanding of life (Gujri Var). That one neither attains nor loses Wisdom by visiting Kashi, it is through the true Guru that True Understanding is attained (Gujri). That the Guru's Grace is expressed when one sees only the One in all that one sees (Ramkali).

As would be seen from the above, it is a total departure from the old philosophies that divide mankind into the faithful and the infidel, or discriminate between one person and another on the basis of colour, caste, creed, food-habits, rituals, nationality, dress or sex. The Guru whose need is emphasized over and over again is also not a person but the eternal Truths which he expresses and which one must imbibe in order to release oneself out of the clutches of Time while yet alive and living a full-blooded life on this very earth guided by eternal truths. The Guru thus gave a new sanctity to the life of the household and a new dignity to the womankind. He deprecated *pardan* and the cruel custom of *sati*. He embraced the entire sub-continent of India by appointing 22 messengers of hope, one of them being a Muslim, Ala Yar, to various regions. He himself toured all the pilgrim stations as had Guru Nanak done before him "to emancipate all" who had gathered there in large numbers. He extended the institution of the community-kitchen to feed the poor as much as to cut across the inhibitions built on caste and creed. And, with an unerring eye (as in the case of his two predecessors), he passed on his Throne not to his sons, but to his son-in-law, who together with his youngest son, Arjun Dev, created a new upsurge among his countrymen both for a life of human dignity and for spiritual regeneration. From this time onwards, the Sikhs become not only a universal church, but also make a determined bid for peoplehood to fight for socio-political causes which benefitted not only them but also the whole society without any discrimination whatsoever.

How much the Guru was involved in the secular affairs of the world is also revealed from the following. When a Sikh Gango by name wanted to give up his Banking Business and live with the Guru to seek his redemption, the Guru advised him to go back to Delhi, his place of residence, and open another Bank and pray for his clients to seek salvation. He it was who instructed his son-in-law, Bhai Jetha (later Guru Ram Das), to dig up a tank at Chak Guru, and found a city on its site which later came to be known as Amritsar and played a historic role in the affairs of the community. He cured a leper, married him to a devotee's daughter and appointed him a *Masand*, calling him *Murari*, an epithet of Lord Krishna. But when emperor Akbar, pleased with the all-inclusive philosophy of the new faith, wanted to make a land-gift for the Guru's free kitchen, he refused the offer of royal patronage point blank. He himself would only accept coarse bread, though in the Guru's kitchen, as testified by the *Var of Satta and Balwand*, rich food was served, to the poor, and the pilgrim. Said the Guru, "The leaders of a community should not appropriate to themselves what belongs to the people."

Five hundred years after the birth of this never-dying Prophet of Hope, we find his followers again relapsing into the age-old customs and rituals, caste-consciousness and confusion of ideals, envy and hate and a race for overpowering the others rather than themselves. May the Guru's spirit lead us on to the **True Path**.

Linguistic Analysis of The Bani of Guru Amar Das

HARKIRAT SINGH*

In this article we shall try to discuss linguistic characteristics of the *bānī* of the Third Guru, Guru Amar Das, dealing with the general form of the language, its phonology, grammatical patterns and some important features of the vocabulary employed. It is not intended to narrate the poetic qualities of his *bānī*.

An important feature of the *bānī* of Guru Amar Das is that it is mainly in Punjabi. The major portion of the *bānī* of Guru Nanak, Guru Arjan and even Guru Ram Das is in Sādhū-Bhāshā, though they have also used pure Punjabi in many *shabads* and even in some of their longer compositions. The whole *bānī* of Guru Tegh Bahadur is in Braj Bhāshā. The Second Guru, Angad Dev, has used Punjabi only, but his contribution is very small in quantity. It is Guru Amar Das alone who has used only Punjabi, of course with some mixture of Sādhū-Bhāshā, in whole of his *bānī* which is considerable in size.

The Punjabi of Guru Amar Das is different from the colloquial Punjabi of his days; it is sophisticated, polished, literary language. Because of the requirements of its contents his language is full of religious, metaphysical and ethical vocabulary. It is subtle and solemn in idiom. Again because of the subject matter, and because of the medium of poetry, it is, at many places, allegorical and symbolic.

Another important characteristic of the language of the Third Guru is that it is more synthetic in form than the modern Punjabi. The Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic and Sanskrit) was highly synthetic. During the last two millenia Indo-Aryan tongue has been shifting from synthetic to analytic structure. Modern Indian languages are generally analytic in character, but Punjabi still retains some elements of synthesis; and the language of Guru Amar Das, which is five hundred-years old, is more synthetic than the Punjabi spoken today. There are two major means of making the language synthetic. First, suffixes were added to the main word for the purpose which is now served by separate words—the postpositions (errone-

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ously called prepositions by some Indian school teachers). All the postpositions which are in use in modern Punjabi existed at the time of Guru Amar Das; no doubt some postpositions were slightly different in form, and some others used in the *bānī* are obsolete today. There is only one postposition which did not exist in those days—it is 'ne' (ਨੇ), again erroneously called 'postposition of nominative case,' though in fact it denotes the case of agent. In spite of the existence of the postpositions the tendency, in those days, was to employ suffixes, rather than the post positions. Secondly, auxiliary verbs are almost non-existent in the language of Guru Amar Das; prefixes or suffixes are added to the main verb to convey the sense for which an auxiliary verb is employed in modern Punjabi. Because of such nominal and verbal suffixes the language became considerably synthetic with complicated forms of words but simple structure of sentences.

Phonology and grammar of the language of Guru Amar Das is not different from the language of other contributors of the *Guru Granth Sāhib*. The points discussed below apply generally to the whole *bānī* included in the Sikh Scripture.

All speech-sounds of modern Punjabi, except 'sh', 'z' and 'f' are used in *gurbānī*. These three sounds did not exist in the spoken Punjabi of those days. The fricative 'sh' did exist in Vedic and Sanskrit, but in the later period it disappeared from the language of north-western parts of the Sub-Continent. The other fricative 'z' is a sound used in words of Perso-Arabic origin, many of which had been assimilated by Punjabi by the time of the Gurus. But the sound 'z' had not been owned by the speakers. It was changed into 'j' in Punjabi pronunciation. The third consonant 'f' is also a fricative. It is again a sound used in Persian and Arabic words. The Punjabi speakers changed it to the cognate Punjabi sound 'ph'.

It is unrealistic to presume that these sounds did exist in spoken Punjabi of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but they were not denoted in the *Guru Granth Sāhib* because there were no letters in the Gurmukhī script for these fricatives. It may be noted that Gurmukhī alphabet was shaped and finalized by Guru Angad, particularly for writing *gurbānī*. The Guru fixed one (and only one) letter for each sound that existed in the spoken language. A letter must have been assigned to any one of these sounds if it had existed in the spoken form. None of these sounds existed in the rural Punjabi of pre-partition days. In fact, they have appeared in Punjabi pronunciation with the spread of education.

Another major phonological difference of the language of Guru Amar Das from modern Punjabi is concerning the nasalization. A number of

grammatical forms which have now a nasalized vowel at the end, are only oral (without nasalization) in the *bānī*. The following are three major categories under this heading :

- (a) *Plural* of feminine nouns ends in a nasalized vowel in present day pronunciation, as *bhukkān* (ਭੁੱਖਾਂ) (appetites), *ichchhān* (ਚਿੱਛਾਂ) (desires), *vadhāiān* (ਵਧਾਈਆਂ) (felicitations), etc. In Guru Amar Das's *bānī* the final vowel is without nasalization in all such nouns.
- (b) The oblique form of masculine nouns also ends in a nasalized vowel these days : *bhagatān* (ਭਗਤਾਂ) (*bhaktas*), ਪੰਡਿਤਾਂ (*pānditān*) (pandits), *lokān* (ਲੋਕਾਂ) (people). In this form too the nasalization does not occur on the final vowel in *gurbānī*, and these nouns are written as *bhagta*, *panditā*, *lokā*.
- (c) Feminine plural of the past participle of verbs have a nasalized vowel in modern Punjabi : *āīān* (ਆਈਆਂ) (came), *pujāīān* (ਪੁਜਾਈਆਂ) (fulfilled), (*pāīān*) (ਪਾਈਆਂ) (got), etc. In *gurbānī* this category of words has no nasalization on the final vowel.

In recent days there arose a controversy about the actual pronunciation of such words in *gurbānī*. Some scholars are of the opinion that nasalization did exist in such forms in the spoken Punjabi of the *guru*-age, but inadvertently it was not marked in the orthographic form, when the holy *Ādi Guru Granth Sahib* was prepared. This is a mere presumption without any proof to support it. Punjabi has developed from Prakrit, and the old Punjabi retained some of the characteristics of Prakrit. All the above given grammatical forms are without the ending nasalization in Prakrit. The same patterns were prevalent in the old Punjabi, and the orthographic forms of *Guru Granth Sāhib* are correct according to the grammar of the language of *guru*-period.

The frequency of speech sounds and their distribution in the language of Guru Amar Das are slightly different from modern Punjabi. The vowel 'au' (ਔ, ੜ) had a very low frequency in old Punjabi; it does not occur in more than twenty words in the whole of *Guru Granth Sāhib*. And it is found in word-final position only. On the contrary 'ai' (ਐ, ੐) has a much higher frequency as compared to the modern Punjabi. Some of the verbal forms which end in 'e' (ਏ, ੈ) in present day pronunciation, have a final 'ai' in *gurbānī*. *Gāvai* (ਗਾਵੈ) (is singing), *karai* (ਕਰੈ) (is doing), *khādhai* (ਖਾਧੈ) (by eating) are the examples of such verbal forms. Again, adverbs like *ethai* (ਏਥੈ) (here), *othai* (ਓਥੈ) (there), and postpositions like *nerai* (ਨੇੜੈ) (near), *nālai* (ਨਾਲੈ) (alongwith) also have a final 'ai' in *gurbānī*, which is replaced by 'e' in modern Punjabi.

The short vowels 'u' (ਊ, ੂ) and 'i' (ਏ, ੈ) are never pronounced at the

end of the words in Punjabi today, but these two vowels have a very frequent final occurrence in *gurbānī*, and they have important grammatical function at this position. We shall discuss their function in the succeeding paragraphs.

We find a higher frequency of consonant-clusters and diphthongs in the *bānī* of Guru Amar Das; even some triphthongs are also used. Modern Punjabi has no triphthongs and only a limited number of diphthongs.

The most conspicuous grammatical feature of the language of *gurbānī* is its synthetic character, because of which the morphological forms are different from those of present day analytic Punjabi. There are a very large number of suffixes used to denote different cases in old Punjabi. A complete description of these suffixes is not possible in this short article, only a few specimens are given below :

- (a) The short vowels 'i' (ਏ) and 'u' (ਊ) have a vital grammatical function. In modern Punjabi 'i' and 'u' are never used as suffixes, but in *gurbānī* if 'i' is used as a suffix with the noun *hatth* (hand), then *hatthi* becomes instrumental case or locative case. Similarly suffix 'u' of *hatthu* indicates that *hatth* is a masculine noun and is either in nominative or accusative case.
- (b) The suffix 'ahi' with a verbal root makes it present indefinite, third person, plural. Thus *karahi* (ਕਰਹਿ) from verb *kar* (do) means 'they do.'
- (c) The suffix '-ah' with a masculine noun makes it plural (oblique form). Thus *bhagatah* (ਭਗਤਹ) is plural of *bhagat* (from Sanskrit *bhakta*), and *Panditah* (ਪੰਡਿਤਹ) is plural of *pandit*.

Another grammatical feature of the language of Guru Amar Das is that most of the verbs change according to person and number, and not according to number and gender as they do in modern idiom. Thus *gavai* (ਗਾਵੇ) means 'he/she sings,' and '*gavahi*' (ਗਾਵਹਿ) 'they sing.' In modern language we use four different forms :

- gāuṇḍā hai* (ਗਾਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ) — (he sings),
gāuṇḍī hai (ਗਾਉਂਦੀ ਹੈ) — (she sings),
gūṇḍe han (ਗਾਉਂਦੇ ਹਨ) — (they-masculine-sing),
gāuṇḍīan han (ਗਾਉਂਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ) — (they-famine-sing).

As stated earlier, the phonological and grammatical characteristics of the language of Guru Amar Das are not different from the language of other *gurus* whose *bānī* is included in the *Guru Granth Sāhib*, but the vocabulary used by the Third Guru has some peculiarities of its own.

Guru Amar Das has employed very few words of Perso-Arabic

origin. Only a few words like *hukam* (divine command), *nadar* (grace), *sāhib* (Lord), *dargahī* (in the presence of God), which had received doctrinal status in the Sikh tradition, or a few more which had received high frequency in general usage, are found in the *bānī* of the Third Guru. He has mainly employed the vocabulary of Sanskrit origin.

Guru Amar Das is a great interpreter and exponent of philosophy of Sikhism, therefore his *bānī* abounds in doctrinal terminology and vocabulary of spiritual, metaphysical and ethical fields. The vocabulary of this category has been taken from divers sources. The word like *Brahm* (*Brahman*), *māyā*, *ātmā* (*atman*) are of *vedantic* origin; *anahad shabad* (unstruck sound), *dasyān duār* (tenth door), *nau nidhi* (nine treasures), *sahaj* (equipoise), etc., are from *yogic* tradition; *nij-ghar* (inner self), *simaran* (to remember), *gāvanā* (to sing the praise of), *bhaujal* (the ocean of *sansāra*), are mainly connected with *Bakti* movement, though they have currency in different religious traditions. In addition to these, there is the vocabulary peculiar to Sikhism, such as *haumai* (self-centredness), *gurmukh* (guru-oriented), *manmukh* (self-oriented), *guruprasādi* (with the grace of guru), *satsangat* (holy company), etc.

Though the *bānī* of Guru Amar Das is purely of religious nature, yet it contains vocabulary concerning almost all aspects of medieval Punjabi culture. We find here terms concerning government and administration, agriculture, business, domestic and married life, weather, nature, land-scape and many other fields of human experience.

A study of this vocabulary under various grammatical categories makes an interesting reading. Selecting two parts of speech very useful information is collected for the historical study of our language. The Guru has used almost all the postpositions of modern Punjabi, only 'ne' (ਨੇ) is of later origin and does not occur anywhere in the *Guru Granth*. Some other postpositions have a slightly different form. For example, *upar* (on), *andar* (in), *nāl* (with), all have suffix 'i' added to them in the language of the Guru. Modern *binā* (without) is seen as *binu* or *vinu*, and present day *nūn* (to) is *no* (ਨੋ) or *nau* (ਨਉ). The Punjabi postposition of genitive *dā/de/dī/dīān* has been used by Guru Amar Das very sparingly; (in), instead he has normally employed Hindi *kā/ke/kī*.

Quite a number of postpositions found in the Guru's *bānī* are no longer in use in Punjabi — *sān* (like), *viṭṭahu* (for), *het* (for), *maddhe tāi* (to) are some of the examples of now obsolete postpositions.

Guru Amar Das has his own preference in the use of pronouns as well. The two pronominal forms *āsīn/asān* (we), and *tusīn/tusān* (you) are peculiar to Punjabi and they are used in the *Guru Granth Sahib*, of course

without the final nasalization. But only *asī* has occurred at one place in the *bānī* of the Third Guru; he has, instead, employed Hindi *ham* (we), *tum* (you), and their derivatives *hamārā/hamrā* (ours), *tumārā/tumrā* (yours).

For second person, singular *tūn* (ਤੂੰ) and *tū* (ਤੂ) both are frequently used. Its oblique forms *tudh* (ਤੁਧ), *tujh* (ਤੁਝ) and *tain* (ਤੈਂ) are also found. Of these oblique forms only *tain* is in use now. The pronoun for first person, singular, is *main* (ਮੈਂ) today, but it is *mai* (ਮੈ) in *gurbānī*.

An interesting point about the pronominal forms is that some of the pronouns of *gurbānī* change according to gender. For example, *so* (ਸੋ) (that, which) is masculine, and *sā* (ਸਾ) is feminine. Similarly, *koi* (ਕੋਈ) (somebody) is masculine, and *kāī* (ਕਾਈ) is feminine.

This brief introduction to the study of the language of Guru Amar Das is sufficient to reveal that morphology, grammar and even vocabulary of *bānī* is considerably different from modern Punjabi. When we say that language of Guru Amar Das is Punjabi and every Punjabi can understand it, it is only a partially true statement. Special efforts are needed to understand the grammatical and lexical forms of old Punjabi. Whereas we have some good glossaries and dictionaries of *gurbānī*, very little is done to explain its grammatical forms. The late Professor Sahib Singh and Professor Teja Singh have done valuable service in this field, but nobody has written a line on this subject after them. It is doubtful whether any scholar of *gurbānī* has seriously and thoroughly studied the *Gurbānī Vyākaraṇ* of Professor Sahib Singh.

Bani of Sri Guru Amar Das in English Translation

GURBACHAN SINGH TALIB*

Var in the measure Gujari-Composition of Guru Amar Das
(Musical Direction) : To be sung to the tune of the Vār of Sikandar
and Birahim.¹

In the Name of the Sole Supreme Being,
Realized by the *holy Preceptor's Grace*.

Sloka

The world in acquisitiveness is consumed
Knowing not the *true* way of life;
Only by obeying the holy Master's will does one attain to the *true*
station of life.

Those whose hearts in *devotion* to God's feet are absorbed,
Find the life everlasting.

Saith Nanak : As by His grace God lodges in the self,
By the holy Master's inspiration, does man find lasting poise. (1)

Sloka

Inside man is doubt, the source of suffering,
Heaping on the head pain through worldly pursuits.
Those involved in sleep of Duality wake never
From love and attachment of the world.
Never meditating on God's Name, nor contemplating the holy word—
Such is the egoists' conduct.
Not attaining *devotion* to the Lord's Name,
Wasted is their life—

At the end in ignominy Yama chastizes them. (2)

Pauri (Stanza) : His essence He created when no other *existence* was
there—

Himself His counsellor, acting at His will.

* 80/B, Model Town, Patiala.

Note : In this Vār all portions, Slokas and *Pauris* (stanzas) are of Guru Amar Das's composition.

1. Such musical directions are found elsewhere also in the body of *Guru Granth Sahib*. The Vār referred to here was a short popular song of a fight between two local chieftains.

Then existed neither heaven nor the nether world, nor the three worlds.
 Then was He Himself, formless—no creation then existed.
 Doing as pleased Him—
 None existed besides Him. (1)

Sloka

Eternal is the Lord;
 Revealed through living the holy Word.
 Death touches Him not—
 Beyond the transmigratory circle lying.
 Ever must He be served, who all existence pervades.
 Worthless is the service of any other,² subject to birth and death.
 Fruitless is the life of such as know not their Lord,
 And are to another devoted.

Saith Nanak : Incalculable is the chastizement inflicted on such by
 the Creator. (1)

Sloka

On the holy Name meditate,
 Everywhere in truth pervasive.
 Saith Nanak : One approved of God alone through realizing His
 Ordinance,

Is with the Truth rewarded.
 One making *false* utterance, *falsely* acting.
 Without realization of the Ordinance,
 Is blind, insincere.³ (2)

Pauri (Stanza) : He set in motion union and separation⁴
 And thereby laid foundation of creation :
 By His ordinance formed He the creation,
 And His own Light merged into universal light.
 All light emanates from the Light Divine,
 By the holy Preceptor's Word rising.
 Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva,⁵ in the three qualities *caught*,
 Are each set by Him to an *appointed* task.
 Of *Maya* He created the root.
 As well as bliss of the fourth State.⁶ (2)

2. The original is in the form of a question : Why serve another ?

3. *Lit.* unbaked (false).

4. Union with the Supreme Being through devotion and separation through lack thereof. 5. Mahesh.

6. *Turiya*, the State of complete unshakable absorption (*samadhi*) into the Absolute.

Sloka

Meditation⁷ and austerities are of value only, should they win the Lord's favour.

Man achieves exaltation through the holy Preceptor's⁸ pleasure.

Saith Nanak : *This comes to one* who discarding the ego, is in the Master⁹ absorbed. (1)

Sloka

Rare is the person that the holy Preceptor's teaching absorbs :

This, Nanak ! comes to whosoever *the Lord* Himself exalts. (2)

Pauri (Stanza) : Maya-delusion is ignorance, stubborn and of great power.

With a heavy load of stone of sin, how may one swim ?

With everlasting dye of devotion¹⁰ on man,

The Lord may carry him across.

Through the Preceptor's Word, and discarding of egoism and evil thinking.

May the mind be rendered pure.

Through meditation on the Lord's Name, Himself He may carry across *the devotee*. (3)

Sloka

Kabir ! Narrow is the Gate of Liberation—small as the tenth of a mustard-grain.

My self, turned an elephant intoxicated.

How mayst thou go through it ?

Should a holy Teacher be found who by his favour may show pleasure,

The Door of liberation may then becomes wide,

Permitting easy ingress and egress. (1.3)

Sloka

Saith Nanak : The Door of liberation is narrow in the extreme;

Whoever grows small may cross it.

In egoism is the mind grown gross—

How may it pass through ?

Through the holy Preceptor's contact¹¹ is egoism lifted,¹²

And the self with Divine Light filled.

The self is everlastingly liberated,

When in Supreme poise¹³ absorbed. (2)

7. Japa, Lit. Low muttering of some holy text.

8. Original, *Satiguru*.

9. Guru. 10. *Lit.* With being dyed each day.

11. *Lit.* Meeting.

12. *Lit.* Gone, removed. 13. *Sahj*.

Pauri (Stanza) : The Lord, after creating the universe under His own power has kept it.

By intellectual feats¹⁴ is the Lord not attained :
This is straying about in illusion.

By the holy Preceptor's contact¹⁵ does one die to the world.¹⁶

And through realization is in Truth absorbed.

Through the holy word is egoism removed,¹⁷

And union with the Lord attained.

All to Him is known; all by Him is accomplished,

Which viewing is He pleased.¹⁸ (4)

Sloka

Cursed is the life without love of the holy Preceptor,

And lodging the holy Name in the mind :

What gain in the world to such ?

False is Maya's wealth.¹⁹

In an instant is its illusion removed.

As from one's hand it drops,

The body to ashes turns and the limbs wither away.

Those to the holy Preceptor devoted,

Have in their heart abiding joy.

One meditating on God's Name in joyful ecstasy

Is ever in devotion absorbed.

Saith Nanak : The holy Preceptor has to me such a treasure entrusted,

As absorbed in the self, abides.

Of such the dye is blazing,

Shining evermore. (1)

Sloka

Maya the she-serpent is holding the world in her coils,

Gobbling up whose serves her.

Some God-directed person, curing her poison,

Crushing her, to his feet attaches her.

Saith Nanak : Such alone are saved as to holy truth are singly devoted. (2)

Pauri (Stanza) : The bard utters aloud *his supplication* for the Lord to hear.

14. *Lit.* Calculation, clever devices, such as ritual performances, etc.

15. As in 11.

16. *Lit.* Dies while living.

17. *Lit.* Lost, destroyed.

18. Blooms.

19. Capital.

With poise within, the Lord perfection incarnate, shall he attain.
 As the writ in primal time recorded,
 Such shall be man's deeds.
 Should the Lord be gracious, in His Mansion shall he find lodgement.
 With the Lord mightily Supreme, union by the Master's guidance
 shall come about. (5)

Sloka

One Lord is for all, ever in presence of each abiding.
 Saith Nanak : One not obeying His command,
 Even in the same home²⁰ remains *from Him* alienated.
 Such to obedience He prompts as have His glance of grace.
 The self that obeys Him obtains joy,
 And is *truly* the loving wife. (1)

Sloka

One indifference to the Lord is like the wife burning away in sorrow
 the whole night,
 Bereft of His love.
 Saith Nanak : Those are the happily wedded wives
 Who give love to the beloved—Lord-Spouse. (2)
Pauri (Stanza) : Viewing the world over,
 The Lord I find the sole Provider.
 By man's effort nothing comes ;
 The Lord alone is the Rewarder²¹ of actions.
 By the Preceptor's Word comes the Lord in the heart to abide;
 And thus arises Enlightenment²² spontaneously.
 As is slaked the fire of desire,
 The self in the Ambrosial Pool²³ is bathed.
 The Lord, Supreme in greatness,
 Imparts by grace the power of *holy* utterance. (6)

Sloka

What love has the spirit for the body
 Which it leaves behind, lying prostrate ?
 Man by evil effort²⁴ nourishes it,
 Although in the end it forsakes him.
 The body is like blinding dust
 Ask the wind, where is the dust *flying with it* ?

20. That is, the self.

21. *Bidhata* in the original implies one who administers the Law.

22. The original implies enlightenment coming without recourse to ritual, etc.

23. 'Amritsar' in the original. 24. *Lit.* Talking.

One with Maya-deluded ego is in transmigration ever whirled about.
 Saith Nanak : I sought not to know the Lord's Ordinance,
 Whereby in the truth I could be absorbed. (1)

Sloka

The Divine²⁵ alone is lasting—
 All other wealth is evanescent.
 Neither thief nor highwayman may snatch this wealth.
 This holy wealth with the self is united, and with it abides.²⁶
 From the Master perfectly endowed is it obtained.
 The egoist of it remains deprived.
 Saith Nanak : Blessed are the merchants.²⁷
 Whose gain is the wealth of devotion. (2)
Pauri (Stanza) : The Lord is supreme, mighty,
 Holy and unfathomable,
 The entire universe to Him is subject :
 All the visible expanse is His.
 The inalienable, stable wealth of devotion.
 Is by the Preceptor's grace obtained.
 Through Divine grace comes the Lord in the self to abide,
 As the Preceptor, conqueror²⁸ of evil is met with.
 Those nobly-endowed alone laud the Lord,
 Immortal, changeless, perfectly supreme. (7)

Sloka

Accursed is the life of those that repudiating joy in God,
 Act suffering and sin, from egoism rising.
 The egoist of darkened soul is gripped by Maya-delusion,
 Lacking true enlightenment.
 To such comes not joy in this world or the next ;
 Their end full of regrets.
 Through the Preceptor's grace do the rare devotees meditate on the
 holy Name—
 Their egoism banished.
 Saith Nanak : Only one go destined,²⁹
 At the Preceptor's feet submits. (1)

Sloka

The egoist is like the lotus turned upside down.

25. Original, *Nām*

26. *Lit. Goes.*

27. This figure is repeated in the spiritual context.

28. Original, *Sura* (hero)

29. The doctrine of pre-destination by good actions of previous births, is implied.

In devotion and meditation³⁰ lacking ;
 Seeking egoistic power³¹ always,
 Unholy is all his praxis.
 His mind not saturated with devotion,
 His utterance lacking in holy joy,
 Such incline not towards holiness³²—
 In falsehood lying all their delight.
 Saith Nanak : Such is the Lord's dispensation—
 The egoists sink through their falsehood.
 God's devotees are saved³³ through meditation on the holy Name.
Pauri (Stanza) : One lacking enlightenment is in transmigration
 whirled about ;
 Lacking devotion to the Preceptor,
 Full of regrets is his end.
 Through Divine grace is the holy Preceptor found,
 When egoism is discarded.
 Then is all desire³⁴ annulled,
 And joy in the self comes to abide.
 With a devoted heart,
 Must man ever laud the Lord. (8)

Sloka

The world reveres³⁵ one to the Preceptor devoted ;
 The praxis supreme above all is attainment of devotion.³⁶
 Thus comes peace calm to abide in the self,
 And in the heart joy everlasting.
 Of such the sustenance and vesture is holiness,³⁷
 And through devotion comes to them greatness. (1)

Sloka

My self ! Lis en to the Master's teaching,
 Whereby thou mayst find the Lord, Repository of all Graces.
 With the Lord, Bestower of joy abiding in the self,
 Are egoism and pride banished.
 Saith Nanak : When by His grace is such devotion attained,
 One is in a perpetual state of meditation. (2)

30. *Lit. Nām.*

31. *Sakti* and *Saktas* have come in for strong condemnation in the Guru's teaching.

32. *Dharma.* 33. *Lit. Swim across.*

34. *Lit. Thirst and hunger.* 35. *Lit. Worships.* 36. *Lit. God's Name.*

37. Original, *Amrit* (carries among others, this applied sense).

Pauri (Stanza) : In the devotee is created truth and calm of soul and purity :

With hypocrisy and evil banished from the mind,
The self attains victory thereby ;
Immersed in holy light and spiritual joy,
Is darkness³⁸ banished.
One day by day lauding the Lord,
Holy virtues shall in him be manifest.
Of all creation is One Sole Provider and true friend. (9)

Sloka

A true Brahmin is one who the Supreme realizes,
And is ever in the state of devotion.
Such would be he, who under the Preceptor's guidance cultivates
truth and self-discipline.
His malady of egoism shall vanish—
Such would he be should he laud the Lord,
And good qualities garner.
His light shall be merged in the Divine illumination.
In this age rare are the enlightened ones, who annulling egoism in
the Supreme are merged.
Saith Nanak : Contact with such as meditate ever and ever on the
Lord's Name,
Brings joy imperishable. (1)

Sloka

In the egoist unenlightened person's mind lies hypocrisy,
And on his tongue runs falsehood.
Hypocrisy pleases not the Supreme Lord—
Ever does all that happens pour into his sight and hearing.³⁹
One influenced by duality setting out to instruct mankind—
His action by Maya-delusion is impelled.
Such action brings everlasting suffering,
And unending travail⁴⁰ of transmigration.
His doubts not annulled,
In filth is he absorbed and merged.
On whoever the Lord's grace falls,
Is to the Preceptor's teaching inclined :

38. Original, Ignorance.

39. *Lit.* He sees and hears by his ingrained power or faculty.

40. *Travail* in its root is allied to *travel*.

Such a one meditates on the Lord's Name and lauds it—

The Name brings him ultimate realise. (2)

Pauri (Stanza) : Those induced towards obedience to the Lord's will,

Are the perfect ones of this world ;

Meditating on the *holy* Supreme Word,

Serve they the Lord.

These are the Lord's servitors,

And devotee of the holy Word.

Those casting off their, egoism *alone* attain to the Divine Mansion.

Saith Nanak : Through the Preceptor's guidance,

Meditating and bearing God's Name is their selves,

Are they *to Him* united ? (10)

Sloka

Of those God-ward turning is the mind inspired to meditation.

The melody of perfect peace *from them* arises,

And the mind in the holy Name absorbed.

One God-ward turning is ever in joy in God absorbed,

And with love of the Name Divine inspired.

Such a one sees solely the Lord, hears solely the Lord.

And with joy of love of the Lord is inspired.

Saith Nanak : By God-ward turning is enlightenment attained,

And darkness of ignorance lifted.

Those visited by Divine Grace since the primal Hour

Are alone inspired by turning to the Master on the Lord's Name
to meditate. (1)

Sloka

One serving not the holy Master,

And without love of the holy Word ;

Meditating not on the holy Name—

What good his birth ?

Everlastingly is he whirled in transmigration,

Rolling ignominiously in *worldly* filth.

Such a one, attracted to false acquisitiveness,

Reaches not the goal.⁴¹

Saith Nanak : Those God-ward turning,

Swim across,

Should by the Creator *to Himself* they be united. (2)

41. *Lit.* Gets neither to one shore nor the other.

Pauri (Stanza) : God's devotees *shine in beauty* at the Holy Portal,
 By the Divine Word sustained;
 By devotion to the Lord inspired,
 Are they tense with love of Him.
 Ever abide they dyed in the Lord's love,
 Their palate tasting of joy in God.
 Blessed⁴² is the birth of those by the Master⁴³ enlightened,
 Lodging in their selves the Lord.
 Crowds of those without the Master's guidance go about wailing,
 Through attachment to duality ruined. (11)

Sloka

In the *dark* Kali-Age have the devotees of God, the treasury of realization⁴⁴ gained,
 And from the Lord the highest state obtained.
 Through devotion to the holy Preceptor may man lodge the Lord's
 Name in the mind,
 And ceaselessly⁴⁵ in meditation engage.
 By absorbing the Preceptor's Word may one practise renunciation
 even as householder,
 And burn away attachment and egoism.
 Such a one is saved⁴⁶ himself and saves also the whole world—
 Blessed is the mother that bore him.
 Such a holy Preceptor comes the way only of one,
 In whose destiny it is recorded in the primal Hour
 God's servant Nanak is a sacrifice to his Master,
 Who guided along the right path one by delusion gripped. (1)

Sloka

Mankind by Maya of Three Qualities is attracted,
 As is the moth by the lamp consumed,
 The priest⁴⁷ neglectful of his duty looks with coveting eyes for lucre,⁴⁸
 Praying who has offered what.
 With thoughts of duality he studies falsehood—
 God has from the Name alienated him.
 Yogis, wandering mendicants, Sannyasis, all are deluded—
 Swollen with egoism and pride.

42. *Lit.* Fruitful, fulfilled.

43. Original (Gurumukhi).

44. Original, *Nām*.

45. *Lit.* Day after day.

46. *Lit.* Swims across.

47. Original *Pandit* : Priest is implied here.

48. *Maya* here implies this and is not a philosophical concept.

They accept not simple food and clothing as alms;
 In obstinate crazes have they wasted life.
 Out of all these that perform *piety* he alone has poise and wisdom⁴⁹
 obtained,
 Who through God-ward turning on the holy Name has meditated.
 Saith Nanak : servant of God : To whom may one complain,
 Since all happens as the Creator has willed ? (2)
Pauri (Stanza) : Maya-delusion, lust, wrath and egoism—
 All are evil spirits.
 These are Yama's subjects,
 Heavily chastized by him.
 Egoists attached to duality along Yama's path are pushed :
 In Yama's demesne are they chastized in bonds,
 None their wailing to hear.
 Whoever finds favour with the Lord, is to the holy Preceptor united—
 Through the Preceptor does liberation come. (12)

Sloka

Pride and attachment by their delusions have⁵⁰ consumed the egoists
 through and through.
 These hold in their coils those that in delusion to duality are attached.
 Burnt by the Master's Word, do they leave hold of man : and God's
 Name in the mind takes abode.
 Saith Nanak : The Lord's Name is Maya's antidote, obtained by
 the Master's teaching. (1)

Sloka

For numerous Yugas has the self wandered about :
 When poised, then does its wandering cease.
 The Lord has willed that it wander thus,
 By creating the mime and show of *Maya*,
 By Divine grace is the Preceptor found,
 And the self, in God absorbed, finds poise.
 Saith Nanak : By its own prompting is the self instructed—
 Then it neither dies nor is destroyed. (2)
Pauri (Stanza) : Vast is this citadel of the human body,
 By a chain of fortunate happenings obtained.

49. *Lit.* Poison.

49a. The original, *Samdha*, implies concentration of the mind's faculties at a resolution of disparate elements.

50. In the original the verb is in the singular, the two evils counted as combined.

The Lord Himself abides in this body—
Himself tasting all delectation.
Himself too is He inaccessible, unsoiled, a yogi from all attachments
separated.

He acts as lies in His pleasure;
All shall happen as He wills.
By meditating on the Lord's holy Name,
Is separation from Him annulled. (13)

Sloka

Wonderful is His prompting to devotion,
To holy Truth by the Master's teaching.
Wonderful is His laudation,
Whose essence by God-ward turning the rare spirits realize.
Wonderful is the Divine Word, holy and true,
Whereby union with truth is obtained.
Saith Nanak : In the attitude of wonder is the Lord attained,
Through grace⁵¹ obtained. (1)

Sloka

The tongue expressing wonder and ecstasy is by the holy Word exalted.
Through the holy Word is union with the Lord attained.
Supremely fortunate are those whose tongue to such ecstasy gives
utterance.

Those in wonderful ecstasy shine in spiritual beauty,
By all creation revered.

Wonderful ! wonderful !

Such wonder by grace is obtained :

Saith Nanak : Those attaining it are at the holy Portal exalted. (2)

Pauri (Stanza) : In the citadel of this body barred by door-panels of
adamant,

Abide falsehood, evil and pride.

Those lost in delusion,

The egoist blind and ignorant, are of sight bereft.

By praxis and ritual is truth not found—

Ritualists to exhaustion have tried this.

These gates of adamant by the Master's Word are flung open,

By chanting the Lord's Name.

The Lord is the tree of nectar :

51. This composite concept is grace obtained through good actions of previous births.

Whoever quaffs it
Is filled never again to hunger. (14)

Sloka

In lauding *the Lord*⁵² the night of life in joy is passed;
In lauding the Lord lies imperishable joy, mother mine !
In lauding the Lord is devotion to Him formed.
Only one visited by Divine grace such laudation utters.
One lauding the Lord shall be exalted.
Saith Nanak : Those lauding God by His holy will abide. (1)

Sloka

Holy is utterance of laudation,
Attained after deep search by the Preceptor's guidance.
The devotee utters laudation through the holy Word,
From heart full of ecstasy.
In laudation is found the Lord,
Without travail by seeking Him through the Preceptor.
Saith Nanak : Supremely fortunate are those,
That from their heart on the Lord meditate. (2)
Pauri (Stanza) : My self, greatly covetous,
Ever art thou in covetousness immersed.⁵³
And deluded by Maya and desire dost run in all⁵⁴ directions.
In the hereafter shall not be *with thee great name and high caste* —
The egoist, *to these attached*, shall only get suffering.
His tongue has tasted not of joy in the Lord ;
Joyless is his utterance.
Fulfilled are those that have tasted the nectar through the Preceptor's teaching. (15)

Sloka

Laud solely the Lord who is eternal and unfathomable.
Laud solely the Lord who is bestower of *noble* qualities,
And giver of poise to the understanding.
Laud solely the Lord who all creation pervades.
Laud solely the Lord who is Provider of all.
Saith Nanak : Laud the Sole Supreme Being,
By the holy Preceptor revealed.

Sloka

Those devoted to God are in laudation ever engaged;
The egoists die swallowing poison :

52. *Lit.* Expressing wonder.

53. *Lit.* Dyed.

54. *Lit.* Ten.

To such appeals not Divine laudation ;
 All their life in suffering passed.
 Those devoted to God quaff nectar,
 And with devoted hearts utter laudation of God,
 Saith Nanak : Those lauding the Lord, Are the pure ones—
 Knowledge of the three worlds is to them revealed.⁵⁵ (2)
Pauri (Stanza) : Should the Lord so will, is the Preceptor found.
 From whom comes prompting to service and devotion.
 Should the Lord so will, in the mind is He lodged,
 And joy unsought is tasted.
 Should the Lord so will,
 Comes joy and everlasting gain,
 Such are exalted on thrones, in the Court Divine,
 And ever in their own abode⁵⁶ abide.
 Those alone submit to the Divine will
 That the true Preceptor have found. (16)

Sloka

Those endowed by God with enlightenment alone laud Him.
 With laudation is the mind purified, and egoism cast out
 The devotee lauding Him constantly has desires fulfilled
 Those lauding Him have the true splendour.
 And to the Lord are united.
 May my heart ever raise laudation, and my tongue ever utter the
 Lord's praise !
 Saith Nanak : May I sacrifice body and mind to those that engage
 in lauding the Lord. (1)

Sloka

Behold : Holy is the Lord; His Name immortality confers.
 Those devoted to Him have been rewarded;⁵⁷
 May I to them be a sacrifice !
 Laudation of the Lord is the treasury of all merit—
 Whosoever is blessed with it, has joy of it.⁵⁸
 Land and Sea⁵⁹ are filled by laudation—
 This blessing by God-ward turning is found.
 It behoves the Master's devotees ever to laud the Lord :

55. As elsewhere, this implies awareness of the Divine Law.

56. State of eternal poise and enlightenment.

57. *Lit.* Gets the fruit desired. Implies the blessing of devotion. Worldly objectives are not meant.

58. *Lit.* Consumes.

59. *Lit.* Sea and land.

The Lord Supreme is thereby pleased.

Saith Nanak : One lauding the Lord from the heart,
Shall not by Yama's minions be tormented.⁶⁰ (2)

Pauri (Stanza) : Holiest of the holy is the Lord; holy the Divine
Word.

From the holy Preceptor comes awareness of truth,

Whereby is man into truth spontaneously merged.

Such are ever awake, sleep overpowers them not :

In the waking state is their night *of life passed*.

Holy are those that by the wisdom given by the Preceptor taste of
joy in God.

None without the Preceptor's teaching ever found *truth*.

Those ignorant of it have by death without a trace been swallowed.

Sloka

Utterance of laudation of the Formless

Lord's *own self*,

Supreme over all.

Inaccessible and unfathomable is such laudation,

With the holy Eternal identical.

Laudation is the Lord Himself superior to desire,

Is Almighty.

In laudation lies the immortal Divine Name—

By devotion to the Preceptor found.

Inclination to laudation from destiny⁶¹ and Divine grace comes.

Saith Nanak : Inclination to laudation from devotion to the Precep-
tor comes,

From unceasing meditation. (1)

Sloka

Peace and poise come not without devotion to the holy Preceptor ;

No other recourse is there for man.

However much may one such acquisition desire,

It comes through destiny⁶² solely.

Those full of covetousness and evil,

Are through duality lost.

Of such the transmigration ceases not.

In egoism they suffer.

60. *Lit.* Those shall not approach him.

61. Destiny made by actions of previous births is implied.

62. Original, *Karma*. The meaning is identical with the above.

Those devoted to the holy Preceptor remain not unfulfilled.
 Such are not by Yama summoned,
 Nor undergo *his* torments.
 Saith Nanak : Those devoted⁶³ are saved,⁶⁴ into the holy Word
 merged. (2)

Pauri (Stanza) : The *true* bard of God is one devoted to his Lord ;
 Standing at His door he serves Him,
 The Divine Word contemplating.
 The Bard shall attain lodgement at the Portal and Mansion Divine,
 Bearing holy truth in his heart.
 Great is the bard's⁶⁵ state in contemplation of the Lord—
 By the Lord is he saved. (18)

Sloka

Even a milkmaid in a rude tribe born,
 As devotion to the Lord grows is her.⁶⁶
 By contemplating the Master's Word
 Ever on Him meditates.
 One by the holy Master instructed,⁶⁷
 Is by fear of God inspired :
 Such a one alone is a lady of noble lineage
 Only one by the Creator favoured realizes the essence of her Lord's
 command.
 One not so endowed is ill-taught, ill-mannered,
 And is by her Lord cast off.
 Through fear of God comes purity and chastity of limb;
 With mind illuminated and understanding exalted.
 Through meditation does one acquire great merit.⁶⁸
 One who is fixed in fear of God, abides ever in such fear,
 And acts under such fear—
 Shall find joy and exaltation in this life
 And liberation in the hereafter.
 Through fear of God is attained the Lord without fear,
 And union with the Light Infinite found.

63. Original, *Gurmukh*.

64. *Lit.* Swim; are not sunk.

65. This term is employed by Guru Nanak Dev as well for himself, as one chanting the Lord's praises, like bards of old (*Vār Majh*). *Shair* (poet) too is employed by Guru Nanak Dev in the same sense.

66. This is a difficult line syntactically, but the meaning is clear : Even one low-born through the Master's teaching conceiving holy fear is exalted.

67. *Lit.* Meeting, contacting.

68. *Lit.* Becomes a store-house of merits.

Saith Nanak : One pleasing her Lord is alone well-born—
Such merit only by Divine grace comes. (1)

Sloka

Let me for evermore laud the Lord—
May I be a sacrifice to Him !

Saith Nanak : Burnt he the tongue that lauds other than the one
Supreme Lord. (2)

*Pauri (Stanza) : Incarnations of God, endowed with part of His
essence.*

Yet were subject to duality;
Kingly state they kept and into states of joy and sorrow were involved.
Shiva and Brahma, despite their devotion have found not God's truth.
The Lord, without fear and form, is inaccessible :
Through devotion to the Master is He revealed.
In that state intrude not sorrow and separation,
And the devotee in poise is fixed amidst the changing world. (19)

Sloka

All those forms *visible to the eye* are evenescent :
One realizing *the truth*⁶⁹ of this alone finds acceptance *with God*.
Saith Nanak : One to himself attaching value is ignorant, a
barbarian. (1)

Sloka

The mind is an elephant, the Master the elephant-trainer;
Enlightenment is the goad,
Whereby is the beast driven.
Saith Nanak : The elephant unguided by such goad
Shall ever into the wilderness stray. (2)

*Pauri (Stanza) : Pray I to Him who has created me;
By devotion to the holy Master have I found all fulfilment.
By meditating on the Lord's Name immortalizing
In holy company.*

All sorrows vanish.

Saith Nanak : By attaining the wealth imperishable of God's Name.
Has all my anxiety vanished. (20)

Sloka

*Like the cultivator rain-strayed,
In the field with high mounds
I look to the high heavens for rain.*

69. Lit. Account.

Should the woman be truly devoted,
Then must her Lord visit her.
Thou cloud of grace ! Rain if thou wilt—
Why delay thy shower ?
Nanak is a sacrifice to those who by the Master's favour,
Realize Him in their selves. (1)

Sloka

That which pleases is truly sweet;
One who shows favour is alone a friend.
Saith Nanak : The true devotee is one whose *mind* He Himself
illuminates. (2)

Pauri (Stanza) : This is Thy servant's prayer to Thee :
Thou art the holy Lord,
Protector at all times :
On Thee I meditate.
All creation is Thine,
That Thou dost pervade.
Those traducing Thy servant
Are by Thee destroyed.
Nanak : Leave sorrowing and live without anxiety.
Worshipping at His feet. (21)

Sloka

The whole world, gripped by desire in the end dies—
Desire leaves not man ever.
Saith Nanak : Through devotion to the holy Eternal
Are all desires fulfilled. (1)
He who created them shall take them away.
Saith Nanak : Nothing shall last but the Divine Reality.⁷⁰ (2)
Pauri (Stanza) : He Himself created the universe with all its elabo-
ration.
Himself is He Master of wealth;
Himself the merchant;
Himself too the store.
Himself the ocean and the boat.
Himself is He the helmsman.
Himself the Master and disciple—
Himself shall He reveal the anchorage.
Nanak, thou servant of God !

70. *Lit. Nām.*

On His Name meditate ;
 Thus will thy sins be annulled.
 (Pages 509-517) (22)

Note on Gujari-ki-Var, Mahalla III

The Vār (philosophical and devotional composition) in the Measure Gujari, unlike some other composition of this nature, is totally of the composition of Guru Amar Das. Hence, in its different portions the authorship has not been indicated, although in the text of the Scripture this has been done. This composition consists of 22 Verse-units, all structured on a uniform pattern, though the different constituents of the composition as a whole show a variety in length. The different component parts-Slokas and Stanzas (*Pauris*) are in the accepted nature for these genres. The *Pauris* particularly, which is the name for a stanza with a uniform rhyme scheme, has later been composed with immensely powerful flow and effect by the Savant, Bhai Gurudas. The *Pauri* became the pattern also for the latter narrative and the disquisitional of a secular character in Punjabi poetry. The influence of this tradition may particularly be seen in the shorter poems of Bhai Vir Singh, the great poet of the Sikh renaissance of the 19th-20th centuries. The themes in *Gurubani* are all through the same, following the original pattern set up by Guru Nanak, whose vision and terminology may be seen throughout the holy *Granth*, in its regional language-mixtures, which are mainly Central and Western Punjabi and Braji Hindi. With this cherished uniformity and continuity of a tradition may however, be seen the touch in each holy author, of his particular personality and emphases, along with preference for stylistic patterns. According to the Sikh philosophical postulate it is one sole spirit manifest in all the ten Apostolic personalities of the Gurus. Yet, their humanity which they have themselves taken care to emphasize as against the claim to divinity or superhuman Character of some other teachers, may be seen to shine through what may be called the 'signature character' of their compositions. This characteristic in each has to be discovered and defined by the sensitive critical faculty operating with the utmost reverence for and emotional identification with the compositions themselves.

In the measure Gujari there is another Vār, of the composition of Guru Arjan Dev. In the Vār under study here, the emphasis are, warning to man against being involved with Maya or the phenomenal show of things, with duality or attachment to the world, to being forgetful of the Supreme. Duality is the philosophical concept wherein the reality of Maya or objective material nature is firmly held, and man tends to

turn materialist. Among the images most strongly cherished and repeatedly employed by Guru Amar Das is that of the devotees as the faithful wife, sensitively obedient and responsive to the will of her Lord, and blessed with the joys of the conjugal life. The materialist, whose mind is fixed on the world, is like the woman whose conjugal faith is weak or doubtful, and who is cast off by her Lord. The theme of the devotee as the yearning, ardent female finds a rich emotional expression in Guru Nanak's compositions. In Guru Amar Das this theme finds a somewhat abstract treatment, which nevertheless embodies a deep spiritual experience.

Another theme ubiquitous in *Gurubani*, but reiterated with particular emphasis by Guru Amar Das is Divine Grace. This grace expresses itself in several ways, particularly in prompting the mind to devotion, in bringing about the devotee-seeker's union with the perfectly endowed, holy Preceptor (Guru, Sati-Guru) without whose guidance man may flounder about in doubts and his inclinations may not find anchorage in faith and poise, which is the source of Liberation and cessation of the transmigratory circle. Only the Preceptor's *Shabda* (Word, Essence of teaching) is liberating in inclining the seeker to *Bhakti* (devotion). The theme of supreme importance of the holy Preceptor and of thanksgiving to God for His grace in blessing the devotee with the touch of the Preceptor finds the strongest and most reiterated expression in Guru Amar Das's compositions.

Towards the end of this Vār occur some highly appealing images. There is the group of Stanzas (XIV to XVIII) in which ecstatic Divine laudation (Wahu-Wahu) is the theme. Such expression of laudation is the very essence of devotion and is the Source of Liberation. Following these is the representation of the devotee as *Dhadi* (the bard) singing praise of his Lord, finding through devotion, entry to the Divine Portal and Mansion and finding poise as his reward. This image occurs also elsewhere in *Gurubani*. There is then in Stanza (XIX) a very striking image, that of the *Gujari* (milkmaid) who despite her rude, unlettered origin and lineage by devotion to her Lord and cherishing holy fear may be exalted to noble ladyhood. Such also is the devotee, who through obedience and faith may be exalted to sainthood from ordinary human clay. Holy fear of God is another of the themes emphasized in *Gurubani*, particularly in Guru Nanak's compositions.⁷¹

71. For a detailed treatment of this theme see the present author's *Guru Nanak—His Personality and Vision* (1969), pp. 144-158.

Another image, related to Vār above is that of the Elephant, guided by the goad. This goad is God's holy fear, and the elephant-driver is the Preceptor (Guru) inspiring the seeker with such fear. Lastly, is the image of the cloud, symbolizing Divine Grace, which comes, as the devotee seeks it through supplication and prayer. The composition closes with the image of the unity of all being—the Creator being immanent in all forms, as the Master of wealth, the merchant and the stone; Himself the ocean, the Boat and the Helmsman, revealing the anchorage to the human self tossed about in the waves of doubts, and involved in Duality.

Some Sayings of Guru Amar Das

DR HARNAM SINGH SHAN*

Guru Amar Das (1479-1574) was a farmer-cum-trader by profession and a staunch Vaishnavite by faith before he met, in 1541 at the advanced age of 62, Guru Angad, the second in the Apostolic line of Guru Nanak (1469-1539). He served him and the Sikh church so ably and devotedly during the next about eleven years that the Master finding in him the fittest person to take his place, appointed him, in 1552, to be his spiritual successor at the age of seventy-three.

During the short span of his holy ministry, Guru Amar Das worked very hard for the uplift of mankind, development of the Sikh movement and building of the Sikh church. He contributed much to the integration of Sikh doctrine, systematic organisation of the community, development of its institutions and establishment of its religious axis at Goindwal. Besides, he initiated many important and far-reaching reforms in the social, cultural and religious spheres for the benefit of all.

In addition, he preached sanctity of life and laid special emphasis on the significance and efficacy of the holy Word, assuring the people that it enlightens one's mind, enshrines the True One in one's heart and leads one to the salvation of one's soul. He, therefore, enjoined upon his followers to use only the Guru's revealed Word in worship. Hence, he collected and compiled the hymns of his predecessors and of some such Hindu and Muslim saints whose teachings and utterances were in conformity with those of Guru Nanak. He added 869 compositions of his own to that anthology which consisted of two volumes and served later as the nucleus for the compilation of the *Holy Granth* in 1604 by Guru Arjan, the Fifth Master of the Sikhs.

Guru Amar Das composed those hymns between the age of 73 when he was chosen to guide the destiny of Sikhs, and 95 when he breathed his last. He set them in almost all those musical modes and meters in which Guru Nanak had composed his 974 hymns. His verses are known for vividness of spiritual insight, maturity of thought, directness of expression and simplicity of language which went a long way in making

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these popular in the masses. The Guru has expressed in them his bold, mature and independent views on various aspects and values of human life. They place the individual conduct before ritual and lay great emphasis on its moral as well as practical side; most especially on the virtues of love and truth, purity and honesty, humility and generosity, unity and fraternity, effort and faith, fellow feeling and the selfless service of mankind.

His hymns comprise prayers, admonitions and counsels; they contain words of faith and cheer, caution and wisdom, courage and consolation for all humanity. They are, therefore, instructive and inspiring in their content, direct and forthright in their expression, and spiritual and practical in their approach. Additionally, they are moral and catholic in their outlook, timeless in their appeal and universal in their application. This is why they have been a constant source of light, comfort and consolation for millions belonging to all castes and creeds during the last five centuries.

Only a few choice quotations from them are given below, as specimens, rendered into English in a humble effort to present thereby the mind, message and mission of the Guru, in his own words, and also to induce the reader to read his hymns in full and their original form on the occasion of his birth-quincentenary :

1. **Apeal : ਅਪੀਲ**

ਜਗਤੁ ਜਲੰਦਾ ਰਖਿ ਲੈ ਆਪਣੀ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਧਾਰਿ ।

ਜਿਤੁ ਦੁਆਰੈ ਉਬਰੈ ਤਿਤੇ ਲੈਹੁ ਉਬਾਰਿ । (ਰਾਗ ਬਿਲਾਵਲ, ਪੰ. 853.)

The world is on fire, O Lord ! Save it by your gracious mercy ! Save it in any way it can be saved."

(Rag Bilawal, p. 853.)

2. **Prayer : ਅਰਦਾਸ**

ਪ੍ਰਭ ਪਾਸਿ ਜਨ ਕੀ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ ਤੂ ਸਚਾ ਸੁਣੀ ।

ਤੂ ਰਖਵਾਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਹਉ ਤੁਧੁ ਧਿਆਈ ।

ਜੀਅ ਜੰਤ ਸਭਿ ਤੋਰਿਆ ਤੂ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਈ ।

ਜੋ ਦਾਸ ਤੇਰੇ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕਰੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਾਰਿ ਪਚਾਈ ।

ਚਿੰਤਾ ਛਡਿ ਅਚਿੰਤੁ ਰਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਲਗਿ ਪਾਈ । (ਰਾਗ ਗੁਜਰੀ, ਪੰ. 517.)

I pray to you, O God ! For it you are my true Master. You are my constant Protector and I meditate only on you. All creatures are Yours and You pervade all. You humiliate and annihilate him who slanders your devotee. When I come to your feet, I find abiding peace and all my worries flee.

(Rag Gujri, p. 517.)

3. **Entreaty : ਅਰਦਾਸ**

ਅਸੀਂ ਖਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਕਮਾਵਦੇ ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਪਾਰਾਵਾਰੁ ।
ਹਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਬਖਸਿ ਲੈਹੁ ਹਉ ਪਾਪੀ ਵਡ ਗੁਨਹਗਾਰੁ ।
ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਲੇਖੇ ਵਾਰ ਨਾ ਆਵਈ ਤੂੰ ਬਖਸਿ ਮਿਲਾਵਣਹਾਰੁ ।

(ਸਲੋਕ ਵਧੀਕ, ਪੰ. 1416.)

We commit unlimited errors, there is no end to our misdeeds. Be merciful and forgive us, dear Lord ! for, we are great sinners and wrong doers. Dear Lord ! there is no hope of our redemption; for, our deeds weighed in the balance would get us no place in your court. Forgive us, Lord ! and make us one with Your Lordship. (Slok Vadhi, p. 1416.)

4. **God's Presence : ਰੱਬ ਦੀ ਮੌਜੂਦਗੀ**

ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਨਿਕਟਿ ਵਸੈ
ਸਭਨਾ ਘਟ ਅੰਤਰਿ..... (ਸਿਰੀ ਰਾਗ, ਪੰ. 67.)

God abides so near, in the hearts of all. (Rag Siri, p. 67.)

5. **God's Creation : ਰੱਬ ਦੀ ਰਚਨਾ**

ਅਪਿ ਬਸੰਤੁ ਜਗਤੁ ਸਭੁ ਵਾੜੀ (ਰਾਗ ਬਸੰਤ, ਪੰ. 1177.)

The whole world is God's garden. God Himself is its springtime. (Rag Basant, p. 1177.)

6. **God's Light : ਰੱਬ ਦੀ ਜੋਤ**

ਸਭ ਏਕਾ ਜੋਤਿ ਜਾਣੈ ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਸੇਵਿਐ ਪਰਗਟੁ ਹੋਈ ।
ਗੁਪਤੁ ਪਰਗਟੁ ਵਰਤੈ ਸਭ ਥਾਈ ਜੋਤੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਮਿਲਾਵਣਿਆ ।

(ਰਾਗ ਮਾਝ, ਪੰ. 120.)

Should one realise that the Light of the One Lord alone pervades, it will become visible to him through his devotion to the True Guru. God's light is Manifest and Unmanifest everywhere, the seeker's light ultimately merges into His light. (Rag Majh, p. 120.)

7. **God's Bounties : ਰੱਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਦਾਤਾਂ**

ਦਾਤੇ ਦਾਤਿ ਰਖੀ ਹਥਿ ਆਪਣੇ
ਜਿਸੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਦੇਈ । (ਰਾਗ ਸੋਰਠਿ, ਪੰ. 604.)

The Bounteous Lord has kept the bounties in His own hands. He bestows these Himself on whomsoever He likes.

(Rag Sorath, p. 604.)

8. **God's Oneness : ਇਕ ਈਸ਼ਵਰਤਾ**

ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਬੁਝਿਆ ਜਾ ਵੇਖਾ ਹਰਿ ਇਕੁ ਹੈ ।
ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨਾ ਕੋਈ । (ਰਾਗ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ, ਪੰ. 922.)

I gained understanding by the Guru's grace, I realised that there is but one God and that there is no other beside Him.
(Rag Ramkali, p. 922.)

9. **Loving the Lord : ਰੱਬ ਨਾਲ ਪਿਆਰ**

ਅੰਤਰਿ ਗੋਵਿੰਦ ਜਿਸੁ ਲਾਗੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ । ਹਰਿ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਦੇ ਨ ਵੀਸਰੈ
ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਸਦਾ ਮਨਿ ਚੀਤਿ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਗੁਜਰੀ, ਪੰ. 491.)
He who loves the Lord, finds in himself the Lord. The Lord never forsakes him who enshrines Him in his mind.
(Rag Gujri, p. 491.)

10. **In Lord's Fear : ਰੱਬ ਦੇ ਭੈ ਵਿਚ**

ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਜੰਮੇ ਭੈ ਮਰੇ ਭੀ ਭਉ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਹੋਇ ।
ਨਾਨਕ ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਜੇ ਮਰੈ ਸਹਿਲਾ ਆਇਆ ਸੋਇ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਝ, ਪੰ. 149.)
Life is truly fruitful for one who lives and dies in fear of God; and bears such fear in his heart while parting from this world at last.
(Rag Majh, p. 149.)

11. **Will of the Lord : ਰੱਬ ਦੀ ਰਜ਼ਾ**

ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਭਾਣੈ ਜੋ ਚਲੈ
ਦੁਖੁ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਕੋਇ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਸਿਰੀ, ਪੰ. 31.)
He who walks in the Will of the Lord, suffers no grief.
(Rag Siri, p. 31.)

12. **Coming of Spring : ਬਸੰਤ ਦੀ ਆਵੇਦ**

ਬਸੰਤੁ ਚੜਿਆ ਫੂਲੀ ਬਨਗਾਇ ।
ਏਹਿ ਜੀਅ ਜੰਤ ਫੂਲਹਿ ਹਰਿ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਇ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਬਸੰਤ, ਪੰ. 1177.)
As with the coming of Spring, all vegetation blossoms forth; so, with the coming of inner attunement to God, all human beings are similarly blessed.
(Rag Basant, p. 1177.)

13. **Worship of God : ਰੱਬ ਦੀ ਭਗਤੀ**

ਹਰਿ ਭਗਤ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਪਿਆਰ ਹੈ..... (ਰਾਗੁ ਸਿਰੀ, ਪੰ. 28.)
To worship God is to cherish love for Him. (Rag Siri, p. 28.)

14. **Hypocrisy : ਪਾਖੰਡ**

ਪਾਖੰਡਿ ਭਗਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਵਈ
ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਬੋਲੁ ਖੁਆਰ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਸਿਰੀ, ਪੰ. 28.)
Hypocrisy is not worship. The talk of duality makes one miserable. (Rag Siri, p. 28.)

15. **Meeting With God : ਰੱਬ ਨਾਲ ਮੇਲ**

ਨਾਨਕ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਹਉਮੈ ਮਾਰੇ
ਤਾਂ ਹਰਿ ਭੇਟੈ ਸੋਈ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਗੁਜਰੀ, ਪੰ. 491.)
He alone meets with God who subdues his own ego.
(Rag Gujri, p. 491.)

16. **Without True Guru** : ਸੱਚੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨਾਂ
 ਬਿਨੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਪਾਇਓ..... (ਸਿਰੀ ਰਾਗ, ਪੰ. 36.)
 Without the guidance of the True Guru, no one has ever
 attained to God. (Rag Siri, p. 36.)
17. **The Word** : ਸ਼ਬਦ
 ਨਾਨਕ ਸਬਦਿ ਮਿਲਾਵੜਾ
 ਨਾਮੇ ਨਾਮਿ ਸਮਾਇ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਸਿਰੀ, ਪੰ. 35.)
 The Word alone unites us with God, and it is through God's
 Name that we can merge in God. (Rag Siri, p. 35.)
18. **Hearing The Word** : ਬਾਣੀ ਸੁਣਨ ਨਾਲ
 ਦੁਖ ਰੋਗ ਸੰਤਾਪ ਉਤਰੇ
 ਸੁਣੀ ਸਚੀ ਬਾਣੀ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ, ਪੰਨਾ 922.)
 Grievs, maladies and torments are dispelled through hearing
 the True Word. (Rag Ramkali, p. 922.)
19. **Glory of the Word** : ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦਾ ਪਰਤਾਪ
 ਸੁਣਤੇ ਪੁਨੀਤ ਕਹਤੇ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਰਹਿਆ ਭਰਪੂਰੇ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ, ਪੰ. 922.)
 They who hear the Word, become pure, they who speak the
 Word become holy ; and both see the Lord pervading
 everywhere. (Rag Ramkali, p. 922.)
20. **This Lord** : ਇਹੁ ਸੰਸਾਰ
 ਏਹੁ ਵਿਸੁ ਸੰਸਾਰੁ ਤੁਮ ਦੇਖਦੇ ਏਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਰੂਪ ਹੈ
 ਹਰਿ ਰੂਪ ਨਦਰੀ ਆਇਆ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ, ਪੰ. 922.)
 This world which you see and which appears so poisonous to
 you, is itself a manifestation of God. It is God Himself that
 you see. (Rag Ramkali, p. 922.)
21. **Five Elements** : ਪੰਜ ਤੱਤ
 ਪੰਚ ਤਤੁ ਮਿਲਿ ਦੇਹੀ ਕਾ ਆਕਾਰਾ ।
 ਘਟਿ ਵਧਿ ਕੋ ਕਰੈ ਬੀਚਾਰਾ ! (ਰਾਗੁ ਭੈਰਉ, ਪੰ. 1128.)
 Five elements make up the physical frame of all men. No
 one can make any element less in one, more in another.
 (Rag Bhairo, p. 1128.)
22. **Human Body** : ਸਰੀਰ
 ਕਾਇਆ ਕੋਟੁ ਅਪਾਰੁ ਹੈ ਮਿਲਣਾ ਸੰਜੋਗੀ ।
 ਕਾਇਆ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਆਪਿ ਵਸਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਆਪੇ ਰਸ ਭੋਗੀ ।
 (ਰਾਗੁ ਗੁਜਰੀ, ਪੰ. 514.)
 The human body is citadel for the infinite Lord and is attained

through destiny. The Lord Himself is abiding within it and He Himself is the Enjoyer and Relisher. (Rag Gujri, p. 514.)

23. **Kingdoms : ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹੀਆਂ**

ਨਾਨਕ ਹੋਰਿ ਪਤਿਸਾਹੀਆ ਕੂੜੀਆ

ਨਾਮਿ ਰਤੇ ਪਾਤਸਾਹ । (ਸਲੋਕ ਵਧੀਕ, ਪੰ. 1413.)

All other kingdoms are transient. They alone are true kings who are imbued with the Name of the Lord.

(Slok Vadhik, p. 1413.)

24. **Woman and Man : ਤੀਵੀਂ ਤੇ ਮਰਦ**

ਧਨ ਪਿਰੁ ਦੇਹਿ ਨ ਆਖੀਅਨਿ ਬਹਨਿ ਇਕਠੇ ਹੋਇ ।

ਏਕ ਜੋਤਿ ਦੁਇ ਮੂਰਤੀ ਧਨ ਪਿਰੁ ਕਹੀਐ ਸੋਇ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹੀ, ਪੰ. 788.)

Woman and man who just live together are not to be regarded as truly wed. They alone are the truly wed who bear a single soul (light) in two bodies. (Rag Suhi, p. 788.)

25. **Life : ਜੀਵਨ**

ਫਲ ਫੂਲ ਲਾਗੇ ।

ਜਾਂ ਆਪੇ ਲਾਏ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਬਸੰਤ, ਪੰ. 1177.)

Life produces flowers and fruits when God so wills.

(Rag Basant, p. 1177.)

26. **Path of peace : ਸੁੱਖ ਦਾ ਰਾਹ**

ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਸੁਖੁ ਵੇਖਾਇਆ ਸਚਾ ਸਬਦੁ ਬੀਚਾਰਿ ।

ਨਾਨਕ ਅਵਰੁ ਨਾ ਸੁਝਈ ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਬਖਸਣਹਾਰ । (ਰਾਗ ਬਿਲਾਵਲ, ਪੰ. 853.)

The True Guru has shown the path of peace in the contemplation of the true Word. Nanak knows none beside God who is the only pardoner. (Rag Bilawal, p. 853.)

27. **Everlasting Peace : ਸਦੀਵੀ ਸੁੱਖ**

ਤਿਨਾ ਅਨੰਦੁ ਸਦਾ ਸੁਖੁ ਹੈ ਜਿਨਾ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਆਧਾਰੁ ।

ਗੁਰਸਬਦੀ ਸਚੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਦੁਖ ਨਿਵਾਰਣਹਾਰੁ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਸਿਰੀ, ਪੰ. 36.)

They alone are ever in peace and attain the State OF Bliss who lean on the True Name. Through the Guru's holy Word, they have attained to the True Being who is the Destroyer of all woes. (Rag Siri, p. 36.)

28. **Wise and Beauteous : ਸੋਹਣੇ ਤੇ ਸਿਆਣੇ**

ਇਕਿ ਕਹਿ ਜਾਣਹਿ ਕਹਿਆ ਬੁਝਹਿ

ਤੇ ਨਰ ਸੁਘੜ ਸਰੂਪ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਸਾਰੰਗ, ਪੰ. 1246.)

They who know how to speak and understand what others say, are wise and beauteous persons. (Rag Sarang, p. 1246.)

29. Signs of a Fool : ਮੂਰਖ ਦੇ ਲੱਛਣ

ਮੂਰਖ ਹੋਵੇ ਸੋ ਸੁਣੈ ਮੂਰਖ ਕਾ ਕਹਣਾ ।

ਮੂਰਖ ਕੇ ਕਿਆ ਲਖਣ ਹੈ ਕਿਆ ਮੂਰਖ ਕਾ ਕਹਣਾ ।

ਮੂਰਖ ਓਹੁ ਜਿ ਮੁਗਧੁ ਹੈ ਅਹੰਕਾਰੇ ਮਰਣਾ ।

ਏਤੁ ਕਮਾਣੈ ਸਦਾ ਦੁਖੁ ਦੁਖ ਹੀ ਮਹਿ ਰਹਣਾ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ, ਪੰ. 953.)

Only a fool listens to a fool. How is a fool recognised? How does he conduct himself? A fool is a stupid creature who is afflicted with self-conceit and leads such a life that he earns sorrow and abides ever in misery.

(Rag Ramkali, p. 953.)

30. Self-Willled : ਮਨਮੁਖ

ਮਨਮੁਖ ਮੂਲਹੁ ਭੁਲਾਇਅਨੁ ਵਿਚਿ ਲਬੁ ਲੋਭੁ ਅਹੰਕਾਰੁ ।

ਝਗੜਾ ਕਰਦਿਆ ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਗੁਦਰੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਵੀਚਾਰੁ ।

ਸੁਧਿ ਮਤਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਹਿਰਿ ਲਈ ਬੋਲਨਿ ਸਭੁ ਵਿਕਾਰੁ ।

ਦਿਤੇ ਕਿਤੇ ਨ ਸੰਤੋਖੀਅਨਿ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਤ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਅਗਿਨੁ ਅੰਧਾਰੁ ।

ਨਾਨਕ ਮਨਮੁਖਾ ਨਾਲਹੁ ਤੁਟੀਆ ਭਲੀ ਜਿਨ ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹਿ ਪਿਆਰੁ ।

(ਰਾਗੁ ਬਿਹਾਗੜਾ, ਪੰ. 549.)

The self-willed are led away from God because of their greed, avarice and ego. Their days and nights are passed in strife and they do not contemplate the Word. Being divorced by God from good understanding, their talk is always senseless. However much is given to them, their desires are never satisfied. Blinded by stark ignorance, they have this continuous craving for more and more. It is, therefore, good and wise to break with the self-willed who are attached only to the (material) things of the world. (Rag Bihagra, p. 549.)

31. The King : ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ

ਤਖਤ ਰਾਜਾ ਸੋ ਬਹੈ ਜਿ ਤਖਤੈ ਲਾਇਕ ਹੋਈ

ਜਿਨੀ ਸਚੁ ਪਛਾਣਿਆ ਸਚੁ ਰਾਜੇ ਸੋਈ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਰੂ, ਪੰ. 1088.)

That king alone should sit on the throne who is worthy of it. They are also true kings, who realize the truth.

(Rag Maru, p. 1088.)

32. The Satis : ਸਤੀਆਂ

ਸਤੀਆ ਏਹਿ ਨਾ ਆਖੀਅਨਿ ਜੋ ਮੜੀਆਂ ਲਗ ਜਲੰਨਿ ।

ਨਾਨਕ ਸਤੀਆ ਜਾਣੀਅਨਿ ਜਿ ਬਿਰਹੇ ਚੋਟ ਮਰੰਨਿ ।

ਭੀ ਸੋ ਸਤੀਆ ਜਾਣੀਅਨਿ ਸੀਲ ਸੰਤੋਖਿ ਰਹੰਨਿ ।

ਸੇਵਨਿ ਸਾਈ ਆਪਣਾ ਨਿਤ ਉਠਿ ਸੰਮਾਲੰਨਿ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹੀ, ਪੰ. 787.)

They are not to be called *Satis* who burn themselves alive

with their husband' dead bodies. They rather are *Satis* who die with the sheer shock of separation from their husbands. They also are known as *Satis* who abide in modesty and contentment, who serve the Lord with all their heart, and rising in the morning ever remember Him.

(Rag Suhi, p. 787.)

33. **Four castes :** ਚਾਰ ਵਰਨ

ਚਾਰੇ ਵਰਨ ਆਖੈ ਸਭੁ ਕੋਈ । ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਬਿੰਦੁ ਤੇ ਸਭ ਓਪਤਿ ਹੋਈ ।
ਮਾਟੀ ਏਕ ਸਗਲ ਸੰਸਾਰਾ । ਬਹੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਭਾਂਡੈ ਘੜੇ ਕੁਮਾਰਾ ।

(ਰਾਗੁ ਭੈਰਉ, ਪੰ. 1128.)

There are four castes, but everyone is born from one God's sperm. The whole world was moulded out of the same clay, but the Great Potter has fashioned it into vessels of all kinds.

(Rag Bhairo, p. 1128.)

34. **Vanity of Cast :** ਜਾਤ ਦਾ ਗਰਬ

ਜਾਤਿ ਕਾ ਗਰਬ ਨਾ ਕਰੀਅਹੁ ਕੋਈ ।
ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਬਿੰਦੇ ਸੋ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣੁ ਹੋਈ ।
ਜਾਤਿ ਕਾ ਗਰਬੁ ਨਾ ਕਰਿ ਮੂਰਖ ਗਵਾਰਾ !
ਇਸੁ ਗਰਬ ਤੇ ਚਲਹਿ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਵਿਕਾਰਾ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਭੈਰਉ, ਪੰ. 1128.)

No one should feel proud because of his caste; for, he alone is a true Brahmin who grasps God in his heart. O stupid fool! be not proud of your caste, for, too many evils well up from this vain glory. (Rag Bhario, p. 1128.)

35. **Pilgrimage :** ਤੀਰਥ-ਯਾਤਰਾ

ਨਾਵਣ ਚਲੇ ਤੀਰਥੀ ਮਨਿ ਖੋਟੇ ਤਨਿ ਚੋਰ ।
ਇਕੁ ਭਉ ਲਥੀ ਨਾਤਿਆ ਦੁਇ ਭਾ ਚੜੀਅਸੁ ਹੋਰ ।
ਬਾਹਰਿ ਧੋਤੀ ਤੂਮੜੀ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਵਿਸੁ ਨਿਕੋਰ ।
ਸਾਧ ਭਲੇ ਅਣਨਾਤਿਆ ਚੋਰ ਸਿ ਚੋਰਾ ਚੋਰ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹੀ, ਪੰ. 789.)

Men, who having evil minds and thievish bodies, go out to bathe at the pilgrim stations, get only their bodies washed off while their minds are sullied twice over. Though externally washed, they still carry pure poison within like an internally unwashed gourd. While saints are blessed even without such bathing, a thief remains a thief even after his ablutions.

(Rag Suhi, p. 789.)

36. **Wine :** ਸ਼ਰਾਬ

ਜਿਤੁ ਪੀਤੇ ਮਤਿ ਦੂਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਬਰਲੁ ਪਵੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਆਇ ।
ਆਪਣਾ ਪਰਾਇਆ ਨ ਪਛਾਣਈ ਖਸਮਹੁ ਧਕੇ ਖਾਇ ।
ਜਿਤੁ ਪੀਤੇ ਖਸਮੁ ਵਿਸਰੈ ਦਰਗਹ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ ।

ਝੂਠਾ ਮਦ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਪੀਰਦੀ ਜੋ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਰਿ ਵਸਾਇ ।

(ਰਾਗੁ ਬਿਹਾਗੜਾ, ਪੰ. 554.)

After drinking which the intellect departs, madness enters the brain, one cannot distinguish between one's own and another's and is cursed by his master; after drinking which one forgets the Lord and is punished at His court, do not drink that vicious wine, as far as you can help. (Rag Bihagra, p. 554.)

37. Source of Being: ਹੋਂਦ ਦਾ ਸੋਮਾ

ਮਨ ਤੂੰ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਰੂਪ ਹੈ ਆਪਣਾ ਮੂਲੁ ਪਛਾਣੁ
ਮਨ ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਤੇਰੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਹੈ ਗੁਰਮਤੀ ਰੰਗੁ ਮਾਣੁ ।
ਮੂਲੁ ਪਛਾਣਹਿ ਤਾਂ ਸਹੁ ਜਾਣਹਿ ਮਰਨ ਜੀਵਨ ਕੀ ਸੋਝੀ ਹੋਈ
ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਏਕੋ ਜਾਣਹਿ ਤਾਂ ਦੂਜਾ ਫਾਉ ਨ ਹੋਈ ।
ਮਨਿ ਸਾਂਤਿ ਆਈ ਵਜੀ ਵਧਾਈ ਭੀ ਹੋਆ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ
ਇਉ ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਮਨ ਤੂੰ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਰੂਪ ਹੈ ਅਪਣਾ ਮੂਲੁ ਪਛਾਣੁ ।

(ਰਾਗੁ ਆਸਾ, ਪੰ. 441.)

O my conscience, you are a spark of Divine Light. So grasp the real source of your being. O my conscience, God is ever with you. So rejoice in His Presence through the Guru's teaching. By grasping the source of your being, you will come to know your Lord, and also the mystery of birth and death. By knowing and grasping the Supreme One through the Guru's grace, duality shall not cling you; and you will abide in peace and joy, to stand thereby honoured and approved. Hence, says Nanak: O my conscience, you are spark of Divine Light, grasp the real source of your being.

(Rag Asa, p. 441.)

38. Ego : ਹਉਮੈ

ਹਉਮੈ ਨਾਵੈ ਨਾਲਿ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਹੈ
ਦੁਇ ਨ ਵਸੈ ਇਕ ਠਾਇ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਵਡਹੰਸ, ਪੰ. 560.)

Ego is for ever at odds with the Holy Name. These two opposites cannot stay together. (Rag Wadhans, p. 560.)

39. Deceivers : ਕਪਟੀ

ਹਿਰਦੈ ਜਿਨੁ ਕੈ ਕਪਟੁ ਵਸੈ ਬਾਹਰਹੁ ਸੰਤ ਕਹਾਇ ।
ਤ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਚੁਕਈ ਅੰਤਿ ਗਏ ਪਛੁਤਾਇ । (ਰਾਗੁ ਗੁਜਰੀ, ਪੰ. 491.)

They who are deceivers in their hearts, but pretend to holiness outwardly; their lusts are never stilled and they depart grieving from the world. (Rag Gujri, p. 491.)

40. Weal and Woe : ਦੁੱਖ-ਸੁੱਖ

ਮਾਇਆ ਜੇਵਡੁ ਦੁਖੁ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਭਿ ਭਵਿ ਥਕੇ ਸੰਸਾਰੁ ।

ਗੁਰਮਤੀ ਸੁਖੁ ਪਾਇਐ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਉਰਧਾਰਿ । (ਰਾਗ ਸਿਰੀ, ਪੰ. 39.)

No pain is as great as that of *Maya* (the attachment to worldliness). Infected with it, people grow wearily wandering the whole world through. Peace is found only by imbibing the True Name in one's heart through the teaching of the True Guru. (Rag Siri, p. 39.)

41. Detachment within Attachment : ਨਿਰਲੇਪਤਾ

ਮਨ ਰੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਹੀ ਮਾਹਿ ਉਦਾਸ ।

ਸਚੁ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਕਰਣੀ ਸੋ ਕਰੇ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਇ ਪਰਗਾਸੁ । (ਰਾਗ ਸਿਰੀ, ਪੰ. 26.)

O my mind, keep yourself detached from worldliness in your own household. He who practises righteousness and self-discipline and does good deeds, is ever blessed with the illumination of his mind by the grace of the Guru.

(Rag Siri, p. 26.)

42. Retribution : ਬਦਲਾ

ਆਪਿ ਬੀਜਿ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਖਾਵਣਾ । (ਰਾਗ ਸੂਹੀ, ਪੰ. 755.)

Whatever man sows, so does he reap and eat.

(Rag Suhi, p. 755.)

43. Slanderer : ਨਿੰਦਕ

ਪਰ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕਰੇ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਮਲੁ ਲਾਏ ।

ਬਾਹਰਿ ਮਲੁ ਧੋਵੈ ਮਨ ਕੀ ਜੂਠਿ ਨ ਜਾਏ । (ਰਾਗ ਸਿਰੀ, ਪੰ. 88.)

He who slanders others, gathers dirt within. If he washes his body from without, the dirt of the mind still remains.

(Rag Siri, p. 88.)

44. Trust : ਅਮਾਨਤ

ਪਰਾਈ ਅਮਾਣ ਕਿਉ ਰਖੀਐ

ਦਿਤੀ ਹੀ ਸੁਖੁ ਹੋਇ । (ਰਾਗ ਸਾਰੰਗ, ਪੰ. 1249.)

Why should man keep another's trust? By returning it, he attains peace. (Rag Sarang, p. 1249.)

45. Illumination : ਚਾਨਣ

ਜਿਉ ਅੰਧੇਰੇ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਬਾਲੀਐ

ਤਿਉ ਗੁਰ ਗਿਆਨਿ ਅਗਿਆਨੁ ਤਜਾਇ । (ਰਾਗ ਸਿਰੀ, ਪੰ. 39.)

Divine knowledge dispels ignorance, just as light dispels darkness. (Rag Siri, p. 39.)

Religion of Guru Amar Das in his own words

GURBACHAN SINGH NAYYAR*

[As requested by the Editor, Dr G.S. Nayyar has compiled the Sayings of Guru Amar Das under different headings. This will help readers to have the teachings of the Great Master in one place, readily available for reference. —Editor.]

Introduction

Guru Amar Das as depicted in the verses of Adi Granth

The Word, that is all-pervading that God revealed through the Light
(of the Guru) :

And whosoever ingathered his wisdom, him he united, instantaneously, with God.

In the 'family' of Nanak was Lehna known as Angad and the immaculate guru Amar Das :

O guru, thou art my only saviour : birth after birth I seek but thy refuge.¹

In praise of Guru Amar Das

Blessed, forsooth, are the feet that walk on the way of Amar Das,
the guru.

Blessed, forsooth, are the hands that touch his feet.

Blessed, forsooth, is the tongue that uttereth his name.

Blessed, forsooth, are the eyes which see the sight of the guru's.

Blessed, forsooth, are the ears which hear his praise.

Blessed and fulfilled is the heart in which abideth He, the father of
the world.

Blessed, O Jalpa, is the head that falleth at the feet of the Guru.²

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1. *Adi Granth*, Sawayyas in praise of Guru Amar Das, p. 1395; see also Gopal Singh, tr., *Sri Guru-Granth Sahib*, Gurdas Kapur and sons, Private Ltd. Delhi-Jullundur, etc. 1961, p. 1323.

2. *Adi Granth*. p. 1394; also *Ibid.*, 1322.

The sayings

God head

The Creator

It is through the formless Lord that all forms came into being,
And 'tis (also) through His will that Maya and Infatuation were born :
Yea, all this is the wondrous play of the Creator-Lord; so hearing of
Him cherish Him thou in the mind.³

The Lord, of Himself, created Himself,
And lo, He the One worketh through all, hid in our midst,
And whosoever knoweth himself too that God, the life of all life, is
the mainstay of all.

He, who created Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva,
He, also yoketh each to his task,
And, whomsoever He loveth, him He uniteth with Himself ;
Yea, he who knoweth the One alone by the Guru's grace.⁴

Some of His characteristics

The Lord Himself is within all hearts and also without is He.
He Himself is manifest : Himself is He unmanifest.
For aeons of years He created the Chaos and abided in it, seated in
Himself

Then there were no Vedas, nor Shastras, nor Puranas; and He the
one Absolute Lord, was all by Himself ;
Withdrawn from all, He sat in the heart of absolute trance :
Yea, that unfathomable ocean (of good) knowth Himself alone His
own state.⁵

The Lord Himself is the school : Himself is He the Teacher : Him-
self He brought in the scholars to be schooled.
He Himself is the Father and Mother : Himself He maketh the
child's mind wise.

Some are made wise and they get to know all, while others He
leaveth ignorant as ever.

Some He calleth into His presence, when He, the True one, so
willeth.

Yea they whom the Lord blesseth with his glory, through the guru,
they are acclaimed at the Lord's true court.⁶

3. *Adi Granth*, p. 1065; also *Ibid.*, 1017.

4. *Adi Granth*, Maru M. 3, p. 1051; also *Ibid.*, 1003.

5. *Adi Granth*, Salok M. 3, p. 555; also Gopal Singh, tr. p. 543.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 552-53; p. 541.

The Lord Himself is the Master, Himself the devotee, Himself is He devoted to Himself,

He Himself, watching all, is pleased ; yea, He Himself yoketh all to their tasks in His Will.

He leadeth some on the path, others He strayeth from the path.

Yea, True is my Lord, True is His justice ; and he constructeth and see-eth all His play.

Sayeth Nanak "Sing thou the Lord's praise by the Guru's grace."⁷

Our true, beneficent God is the only Lord of all life,

And He's revealed unto one by the service of the Guru, yea, by contemplating the word,

And there's only but one Benign rule and one command : yea, it is

He who yoketh each to his task age after age.⁸

Why forget Him who hath given thee life and soul ?

Why forget Him who prevadeth all ?

Yea, by serving whom thou art honoured at the Lord's Court.

Sacrifice am I unto the Name of the Lord.

Yea, forsaking Him, I cease to be.⁹

His Grace

The Creator-Lord createth all by Himself and then watcheth all :

Yea, he alone is of account to Him on whom is His grace,

And he, who hath attained wisdom, by the Guru's grace, knoweth all, while the man of ignorance committeth dark deeds.¹⁰

God the Protector

Death's courier can touch not him, whom thou mercifully protectest,
O venerable Lord.

True is thy protection, O Sire Lord.

It neither leaves, nor decreases its beneficence.

Forsaking God, they who are attached to another's love, they continue coming and going.

They who seek thy refuge, O praise worthy Lord,
they meet with no suffering and hunger.

O Nanak, ever praise thou the Name, that thou may merge in the True Lord.¹¹

7. *Adi Granth*, p. 550; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 538.

8. *Ibid.*, Maru M. 3, p. 1045; tr. 998.

9. *Ibid.*, Gauri Guareri M. 3, p. 158-59; tr. 152-153.

10. *Ibid.*, Maru M. 3, p. 1047; tr. p. 999.

11. *Adi Granth*, p. 1334; tr. Manmohan Singh, pp. 4401-02.

Seeing the world on Fire, I have sought to the Lord's refuge,
And I pray to my true Guru, "O Lord, save me and bless me with
the glory (of thy Name),

Yea, keep me in Thy refuge and bless me with the glory of Thy
Name ; for there is no one as beneficent as art Thou."¹²

The Creation

Creating the creation, the Creator Himself beholds it.
As He wills, so yokes He the mortals.¹³

All kings and their chiefs that there are, are the creation of God.
And they do as the Lord willeth, for, they all beg from and lean
upon their Lord.

Yea, that Lord also is on the Guru's side, for, He maketh all the
creation to serve the guru.

Lo, such is the glory of serving the God that our adversaries are
slain and dispelled from within us.

Yea, the Lord is merciful to His devotees, and in His beneficence,
protecteth He His servants.¹⁴

God-wards

Those turned God-wards are pleasing to their God; yea they ring
true at the Lord's Court.

In the minds of these God's friends is bliss, for, they reflect on the
Guru's word

They enshrine the word within, and so their pain is dispelled and
their minds are illumined.

Nanak : Our Lord, the Saviour saveth His devotees, blessing them
with His mercy.¹⁵

So long as we are torn by the sense of duality, we call some good,
some evil,

But when one turns God-wards, one is merged in the One Lord and
see-eth the One alone, all over.¹⁶

Ask them, the God-wards, who meditate (on the Name),

Who, through the Guru's service, are satiated in mind.

They alone are rich who earn the Lord's Name

12. *Ibid.*, p. 571; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 557.

13. *Adi Granth*, p. 1257; tr. Manmohan Singh (tr.), *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, S.G.P.C.,
Amritsar, 1969, p. 4147.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 851; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 808.

15. *Adi Granth*, Sloka M. 3, p. 549; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 537.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 757; tr. p. 723.

and gather-in wisdom through the perfect Guru.¹⁷

The Gurmukhs

The nature of devotion of the *Gurmukhs* is that their within is imbued with Love,

And through the word, O, dwell they on it the way of equipoise;

True, true is the way of devotion that the God-wards seek,

But to exhibit devotion through dance is a vanity that leads to pain.¹⁸

Blessed is all that the *Gurmukh* doeth, the natural way,

And utters he the Name ever, and so reapeth the profit of the Lord's Name.

And reaping the profit of the Name, enjoyeth he the Lord's bliss, and utters he ever the Name.

He gathereth virtues and dispelleth evil, and so he realiseth his self.

Through the Guru's instructions he's blest with glory, and through the True word, he partakes of the essence.

Sayeth Nanak "Wondrous is devotion to the Lord : but rare is the one who is imbued with it."¹⁹

Significance of the Guru

Through the Guru, one contemplateth the Lord's Name,

And, so he is victorious in life, for, he earneth the Name.

Sweet is the Lord's wisdom, as is concentration on the Guru's word.

But rare is the one, who by the Guru's grace, tastes the word,

One practiseth the way of works and pious conduct,

But cursed be the ego (born of it), without the Name.

Nanak : he, who is bound down and engrossed by Maya, is released only through the Guru's wisdom.²⁰

Blessed is he to whom the Guru reveals (the mystery of the Lord),

From the Guru is the great peace of poise and dwelling on the truth,

From the Guru doth the door of salvation (open unto us).

By great, good fortune is the Guru met,

And one mergeth in the peace of truth.

On meeting the Guru, the fire of desire is quenched.

From the Guru doeth peace come into our minds.

From the Guru do the fallen ones become whole and pure.

Through the Guru is one attuned to the word.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 161; tr. p. 154.

18. *Adi Granth*, p. 364; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 356.

19. *Ibid.*, Vadhans M. 3, p. 568; tr. 554.

20. *Adi Granth*, Gauri Guareri M. 3, p. 162; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 155.

Without the Guru, all wander about in doubt.²¹
 Through the Guru one gathers truth, self-discipline, the Quintessence
 (of reality) and wisdom.
 Through the Guru is one attuned to the truth.
 O my mind, gather thou, through the Guru, the Lord's Name
 Which lasts with thee, and goeth along with thee²² (in the yond).
 Wherever is the True Guru, there congregates also the Holy :
 Therein is sung the Lord's praise, in utter peace.
 Wherever is the true Guru, there, through the word, doth the ego (of
 man) depart.
 By service (of the Lord), through the Guru's grace, one getteth a
 place in the Lord's mansion.
 And, through the Guru, is the Lord's Name enshrined in one's heart;
 Yea, through the Guru's word, one worshippeth the Lord and mer-
 geth in the Lord's Name.
 The beneficent Lord of Himself bestoweth His munificence,
 And one loveth then the perfect Guru.²³
 Glory be to my Guru, the True Pursha, meeting with whom my
 mind is at peace.
 Glory be to my Guru, the eternal person, who blest me with the
 devotion to the Lord.
 Glory be to my Guru, the Lord's devotee, serving whom I was attun-
 ed to the Lord's Name.
 Glory be to my wise Guru, who instructed me to look upon the
 friend and foe with same eye.
 Glory be to my Guru, my eternal friend, who inspired me to love
 the Lord's Name.²⁴
 At thy parent's home thy stay will not last long; so is the writ of the
 Lord.
 Glorious is the bride who singeth the praises of the Lord, through
 the Guru.
 Yea, at the parents Home, she gathers virtue,
 And so is received with honour at her in-laws.
 Through the Guru, she mergeth in peace,

21. *Ibid.*, Gauri Guareri M. 3, p. 158; tr. p. 151.

22. *Adi Granth*, Vadhans M. 3, p. 560; tr. Gopal Singh, 547.

23. *Ibid.*, Gauri Guareri, M. 3, p. 160; tr. 153.

24. *Adi Granth*, p. 594; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 575.

And, yea, she loveth the Lord in her mind.²⁵
Through the perfect Guru, one attains the Name :
Yea, through the true Word, one mergeth in Truth.
O mind gather thou the treasure of the Name :
And submit to the Will of thy Guru,
Through the Guru's Word, the dirt of one's mind is eradicated : and
the immaculate Name comes to abide in one's mind.²⁶

The Name

Nanak : the Name is the Treasure : it is attained through the Guru.
The egocentrics know not their inner Treasure and so the blind ones
yelp and wail in vain.²⁷

Immaculate is the golden body which is attuned to the truth,
through the true Name.²⁸

Truly detached are those who are dedicated to the true Name, and
they enter the gate of salvation.²⁹

He who dieth in the Word, loseth his self,
Yea, he who serves the Guru, is lured not by greed.
In his mind dwelleth the beneficent, the fear-free Lord,
Yea, 'tis a man of destiny who's blest with the true word.³⁰
He who dieth in the Word, is ever in bliss.

And uniteth he with the true Guru, yea, the True God.
And thereafter he dieth not, nor cometh, nor goeth he,
And blest by the perfect Guru, mergeth he in truth.
They in whose eternal lot was writ the Lord's Name,
They dwelt ever on the Name : this is the special technique of
worship they received from the Perfect Guru.³¹

If I be a yogi and wander through the world, begging from door to
door,

The Lord will ask the account of me, then whom shall I answer and
whom not ?

So I beg only for the Lord's Name at the House of contentment,
and I keep the company ever of truth.

25. *Ibid.*, Gauri Bairagan M. 3, p. 162; Gopal Singh, tr. p. 155.

26. *Adi Granth*, Vadhans M. 3, p. 560; tr. p. 547.

27. *Ibid.*, Sloka M. 3, p. 590; tr. p. 572.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 590; tr. p. 573.

29. *Ibid.*, Vadhans M. 3, p. 559; tr. p. 547.

30. *Adi Granth*, Asa M. 3, p. 361; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 352.

31. *Ibid.*, Asa M. 3, *panch padas*, p. 364; tr. p. 355.

Yea the one who wears the cloak of a mendicant, receiveth it not :
thiswise, every one is bound to death.

Sayeth Nanak "Cherish thou the true Name, for, all else is an
illusion."³²

Salvation (Liberation)

He alone obtains the door of salvation, who stills his ego from
within himself.

Banishing mammon from within him, by the Guru's grace, man is
re-born into the Lord's home.³³

Emancipation of the Word is through the Lord's Name :

Yea, it ferrieth us across the sea of existence, so cherish thou the
Name by the Guru's grace

Which lasteth with thee ever and forever more.³⁴

They, who're dedicated to the Guru's wisdom, are emancipated in
life,

And they are ever awake, being devoted to God.³⁵

When one serveth the Guru, the music of poise ringeth in one's mind,
and one is blest with wisdom and emancipation.³⁶

Eternal life

I know not how to die (to myself) : what this (strange) death is !

Yea, if one forsaketh not the Lord from the mind, one dieth spon-
taneously (to the self).

Everyone is afraid of death and wanteth to live (eternally),

But he, who dieth in life, by the Guru's grace, he alone knoweth
the will.³⁷

The eternal bride

The eternal bride is she whom loveth the Lord.

She adorns herself with nothing save the Guru's word, delightful
is her bed and she enjoyeth her spouse night and day, and meet-
ing with her love, she is forever in joy,

Yea, she is the true bride who loveth the truth, and keepeth the
Lord for ever in her heart.

32. *Ibid.*, Sloka M. 3, p. 1089; tr. p. 1041.

33. *Adi Granth*, Malar 3rd Guru, Ashtpadis, p. 1276; tr. Manmohan Singh, p. 4208.

34. *Ibid.*, Bhairo M. 3, p. 1129; tr. p. 1078.

35. *Ibid.*, Malhar M. 3, p. 1262; tr. p. 1205.

36. *Ibid.*, Sorath M. 3, p. 604; tr. 584.

37. *Adi Granth*, p. 555; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 543.

The presence of her Lord is to her so dear,
For my Lord pervadeth all, all over.³⁸

Body—the Lord's bride

Within the body abide all the worlds and the under worlds :
Within the body abides the beneficent life of all life who sustaineth
all.
Blessed is the body, the Lord's bride, which cherisheth the Name,
by the Guru's grace.
Within the body abides the unknowable He;
But, the unwise egocentric know not the truth and go to search for
Him without.³⁹

Torturing of the body is meaningless

Some go and sit in the forest regions and respond not to a call,
Some there are, who in the winter season shatter their body with
ice and ice cold water.
Some besmear their body-limbs with ashes and wash off their filth,
Some wear unshorn matted locks and look hideous. They thus
dishonour their lineage and dynasty.
Some day and night wander about naked and sleep not a sound
sleep.
Some there are, who burn their body-limbs in fire and thiswise ruin
themselves.
Without the Lord's Name, man's body is reduced to ashes, of what
avail is then, saying and wailing.
They alone look embellished in the Lord's Court, who serve their
true Guru.⁴⁰

Self mortification condemned

Through great self-mortification, no one obtains peace of mind.
By the Guru's instruction, One is blessed with the Name.⁴¹

The World is transitory

What is the world ? It is coming and going : (Within,) one gets
involved with illusions, and one's mind is fed upon thoughts of sin,
But he, who realiseth the Guru's word, praiseth ever the ever-
abiding God

38. *Ibid.*, Asa M. 3, p. 363; tr. p. 354.

39. *Adi Granth*, Suhi M. 3, p. 754; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 721.

40. *Ibid.*, Sloka M. 3, p. 1284; tr. Manmohan Singh, pp. 4238-39.

41. *Adi Granth*, Basant 3rd Guru, p. 1176; tr. Manmohan Singh, p. 3871.

They who are rooted in God are ever in bliss,
But they who'ar attached to the branches waste their lives in vain.⁴²

The Kali-age

No one in this Kali-age is attracted by *Dharma* or (good) actions :
This age (as if) was born in the house of a *Chandal*.

Nanak : know thou, that no one is saved save through the Lord's
Name.⁴³

Of the four ages, the Kali-age alone is curst, but there is a sublime
state too in this age.

Yea, by the Guru's grace, one is blest with the Lord's praise in
whose lot it is so writ by God.

Nanak : by the Guru's grace, then one utters the Lord's praise and
in it one mergeth.⁴⁴

Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu

Through Brahma dawned the light of the Vedas but he himself was
involved in the mazes of maya and desire.

Shiva is the great gnostic, absorbed in himself but he too is full of
wrath and ego.

Vishnu is engaged in reincarnating himself : who then is it that will
emancipate the world ?

The wise of God are imbued with wisdom in this age, and so are
rid of the darkness of desire.

Through the service of the true Guru is one emancipated,
yea, he, who turns God-wards; swims across the sea of existence.⁴⁵

The Vedas

The world is involved in the sermons of the Vedas and reflects on
the three modes.

Without the Name, it suffers punishment of the death's courier
and comes and goes over and over again.⁴⁶

Lay aside the Caste

Hereafter goeth not caste nor colour with thee,

And thou becomest as are thy deeds,

Through the Word, thou art the highest of the high,

And thou mergest in the truth for ever.⁴⁷

42. *Ibid.*, Maru M. 3, p. 1051; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 1004.

43. *Adi Granth*, Gauri Guareri M. 3, p. 161; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 154.

44. *Ibid.*, Sloka M. 3, p. 651; tr. p. 626.

45. *Ibid.*, Vadhans M. 3, p. 559; tr. p. 547.

46. *Adi Granth*, Malar 3rd Guru, p. 1276; tr. Manmohan Singh, pp. 4209-10.

47. *Ibid.*, Asa M. 3, p. 363; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 354.

The Lord's slave layeth aside his caste,
And surrenders his body and mind to the true Guru.⁴⁸

The High Born

The high-born is he, his repute too is high,
Through the Guru, he mounts to on high
And, through the Name, Nanak, he gathers glory.⁴⁹

Control over five sensory organs

There are five sensory organs,
Whosoever overwhelms these five;
he is blessed with compassion and contentment by the Guru's
instruction.⁵⁰

Sense-Desires

One's mind wandereth in the ten directions : then, how can one
sing the Lord's praise.

One is in the grip of sense-desires, and lust and wrath afflict one
with pain.

Utter 'praise be to the Lord' : and sing (the Lord's) praise in poise.⁵¹
In desire, there is very great pain. The way-ward person attaches
his mind to it.

The Guru-wards become desireless and attain to supreme bliss,
In household they remain un-attached and imbibe affection for the
detached Lord.⁵²

The Slander and its impact

It is not good to slander anyone; it is only the unwise egocentrics
who indulge in it.

Blackened are their faces and they are thrown into the deeps of hell.

This mind becometh as it thinketh and so doth it act :

For, that one soweth, one reapeth oneself : What else can one say
about this

The great men speak ever for the good of others,

Yea, they are the pools of nectar and greed lureth them not.⁵³

Ego and the Egocentrics : (Give up Ego)

In ego is the world dying, dying, dying.

So long is one alive, one cherisheth not the Lord, O what shall one

48. *Ibid.* 49. *Ibid.*, Asa M. 3, p. 363; tr. p. 354.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 1334; tr. Manmohan Singh, p. 4404.

51. *Adi Granth*, Vadhans M. 3, p. 565; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 552.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 1249; tr. Manmohan Singh, p. 4120.

53. *Ibid.*, Rag Suhi M. 3, p. 755; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 721.

do in the yond ?

The gnostic is conscious (of his destiny) : the agnostic, in his confusion, committeth sin.

Nanak : that one soweth here, one reapeth hereafter : yea, that alone doth one receive in the yond.⁵⁴

In ego, one is attacked by fear; and one passeth one's life afraid (of what may be).

Yea, ego is a great malady : involved in it, one is released not from the round.

They in whose lot it was so writ by God, they met with the true Guru.

Nanak : they are then saved, by the Guru's grace, and dispel their ego through the word.⁵⁵

Everyone worshippeth God, abiding in ego,

And so one's mind is saturated not with God, nor one gathereth peace,

One uttereth (God) to gratify one's own ego,

And so wasteth away one's life, and one's dedication availeth not.⁵⁶

The egocentrics (are born to die), and even in death are wasted away,

They love the other and their souls are scourged,

They are ruined saying ever : 'tis mine,' 'tis mine,'

And they examine not their self, and drowse in doubt.⁵⁷

Egocentricity and the Name are inimical to each other : the two stay not together.

For, in ego, one can serve not (one's Lord), and the mind is devoid (of the Name).

Enshrine, thy Lord's Name, O my mind, and practise the Guru's word.

Yea, when one obeyeth the Lord's will, one is rid of one's ego and one uniteth with one's God.

The human body itself is individuation; all creation manifests itself individuation.

But individuation leads to utter darkness, and so one knoweth not (the Real).

54. *Adi Granth*, p. 556; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 544.

55. *Ibid.*, Sloka M. 3, 592; tr. p. 574.

56. *Ibid.*, Malhar M. 3, Ashtapadis, p. 1278; tr. p. 1219.

57. *Adi Granth*, Asa M. 3, p. 362; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 353.

In ego, one realiseth not the (Lord's) Will;
nor love-worships one's Lord.
To ego is the individual bound, and so within him abides not the
Name.

Sayeth Nanak "Meeting with the true Guru, one is rid of one's ego,
and so truth abides in one's mind.

And so one practiseth the truth, abides in truth, and is dedicated to
the service of the True One.⁵⁸

The egocentrics are deluded in the world by doubt.
For without the capital-stock, vain is all their trade.
Without Capital, yea, O who can receive Merchandise ?
The egocentric thus is led astray and wastes his life away.

Duality

No one can serve the Lord in duality
Yea, in ego, one eateth the poison of Maya and thus is one seduced
by sons, the family, and the home.⁵⁹

And so do the blind, self-willed beings come and go.
He who turns self-wards earns nothing but falsehood,
And mounts not he to the castle of the Lord.

In duality, he is deluded by doubt,
And bound to life's bonds, he cometh and goeth.⁶⁰

Ego hath made the whole world mad,
And through duality, one is lost in doubt.
His anxiety is limitless, for the knoweth not his self,
And in strife, doth he lose his life.

Dwell thou on the Lord in thy heart, O dear,
Thus by the Guru's grace, doth thy tongue taste the truth.⁶¹

He who's attached to duality, incurreth pain,
Yea, without the word he has wasted away his life in vain.
He who serves the Guru, his mind is illumined and he, then, is lured
not away by the love of the other.⁶²

Maya

Love of Maya is an affliction : false is its trade.
Uttering falsehood, one eateth poison and the evil in one increaseth.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 560; tr. 548.

59. *Adi Granth*, Gauri Guareri M. 3, p. 161; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 154.

60. *Ibid.*, Asa M. 3, p. 363; tr. p. 354.

61. *Ibid.*, Gauri Guareri M. 3.

62. *Adi Granth*, Asa M. 3, p. 362; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 353.

Yea, the evil increaseth and the transient world is afflicted by doubt :
without the Name one loseth honour.

The more the Pandits read, the more they indulge in strife; without
knowing, they attain not happiness.

And being in love with Maya, their comings and goings end not.

Yea, the love of Maya leadeth to pain, false is its trade.⁶³

Maya, through which comes ego, enticeth us all away, and one is
yoked to the other,

It can be slain not, nor sold off to another,

Yea, if one burneth it off with the Guru's Word, it leaveth one off,

And one's body and mind become immaculate and one enshrines the
Name in the mind.

Nanak : it is through the word that Maya is slain, and unto the
Word one attaineth through the Guru.⁶⁴

Maya and sense of attachment envelop us in darkness;

Without the Guru, one is enlightened not.

They who attune themselves to the Word, to them is revealed the

Lord : but they who are attached to the other, are wasted away.⁶⁵

The scholars and the silent sages

Of reading, reading, the scholars and the silent sages are tired, and
weary are the sectarians of washing their bodies. Without the
Name, no one attains unto God.⁶⁶

He alone is a man of silence (मौन) who silences the duality of his
mind,

And stilling thiswise the mind, reflecteth on God.

O friends, search ye this mind,

And ye come upon the Name, the treasure (of bliss).⁶⁷

The Yogis and Celibates

The nine great yogis, six celibates, eighty four men of miracles and
the religious guides: of these no one knows the Lord's limit. Con-
templating the Name, through the Guru, one merges in Thee, O
my Master.⁶⁸

63. *Ibid.*, p. 570; tr. p. 556.

64. *Ibid.*, Sloka M. 3, p. 853; tr. p. 810.

65. *Adi Granth*, Vadhans M. 3, p. 559; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 546.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 1250; tr. Manmohan Singh, pp. 4123-24.

67. *Ibid.*, Bhairo M. 3, pp. 1128-29; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 1078.

68. *Adi Granth*, p. 1282; tr. Manmohan Singh, p. 4229.

The Brahmin

Be not proud of thy caste :

For he alone is *Brahmin* who knoweth *Brahma*, the only God.

O unwise one, be not proud of thy caste

For, a myriad errors flow out of this pride.⁶⁹

The ignorant

They who identify themselves not with the Guru, O, cursed are such beings;

O God, let me not see their sight for they are the great sinners who silence the voice of their souls.

Like abandoned women, they go from door to door with an evil mind.

By great good fortune they repair to the society of the saints and are blest by the Guru.

O God, lead me on to the Guru that I be a sacrifice unto him.⁷⁰

Some there are who wear the coat of ashes :

But is there one who hath laid low his ego without the Word ?

He's ever in fire, deluded by doubt and the coat he wears.

Some there are who remain detached even within the household.

And they die (to the self) through the Word and abide ever in the Name.⁷¹

Sayeth Nanak : "The mind is overcome only by reflecting on Guru's word."

Everyone seeketh to still the mind, but can do so not :

Yea, only if the true Guru is met, the mind itself overpowereth the mind.⁷²

Our true friends and brothers

They alone are our brothers, our friends, who dwell upon the True One :

They burn their sins Like straw and keep company always with virtue,

And so joy wells up in their minds, and they are dedicated to the true worship,

69. *Ibid.*, Rag Bhario M. 3, Chaupadas, p. 1128; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 1077.

70. *Adi Granth*, p. 651; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 626.

71. *Ibid.*, Maru M. 3, p. 1046; tr. p. 999.

72. *Ibid.*, Var of Maru, M. 3, p. 1089; tr. p. 1041.

73. *Adi Granth*, Rag Suhi M. 3, p. 756; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 722.

And, through the Guru's word, they deal in truth alone, and reap the profit of the Name.⁷³

Sins of myriad births

The sins of a myriad births stick to this mind and black is now its countenance

Like the oilman's duster it is cleansed not even if it's washed a hundred times.

By the Guru's grace one dieth to life, and one's mind's current is turned.

Nanak : the mind is then soiled not and one is cast not into the womb again.⁷⁴

Submission before His Will

O pied-cuckoo, wail not, nor allow this soul of thine to long for water.

ObeY thou the Lord's command. Nanak, by submitting to His Will, thy thirst shall be quenched and thou shall have fourfold love for Him.⁷⁵

Disciplining of the Sex

If one learneth the postures of the adepts and disciplines his sex,
The dirt of one's mind is cleansed not, nor goeth the filth of one's ego;

No other discipline works on this mind but the refuge of the true Guru,

Meeting with whom one's mind is transformed and one's state becometh indescribable.⁷⁶

True Worship

He, who danceth to worship and so to make himself known, Yea, he danceth in vain and suffereth grievous pain.

By dancing about one worships not the Lord,

But he, who dieth in the Word, attaineth to the truth.

Yea, He, the Lord, is the lover of His devotees and maketh He all worship Him.

True worship is that by which one loses one's self.

My true master knoweth all my ways,

And so Blesseth Nanak, and the Name to him is revealed.⁷⁷

74. *Ibid.*, p. 651; tr. p. 626.

75. *Adi Granth*, p. 1282; tr. Manmohan Singh, p. 4229.

76. *Ibid.*, Vadhans M. 3, p. 558; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 546.

77. *Adi Granth*, p. 158; tr. Gopal Singh, p. 152

The Prayer

O God, Forgive my past and now show me the path,
 That I am dedicated to Thy Feet, eradicating my self from within me.
 O my mind, contemplate the Lord's Name by the Guru's grace,
 And be clung to the God's feet with a single mind and single pointed love.⁷⁸

Bani of Guru Amar Das in Different Rags

DEVINDER KUMAR VERMA*

Guru Amar Das was a poet of great eminence and his spiritual utterances or hymns contained in the *Guru Granth Sahib* under different *Rags* are as given below :

1. Sri (total shabads-72), pp. 25-39, 67
2. Majh (35), pp. 111-126, 128, 149, 158, 161
3. Gauri (39), pp. 157-163, 243-6
4. Asa (48), pp. 360-65, 422-32, 434, 438, 440
5. Gujri (72), pp. 490-92, 509-10, 515-17
6. Bihagra (33), pp. 549, 554
7. Vadhans (61), pp. 558-60, 567-71, 582-84
8. Sorath (63), pp. 599-603, 636-40, 646, 653
9. Dhanasari (9), pp. 662-65
10. Suhi (47), pp. 755, 757, 767-72, 785-8
11. Bilawal (41), pp. 796-8, 832, 841, 842
12. Ramkali (90), pp. 879, 917-8, 938, 953
13. Maru (76), pp. 995-6, 1016, 1043-66, 1085, 1087, 1092
14. Bhairon (23), pp. 1128-34, 1155-6
15. Basant (20), pp. 1169, 1172
16. Sarang (26), pp. 1232-3, 1248-9
17. Malar (43), pp. 1256-61, 1275-6, 1282
18. Rag Parbhati (9), pp. 1332-4, 1345
19. Jai-jaiwanti (1), p. 1392
- Sloka Varan ton Vadhik (67)
- Sloka under Kabir (1)
- Sloka under Farid (3)

[Some writers have given the number of *Rags* as 17, whereas according to the list given above it comes to 19. We shall be grateful if some scholar or music expert helps us solve the problem ? Editor.]

78. *Ibid.*, p. 994; tr. p. 950.

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Guru Amar Das A Great Reformer

MOHAN SINGH*

In the Sikh Faith the Gurus are light-bearers to man-kind. They are messengers of the Timeless. Of the ten Sikh Gurus, Guru Amar Das was the third, who hailed from a fairly rich, well to do farmer-cum-trader family of the Vaishnavite faith.

He ascended the *Gur-gadi* on 29th March, 1552, at the advanced age of 73. On him fell the responsibility to stabilize the Sikh religion started by Guru Nanak (1469-1539), and nurtured by second Guru, Guru Angad Dev. Guru Amar Das followed the behests of his predecessors zealously to rear the Sikh religion to full bloom.

His *Guruship* proved a turning point in the history of Sikhism. In 22 years of *Guruship*, there is not an aspect of Sikh faith that Guru Amar Das has not dealt with effectively. His all-pervading, many splendoured, great contribution covered spiritual, religious, personal, economic and all-comprehensive social aspects. It was his dynamism and creative spirit which, even at his advanced years of 73-95, transformed Sikhism a great deal.

Guru Ji's extraordinary forbearance, exemplary patience, utter humility, compassion and concern for the lowly down-trodden suffering humanity was some thing unique. Service of humanity in any shape and form was all important to him. He was essentially a humanist, a man of peace and humility. His tenure of *Guruship* is studded with many and varied achievements, which put Sikhism on solid unshakable foundations.

Dr Radhakrishnan, the well known philosopher, speaks of the nobility and secularism of the Sikh Gurus in endearing words as under :

"...The Sikh Gurus who compiled the *Adi Granth* had the noble quality of appreciation of whatever valuable in other religious traditions..."

Nanak, the founder of Sikh faith, wanted to build a nation of self-respecting men and women devoted to God. And for them he ordained family life, that of a house-holder, but his eldest son Baba Sri Chand

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1. *Indian Religions* by S. Radhakrishnan, published by Vision Books (Pvt. Ltd.), New Delhi, p. 180.

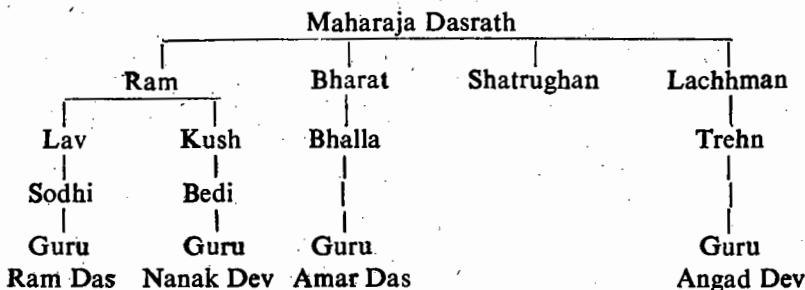
after Guru Nanak's demise started a sect of Udasis given to recluse and celibacy. On account of old deep rooted traditions, people in general put premium on asceticism and celibacy. Due to this, coupled with Baba Sri Chand's outstanding personality and captivating persuasion, people in large number started veering to Udasi Sect. It was Guru Amar Das' timely and effective measures that put a halt to it and saved the Sikhs going astray like the followers of many a Bhagta and Saint and thereby prevented Sikhism from disintegration.

Amar Das was born on 5th May, 1479, in a Khatri family of Vaishnavite faith of Bhalla clan, in village Basarke. The village is in Amritsar district and is 5 miles (8 k.m.) west of Amritsar and 3 miles (5 k.m.) south of Gurdwara Cheharta Sahib. In those days of early marriages (10-15 years) and large families, Amar Das married late at the respectable age of 24. He had a moderate family of 4 (2 sons and 2 daughters) even by present day standard family of 3.

Amar Das, a man with deep religious disposition right from childhood and with staunch Vaishnavite cult, was well versed in principles of Hindu Philosophy.

Dr Kala Singh Bedi, traces the ancestry of Guru Amar Das as under :

Ancestry Chart



The dynasty chart is given here, not with a view to linking the revered Gurus with Surya Vansh or with any other high ancestry, but just to acquaint the readers with the facts as they are.

For almost 20 years Amar Das had been regularly going on pilgrimage to holy places. It was on his last visit that a *Sanyasi* accompanying Amar Das on return journey asked the name of his Guru. Amar Das's reply in the negative infuriated the *Sanyasi*. He parted company with Amar Das in a huff, saying that it was sinful to be in the company of a *Nigura*, a Guruless person. The *Sanyasi's* these remarks set

Amar Das athinking. He then realised that he had wasted 20 valuable years of his life in pilgrimages. He thus was eagerly in search of a Guru.

One fine morning he heard *Bibi Amaro* (daughter of Guru Angad Dev, married to his brother Manak Chand's son, i. e., his nephew), reciting Guru Nanak's hymns, which deeply touched the tender inner chords of Amar Das. He, then accompanied by *Bibi Amaro*, went to Guru Angad, the successor of Guru Nanak.

It was in the year 1541 at the age of 61, that Amar Das fell at the feet of Guru Angad Dev, 25 years younger, and took him as his *Guru*. Then onward, Amar Das remained in Guru Angad's darbar to serve the Guru selflessly in utter humility. No work howsoever hard, like cutting and carrying wood from jungle, fetching water, cleaning utensils and serving food in 'Langar' even in his sixties was too much for him. To him it was labour of love and no work below his dignity, whereby he overcame 'ego' completely, which is the main curtain between man and God. By then Amar Das had become an embodiment of piety and patience, humility and holiness, forbearance and forgiveness. Thus the staunch Vaishnavite Amar Das, on absolute surrender to Guru Angad, underwent complete transformation. With solemn dedication and devotion, with which he lay at the feet of his Master, he struggled hard to acquire spiritual ascendancy. Overwhelmed with Amar Das's absolute submission and utter devotion, Guru Angad blessed him as 'Amar Das' 'the strength for the weak, protection for the protectionless, shelter for the shelterless and so on.' Later Guru Angad Dev Ji overriding the claims of his two sons, passed the light and spirit onto Amar Das, giving him the Gur-gadi on 29th March, 1552. Till then, Gur-gadi had not become dynastic affair and went purely by merit, as Guru Nanak had bestowed Gur-gadi on Angad Dev, superseding the claims of his sons.

Guru Amar Das, on ascending Gur-gadi, set himself to discharge the onerous duties of Guruship in all earnestness, in an organised and planned manner. He strived to uplift the down-trodden, the women, fight the evil of caste, creed and status, eradicate untouchability, combat fanaticism, ameliorate the sufferings of the humanity at large and guide them on the righteous path to be one with 'God' the Creator.

At the ripe age of 73, he brought with him the rich worldly experience, serene maturity, deep humanism, vision and his innate organising ability to handle and solve the intricate problems effectively to their logical end.

The third Guru would neither denigrate nor discriminate against any one. He found good in all religions. He, therefore, never claimed

that only the followers of Sikh religion would attain salvation. He rather believed that all Paths lead to the 'ONE', the Creator. He thus gave the new lead by proclaiming :

ਜਗਤੁ ਜਲੰਦਾ ਰਖਿ ਲੈ ਅਪਣੀ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਧਾਰਿ ।

ਜਿਤੁ ਦੁਆਰੈ ਉਬਰੈ ਤਿਤੇ ਲੇਹੁ ਉਬਾਰਿ ।

O Lord, by Thy Grace, save the World burning in Agony,
Uplift and embrace them whichever path (door) they Emerge.

(M. 3, p. 853.)

He never considered 'Truth' and 'Goodness,' the monopoly of any particular religion.

The doctrines and concept of Sikh faith enunciated by Guru Nanak have been beautifully elucidated by the Third Guru. With genuine understanding of the philosophical significance of *bani* (Gurus' hymns), he deftly dealt with all aspects of the Sikh thought, faith and belief.

For Sikhs, 'God' is not an abstraction, but an actuality. In this respect, Dr Radhakrishnan, in his *Indian Religions* (p. 182, portrays) the Sikh conception of 'God' as under :

"For Sikhs God is not abstraction, but an actuality. He is truth, formless, *nirguna*, absolute, eternal, infinite, beyond human comprehension."

Sikh philosophy as elucidated above is based on the doctrine of 'One God' who pervades throughout the Universe, in its every atom and there is none else, only He the 'One' that exists. The same Guru Amar Das has enshrined in *bani* as under :

ਤੂੰ ਆਪੇ ਮੋਲਹਿ ਵੇਖਹਿ ਹਦੂਰਿ । ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਆਪਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਭਰਪੂਰਿ ।

(Majh, M. 3, p. 113.)

Guru Ji equates Truth with 'God' saying :

ਸਚੇ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਕੋ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਦੁਆ ।

None else exists except the True One (Majh M. 3, p. 113.)
and

ਸਚੇ ਸਚੁ ਵਰਤੇ ਸਭਨੀ ਥਾਈ ਸਚੇ ਸਚਿ ਸਮਾਵਣਿਆ ।

Truth and Truth alone prevails all over,

Truth by itself will merge in the Creator. (Majh, M. 3, p. 112.)

Importance of Guru and *Shabad* is elucidated thus :

ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਸਬਦਿ ਮਨੁ ਜੀਤਿਆ ਗਤਿ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਘਰੈ ਮਹਿ ਪਾਇ ।

Through Guru's *Shabad*, Self is conquered,

And Salvation attained As a Householder. (Sri Rag, M. 3, p. 26.)

Relation of man with the Creator, the Third Guru narrates as under :

ਮਨ ਤੂੰ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਰੂਪੁ ਹੈ ਆਪਣਾ ਮੂਲੁ ਪਛਾਣੁ ।

O' Me Thou art one with luminous One (God),
Realize Thy reality O' Me. (Asa, M. 3, p. 441.)

And

ਮਨ ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਤੇਰੈ ਨਾਲਿ ਹੈ ਗੁਰਮਤੀ ਰੰਗੁ ਮਾਣੁ ।

Omni-present 'One' is ever with Thee,

Enjoy His proximity by following His behests. (Asa, M. 3, p. 441.)

Sublimity of the *bani* is explained thus :

ਵਾਹੁ ਵਾਹੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਜੇ ਵਡੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਇ ।

Bani is something uniquely Sublime,

Nothing can reach its height and Sublimity. (M. 3, p. 515.)

Guru Amar Das's composition *Anand*, aimed at spiritual uplift, espouses unison with God. It is the most popular *bani*, recited daily on all occasions, be it birth, death, engagement or marriage or daily prayers. Guru Amar Das collected the *bani* of his two predecessors and also of some of the Bhagats and Saints. He himself composed *bani* prolifically in 17 *ragas*. His *bani* is too well known for directness of expression, maturity of thought, unique idiomatic simplicity of language, the study whereof is theologian's pleasure and paradise. His very choice of appropriate words depicts pathos, culture and traditions of the Sikh faith.

The place and importance of *Nām* (Name) in the life of a Gur-Sikh, is enshrined in *bani* thus :

ਬਿਰਥਾ ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨਾ ਤਨੁ ਅੰਧ । ਮੁਖਿ ਆਵਤ ਤਾ ਕੈ ਦੁਰਗੰਧ ।

Devoid of *Nam* (Name), body is a Corpse,

mouth whereof emits stink. (Guari M. 5, p. 269.)

And

ਜਿਉ ਸਾਸ ਬਿਨਾ ਮਿਰਤਕ ਕੀ ਲੋਥਾ ।

It is dead man's breathless Corpse. (Guari M. 5, p. 280.)

Guru Amar Das, being well aware of the negative influence of 'Ego' and the hard way that he had overcome it, illustrates it as under :

ਹਉਮੈ ਵਡਾ ਗੁਥਾਰੁ ਹੈ ਹਉਮੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਬੁਝਿ ਨ ਸਕੈ ਕੋਇ ।

Ego is such a blinding blizzard,

That nothing good or bad is discernable therein.

(Vadhans, M. 3, p. 560.)

Bhagat Ravi Das has following to say about 'Ego' :

ਜਬ ਹਮ ਹੋਤੇ ਤਥ ਤੂ ਨਾਹੀ ਅਬ ਤੂਹੀ ਮੈ ਨਾਹੀ ।

When 'I' (Ego) is there, O' God Thou art not there,

Now when Thou art there, 'I' is not. (Sorath, p. 657.)

The Third Guru depreciates 'Ego,' in following strong words :

ਹਉਮੈ ਨਾਵੈ ਨਾਲਿ ਵਿਰੋਧੁ ਹੈ ਦੁਇ ਨ ਵਸਹਿ ਇਕ ਠਾਇ ।

Ego is ever cross with 'Nam' (Name),

Both can't live together. (Vadhans, M. 3, p. 560.)

Before coming 'under the spell of Guru Angad, Amar Das had been going on pilgrimage to holy places for 20 years, but to no purpose. He later realised the futility of pilgrimage as a mean for salvation. In Sikh faith, pilgrimage has no significance for the sake of pilgrimage as such. It is the recitation of *Gurbani*, *Shabad Kirtan*, round the clock and *Langar* at such places, that lends the place a meaning; thus it is pious atmosphere of the place that matters. If a holy place is devoid of pious atmosphere, it is of no consequence.

In Gurubani Guru Nanak clearly says :

ਬਹੁ ਤੀਰਥ ਭਵਿਆ ਤੇਤੋ ਲਵਿਆ ।

The more Thou visit Holy places' the more thou art confounded.

(Asa, M. I, p. 467.)

In same vein Bhagat Trilochan says :

ਕਾਇ ਕਮੰਡਲੁ ਕਾਪੜੀਆਰੇ ਅਠਸਠਿ ਕਾਇ ਫਿਰਾਹੀ ।

Why with *Karmandal* in hand thou roamest to so many (sixty eight *Tiraths*) Holy places? (Gujri, p. 526.)

Guru Amar Das Ji aptly suggests a simple solution :

ਨਾਨਕ ਘਰ ਹੀ ਬੈਠਿਆ ਸਹੁ ਮਿਲੈ ਜੇ ਨੀਅਤ ਰਾਸਿ ਕਰੋਇ ।

If thou set your intentions right,

Creator will meet thee at thy door. (M. 3, p. 1382.)

and further adds that the best pilgrimage is to bathe inwardly in the holy *Nam* (Name).

For the Sikhs the Gurus have made it crystal clear that mere pilgrimage to holy places is of no avail whatsoever, what matters is devotion to *Nam*, earning by honest means, *Vand Chhakna* (Sharing), high morality, overcoming Ego and selfless service.

Guru Amar Das, endowed with sharp intellect, dedicated devotion and enormous self-confidence, spared no efforts to spread the Sikh faith. With his inherent innate organising ability, he set about to integrate Sikh religion by giving it an abiding organisation, which gave impetus to develop its institutions on right lines.

With the unceasing efforts of the Third Guru, the Sikh faith and following spread far and wide. In order to give his followers cohesion and to create spirit of one-ness, he wanted to establish a proper organisation.

With this in view, on the pattern of 22 states under the Mughal rule, Guru Amar Das set up 22 spiritual provinces or bishoprics called

Manjis. He put a *Gur-Sikh* (a dedicated, devoted Sikh, well-versed in study of religion and preaching Guru's message) in charge of a *Manji* (bishopric) in each region. This missionary set up, provided the Sikh followers a system whereby they could effectively communicate among themselves in the region and with the Centre at Goindwal as well. Guru Ji also made obligatory for all to assemble at Goindwal twice a year viz., on Baisakhi and Diwali days for exchange of views on matters of religion as well as social, and to get guidance from the Guru. This, besides inculcating unity, developed constant contact and inter-communication with the Centre as well as within the regions, i.e., *Manjis* !

The sole criteria for the selection of a *Gur-Sikh* to head a *Manji* was merit viz., his dedication, devotion, understanding of the Sikh faith, coupled with the ability to preach and spread Gurus' message and have proper rapport with the followers. So, no wonder, that quite a few of the 22 *Gur-Sikhs* selected, a few were Muslim converts, imbued with Sikh faith. Establishment of '*Manjis*' gave good boost for spread of Sikh faith.

The bishoprics or dioceses, called '*Manjis*,' literally meant Cots. These were so termed because the person in charge would sit on a cot to communicate with the people gathered around him. Later, in Guru Ram Das's time, these *Gur-Sikhs* were designated as *Masands*.

As already stressed, Guru Amar Das Ji, besides propagating and spreading Sikh faith, saved the Sikhs from being influenced by the *Udasis*.

While Mr. C. H. Payne, regarded the Third Guru as a zealous preacher, Mr. Cunningham acclaims him as under :

"Guru Amar Das was active in preaching . . . He saved the infant church from early death by wholly separating the passive and recluse *Udasis* from the regular Sikhs."

Guru Amar Das' substantial contribution to *Gurbani* and putting Sikh religion on sound footing has been dealt with above. His contribution on Social side is equally formidable and he is known as a great reformer.

The evil of caste, creed, status of high and low, had generated hatred which had ultimately developed into the curse of untouchability. A water-well would get polluted by a low caste man drawing water from there, and so would be a kitchen by the entry of *Sudra* therein. To top it all, a Brahmin had to bathe several times if the shadow of a *Sudra* fell on him. The tragedy was that the low caste men had been denied even spiritual solace, by barring their entry into temples and thereby denying them worship of their deities—there couldn't be worse

mockery of God's own creation, the 'human race.' This irked Guru Amar Das the most.

It is, therefore, quite understandable that the Guru, an embodiment of love, service, grace and humility, to whom 'All mankind was the image of God', would not eschew such an injustice, and despised Brahmanical rites and rituals prevalent in the society.

In order to tackle these problems effectively, Guru Ji decided to adopt practical approach. The 'Langar', i.e., Common Kitchen, already in vogue since Guru Nanak's time, he laid more emphasis on it. He got common wells like *Baoli* dug up, from where all could draw water. He established common congregation places (later known as Gurdwaras), where no place was earmarked for rich and poor, or high and low, and all had to sit together. In the beginning, there was considerable hue and cry from the Brahmins and other high caste and rich Hindus against these reformatory measures, but slowly and steadily these came to be accepted, as a part of the Sikh Society.

In embarking on these reforms, Guru Ji had both—social as well as economic-aspects in mind.

To bring about equality, Guru Nanak had started *Langar*, the common kitchen, which practice was carried on by the second Guru too. Guru Amar Das, visualising the far reaching effects of 'Langar,' took to it more seriously. He made it obligatory for one and all, be he a King or a pauper, a Sadhu, Sanyasi, Brahmin or a Sudra, coming to see him, to partake food in Langar, by sitting in *Pangat* (a row) along with others. Even Emperor Akbar the Great and Raja Hari Chand of Haripur, when came to meet Guru Ji, too sat in the *pangat* and partook food from 'Langar.'

Numerous advantages likely to flow out of the institution of 'Langar' as envisaged by the Third Guru are given below :

- (a) By sitting in a *Pangat* (together in a row) rich and poor, high and low, Brahmin and Sudra, Muslim and Hindus, rubbed shoulders with one another. This practice on its own started taking the sting off the age old prejudice. By dinning together, the caste barriers started breaking away.
- (b) Preparing of food in the *Langar*, Kitchen, by all mixed together and then serving and partaking food together, did away with notions of untouchability (ਭ੍ਰੰਤ ਫਾਤ) and pollution. The bane of ਸੁਚ of the plastered cooking place (ਚੌਕ) also gave way.
- (c) 'Sewa,' i.e., Service in 'Langar', like cutting and cooking of vegetables, preparing of food by any one, without distinction

- of caste and creed, imperceptably inculcated the feeling of oneness and developed dignity of labour amongst them.
- (d) Langar, besides developing feeling of nearness, also created urge of rendering service to one another.
 - (e) Economic aspect of the institution of 'Langar' too was not lost sight of by the Third Guru. It was equally, if not more, important. Voluntary contributions in cash, kind and service were welcome attributes. Thus while eating in 'Langar', one would not feel that one was eating gratis. In a way, it also channelised the charities and used for the good of all.
 - (f) 'Langar' also encouraged development of the all important 'Co-existence' (ਸਾਂਝੀਵਾਲਤਾ), much sought after and propagated at present by the government and different organisations and agencies.

In nut-shell, the Guru's Langar is a symbol of equality and fraternity.

To further undo the evil of caste. Guru Ji not only preached inter-caste marriages, but also encouraged such marriages by seeing them performed in his own presence.

To cut across the caste barriers, as stated above, he encouraged digging of common wells. In Goindwal as elsewhere, low castes were denied the use of water wells. Their earthenware pitchers used to be broken by stone throwing, the leather water bags (ਮਾਝ) used to be punctured by arrows, which was nothing but blatant high-handedness. Guru Ji, a man of peace, did not allow his followers to retaliate or resort to violence. He got 'Baoli', a multi-purpose well, dug in Goindwal for the use of all. People would draw drinking water and bathe as well. With the help of a Persian Wheel, it provided water for cattle to drink, for the irrigation of fields, and for bathing and washing clothes. Eighty-four steps had been laid in the Baoli to reach water level. The figure 84 made people link it with the cycle of 84 lacs of births. People started the practice of reciting *Japji Sahib* on each step followed by a dip in the Baoli every time, which would resolve their wheel of 84 lacs births. This belief with the passage of time kept gaining more and more acceptance and now it is taken practically for granted. However, the Third Guru would not say so, since he had no more faith in pilgrimages and rituals.

The other social problem which attracted Guru Ji's attention was the deplorable plight of women in society, which happened to be at its lowest ebb. Degradation in the form of infanticide, child marriage, *pardah* (veil) and even *Sati* was heaped on them. This unfortunately

was the sad legacy of the invading hordes, for which history and posterity will never forgive them.

Once the plight of women had gone down, for reasons whatsoever, there was no limit to the humiliations piled on them from time to time. During the menstruation period they used to be considered not only polluted, but also untouchable and used to be segregated. In certain sections this practice persists till this day.

Women not willing to be burnt alive on their husband's pyres, were forced to do so. Widows used to be forced to shave off their heads and lead a miserable life.

Such was the deplorable plight of the Hindu women, for whom Guru Nanak had taken up cudgels saying :

ਸੋ ਕਿਉ ਮੰਦਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਜਿਤੁ ਜੰਮੇ ਰਾਜਾਨ ।

Why revile women who give birth to kings. (M. I, p. 473.)

Guru Angad Dev had also done his best in this regard, but Guru Amar Das, with the zest of a born reformer, took up the cause of women in all seriousness.

To remove *pardah* (veil), he ordained that no women would come to his congregation (Sangat) in veil. They had to come with faces uncovered.

As to infanticide (killing of girl children at birth), he declared it to be sinful and advised his followers to give it up.

He also denounced early marriage.

To Guru Amar Das, *Sati* was a cruel ritual, untenable by any ethic. There could not be a more cruel act than to compel or lead a widow to immolate herself alive on the pyre of her dead husband. The Guru condemned it saying :

ਸਤੀਆ ਇਹਿ ਨ ਆਖੀਅਨਿ ਜੋ ਮੜੀਆ ਲਗਿ ਜਲੰਨ ।

ਨਾਨਕ ਸਤੀਆ ਜਾਣੀਅੰਨ ਜਿ ਬਿਰਹੇ ਚੋਟ ਮਰਨਿ । (M. 3, p. 787.)

The benign Guru did his best to put a stop to this inhuman practice, which had received religious acceptability among the Hindus with passage of time.

According to Mr. G. B. Scott, Guru Amar Das was the first reformer to raise his voice against the ritual of *Sati*. Mr. C.H. Payne, also credits the Third Guru for his vigorous campaign against it.

The plight of widows in Hindu society was no better. They were considered to be a curse to the family and were treated most unbecomingly and made to lead a miserable life. To remove their sufferings, Guru Ji encouraged the re-marriage of widows and, to give it impetus,

he himself had the marriages of widows performed in his presence.

In some religions women are not permitted to enter the place of worship and others they are not allowed to participate in worship along with the men and are debarred from participating in certain ceremonies, but in Sikh faith no holds are barred to women. They have access to every place of worship and they can participate in all religious ceremonies. Sikhism rather goes a step further. Therein she is looked upon with respect and is recognised only in four honourable relations viz., : (1) Mother, (2) Sister, (3) Wife, (4) Daughter, all of which are most respectable relations and Sikh faith recognises no other relation besides these. As such, Sikh women enjoy the highest status not only in the Sikh society, but also the world over.

Guru Amar Das was ever at pains to discard superfluous rites and rituals and to simplify various ceremonies.

The death ceremony amongst our Hindu brethern is very elaborate and is performed in various stages over so many days,² which is vividly described by Professor Sahib Singh. Guru Amar Das quite deftly modified it drastically. He instructed his followers that, after his death, only *bani* (Guru's hymns) and *shabad kirtan* be recited and no other ceremony whatsoever be performed. Thus by personal example, Guru Ji simplified the death ceremony for his followers.

The year 1979 is the Fifth Centenary year of the Third Guru of the Sikhs. The Punjab Government has undertaken to celebrate it in a befitting manner. It has decided to spend Rs. 4 crores on various projects, which would benefit the residents of Goindwal (hub of Third Guru's activities) and surrounding areas. Some of them are :

- (1) A bridge across river Beas to connect Goindwal with Amritsar district, at an approximate cost of Rs. 3 crores.
- (2) Rupees 50 lacs have been earmarked for widening roads connecting Goindwal with other places.
- (3) A High School at Goindwal at a cost of Rs. 5 lacs.
- (4) Rs. 7 lacs have been set apart for the Sewage scheme.
- (5) 4 lacs to improve Water Supply in the town.
- (6) A grand Bus Stand to be constructed at the cost of Rs. 2½ lacs.
- (7) Rupees sixty and fifty thousands respectively are to be spent to improve Electric Supply and the Veterinary Hospital.

Some more money is set apart for some more minor works. This indeed is a commendable gesture on the part of the Government to

2. *Jiwan Birtant Sri Guru Amar Das Ji*, by Prof. Sahib Singh, Amritsar, p. 45.

improve the lot of this backward area.

For missionary work, Guru Amar Das set up the system of 22 'Manjis,' which paid rich dividend, resulting in spread of Sikh faith. Let Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) and Chief Khalsa Dewan take a leaf from Guru Amar Das Ji's life and embark on missionary work on a large scale, but on very sound footing, may be on the pattern of Christian Missionary work. With the vast resources and funds at the disposal of the SGPC, it should pose no problem. What is required is sound planning. Let the SGPC, also consider the possibility of setting up a missionary service on the pattern of IAS, well paid and well looked after, for its *Parcharaks*, *Granthis*, and *Ragis*/*Rababis*, in India and abroad, adequately decentralised, but with the over all control at the centre. It is the well looked after personnel who can give their best to the society. Such measures on right lines, would lend some purposeful meaning to celebrating widely publicised centenaries of revered Gurus.

Guru Amar Das and the Institution of Langar

PARKASH SINGH*

I

The institution of *Langar* in Sikhism is commonly known as *Guru-ka-Langar* which means *Langar* of the Guru, *Langar* in the name of the Guru, or *langar* attached to a *Gurdwara* (Guru's home). *Langar* is a Persian word meaning: 'an alms house,' 'an asylum for the poor and the destitutes,' 'a public kitchen kept by a greatman for his followers and dependents, the holy men and the needy.' *Guru-ka-Langar* conveys more the last meaning than other meanings, as it was run by the Guru and is being run in the name of the Guru. Bhai Kahan Singh and Kapur Singh are of the opinion that *langar* is from Sanskrit *Analgrah*, meaning 'the cooking place;'¹ but in all the Persian and Urdu dictionaries it is mentioned as a Persian word. Not only the word as it is but also the institution of *langar* can be traced in Persian literature. The *langars* of the Sufi saints were very common in the 12th and 13th centuries;² and still some *langars* of the *Sufis* are known for their feasts and generosity, like the *langar* at the tomb of Khawaja Muin-ud-Din Chishti at Ajmer.³

II

The institution of *langar* with the Sikhs is as old as Sikhism. It is on the principle of 'sharing one's earnings with others' that this institution was founded by Guru Nanak. He inculcated a common mode of worship and common social institute by laying the foundations of *sangat* (congregation) and *pangat* (literally a row) which stands for sitting together in the *langar*.

In Sikhism *Sangat* and *Pangat* go together, both in precept and practice. As the *sangats* steadily multiplied the *pangats* gradually took an institutional shape of *langar*, which acquired a significant role in the

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1. *Mahan Kosh*, second edition, p. 806; and *Prasharprasna* (Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh), p. 339.

2. Cf. *Sirajul Majalis*, Urdu translation of Persian *Khairul-Majalis*, translated by Ghulam Ahmed Barian, Delhi, 1938, pp. 140-142, 198-199 and 202-203.

3. Where some huge cauldrons have been permanently fixed in each one of which about a quintal of rice can be cooked at a time.

Sikh Faith. Now a Sikh temple without a *langar* is inconceivable. Different services have always formed an integral part of the functions of a *gurdwara*, of which service through *langar* is considered very important and noble. It offers opportunities to those who want to serve the people in a humble way and sometimes anonymously. One can go to any *langar* attached to any *gurdwara* and notice 'ordinary every day individual expression of *sewa* or service, as cooking food, carrying water to quench the thirst of pilgrims or fanning the *sangat* or the *pangat*.'

III

During his old age Guru Nanak built a *dharamsal*, at Kartarpur, with which was also attached a *langar*, where people brought corn and fuel and worked for 'the common meal of the community.'

Thus the very first temple made by Guru Nanak was the 'Temple of Bread' (*langar*), where 'the bread of God was made free to the children of man. The Guru's people and the Guru were one home and one family.'⁴

Guru Angad further extended the institution of *langar*, to popularise the mission of Guru Nanak and to keep up the enthusiasm of his followers. He inspired them by personally helping them in cooking and serving arrangements; and his wife, Khivi, was always ready to serve the visitors and take care of each item in the *langar*, so much so that it was named after her as '*Mata Khivi ji ka Langar*.' There is a special mention of her service, through the *langar*, in *Guru Granth Sahib* :

"Saith Balwand : Khivi, a noble lady, offered effectual shade
(to the disciples).

She distributed wealth and *langar*—'rice cooked in milk added
with ghee' that tasted like ambrosia.'⁵

IV

Before meeting Guru Angad, Baba Amar Das was a Vaishnava and was ever in search of a competent Guru. At the age of 62 he adopted Guru Angad as his spiritual guide and became a 'fervent and zealous votary and willing server of the Guru.' He served him with all his heart and sacrificed his own comfort for the sake of the Guru. He undertook to fetch fresh water for the Guru's ablutions every night, just after midnight from the river Beas, which was more than 5 k.m. from Khadur. He performed this duty without fail, whatever the season was. After the

4. Puran Singh, *The Book of the Ten Masters*, p. 148.

5. *Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 967.

Guru had bathed, he used to go to the nearby jungle to fetch fuel for the *langar*.⁶ While doing such selfless service he was constantly repeating in his mind the Name of the Lord.

Although he served the Guru day and night, yet he would never make even the least mention of his services nor would he eat food from the public funds devoted for the Guru's *langar*, rather he used to contribute liberally to the Community Kitchen from his hard and scanty earnings of his humble trade in grocery which he collected by the hire of a pony for delivering goods from village to village.

V

Guru Amar Das developed *langar* into a regular institution. The Guru's Kitchen, which by then had attained great significance, shifted with him to Goindwal where he had settled down. He emphasised it as a device for expressing the notion of equality in a practical way.

Guru Amar Das maintained the tradition of Guru Nanak's social, political and reformatory actions. The zeal and activities of Guru Amar Das in preaching the faith 'combined with his genial habits and affable disposition,' he secured many converts to Sikhism. He was a 'grand-old man,' just and wise. Humble and sweet as he was, he attracted many to Goindwal. Not only the followers of the new faith, started by Guru Nanak, but also many seekers of wisdom and solace would flock around Guru Amar Das on the bank of Beas. Sometimes even some of his old associates, whom he had met and made friends before becoming a disciple of Guru Angad, would come to meet him. His followers and friends used to stay at Goindwal for days together and listen to his sermons.

So long as Sikhism was in its infancy and the people used to come to the Guru in small groups, for instructions, a single *pangat* for the *sangat* sufficed. But now Sikhism had grown in popularity and its votaries daily increased. So Guru Amar Das thought of organising the *langar* on an extensive scale. During his Guruship the number of followers increased so much that a situation arose when it became necessary to provide the Sikhs with convenient local centres. It was to meet this need that he introduced the *manji* system. Indubhushan Banerjee has rightly observed that "it can easily be surmised that these *manjis* were the earliest Sikh *sangats*, and, in all probability, in each and every one of them a *langar* was set up."⁷

6. Khazan Singh, *History and Philosophy of Sikhism*, Vol. I, p. 111.

7. Indubhushan Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I, p. 257.

In later days we so often find that the sangats were 'not merely places of worship but also wayside refractories which gave food and shelter to indigent wayfarers.'⁸ The Sikhs who managed the affairs of various *sangats* also arranged langars for them. 'It is important to note that the obligation to maintain the Guru's *langar* was thus extended in scope and meaning, though it seems almost certain that the maintenance of the local *sangats* were made a charge on the local people.'⁹

Guru Amar Das laid much stress on *pangat*. The rule of the Guru was *pehle pangat pachhe sangat*, first eat together, then meet together. One point is to be understood that *pangat* and *sangat* 'were not two distinct institutions but rather the two component parts of one single institution which was generally named as the *sangat*. These *sangats* were distinguished from each other after the names of the areas, towns or some of those prominent Sikhs who looked after these *sangats*.

It is obvious that *sangat*-habit and along with that the *pangat*-pleasure had become vital part of Sikhism. Wherever a Sikh might be, he was associated with *sangat* and through that made to realise that a Sikh is not only to look to his individual character and spiritual development but is also 'to share the feelings of his fellowmen who assemble in the form of *sangat* or *pangat*. And that he is also to shoulder his responsibilities as a part of the corporate body of the *Panth*.'

The position of the Guru was the sole and supreme religious head and was a great source of unity and solidarity. The *sangat* at Goindwal assembled at the feet of the Guru but the local *sangats* gathered around the Word or the *Shabad* of the Guru. They used to sing hymns of the Gurus which were by then in circulation, written in *Gurmukhi* script. This was their spiritual food. The food for the body was provided at the *langar*. Thus *sangat* and *pangat* had a common aim to unite the Sikhs in name of the Guru. And to maintain these the, Sikhs made all possible efforts and sacrifices.

VI

At Goindwal, though the greatest delicacies were served in the Guru's *langar*, the Guru himself lived on coarse food according to his most ascetic habits. "The traveller, the stranger, the beggar, as well as the follower of the Guru, could gratify his palate with the six physical tastes—sweet, salt, sour, bitter, pungent and astringent—of Indian

8. *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 687.

9. Indubhusan Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I, p. 258.

cookery.”¹⁰ The Guru himself took only boiled rice and lentils.

In the Coronation Ode, Guru Amar Das's *langar* receives a special mention :

“In thy kitchen (O Amar Das), butter
and flour are served (in plenty), everyday.”¹¹

The Guru's Kitchen remained open until three hours after nightfall. ‘Every day's collections of grain were milled and baked into bread and distributed free.’ What he daily received was daily spent and nothing was reserved for the morrow. If the guests and pilgrims were few and the food more, ‘the Guru was that day at home to the animals of the town.’ Whatever remained, after feeding the people, was compassionately thrown to the beasts and birds; and if anything still remained, the good disciples took it to the river Beas and feasted the fish with it.¹² Strange to say that in spite of this not only his board abounded in necessities but it was provided very often with luxuries.

One day *Bhai Budha* asked the Guru : “Is it right for the Sikhs to eat the choicest viands and dainty food while you are satisfied with a coarse meal ? Issue an order that only such food as you eat shall be served from your kitchen.” The Guru replied : “O, *Bhai Budha*, do you think there is a difference between the Sikhs and me ? I enjoy the flavour of what the Sikhs eat. Be certain that what enters the Sikhs' mouth is contributed to the Guru's sustenance.” On that occasion *Bhai Jetha* (later on known as *Guru Ram Das*) was also present. He composed the following hymn summing up the idea expressed by the third Guru :

“As a mother is delighted when her child takes food,
As a fish is delighted when it bathes in the water,
So the true Guru is delighted when his disciples find food.”¹³

VII

Guru Amar Das took a social step forward. ‘No one could gain an audience of the Guru without first partaking of the Bread of Grace at the Guru's *Langar*. This injunction of the Guru finished all distinction of *Varna* and *Ashrama* (caste and position). Members of all the four classes of the Hindus were required to take food simultaneously on the

10. Mecaulliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 58.

11. Balwand and Satta, *Ramkali Ki Var* in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*.

12. Macauliffe, M. A., *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 58, 59; and Puran Singh, *The Book of the Ten Masters*, p. 40.

13. *Gauri Guareri M.* IV, *Shri Guru Granth Sahib*.

same level, sitting together on the same matting, with no distinction whatsoever. This was contrary to the old conservative practice which was popular among the Hindus.¹⁴

Not only eating together was compulsory for all the four classes but also the preparation of the food in the kitchen was to be done by the members of all the four classes. Even people of other communities were welcome in the Guru's *langar*. None could question whether the dishes were cooked by a Brahman or a so-called low caste. All were treated alike. Apart from promoting social equality, the *langar* eliminated taboos about *chauka*—the preparation of food in special enclosure.

Another significant act of Guru Amar Das was the construction of a *baoli* at Goindwal. This was a deep well with eighty-four steps leading down to its water.¹⁵ The construction of *baoli* brought about a great change amongst the Sikhs, for it had multifaced effects on their way of life and thought.

While taking bath at the banks of the river Beas the caste prejudices were not shaken to the extent they were shaken when the people of different castes started taking bath in the *baoli*. At the Beas people of high and low castes could bathe at 'reasonable distances,' so that their caste prejudices were not disturbed. But while bathing in the *baoli*, the people of different castes could not keep that 'distance.'

As in the *langar* while eating together the people had a feeling of oneness, the caste prejudices were shed off when they dipped in the same well and sipped from the same water.

Before the construction of the *baoli* the water for the *Guru-ka-Langar* was brought from the Beas and the devotees had to walk up and down a distance of about 1 k.m. for this purpose. Now with the *baoli* at a few steps from the *langar*, the availability of water became very easy. Another benefit of the *baoli* was that fresh and clean water was available throughout the year—even in the rainy days when the river water would be muddy and polluted.

To such of the readers who are not acquainted with such prejudices and customs such injunctions of the Guru might appear meaningless and trivial, but if one makes a journey through India and see with his own eyes, even to-day, a man considering the touch of a brother man as

14. Khazan Singh, *History and Philosophy of Sikhism*, Part II, p. 113.

15. It is commonly said that the Guru built this *baoli* so that it should be *tirath* (place of pilgrimage) for Sikhs and the number of steps corresponds to the eighty-four lakhs of rebirths which the Hindus believe in the cycle of existence.

pollution.

The effect of the great social steps can be noticed in the Punjab up to this day. Not only are the Sikhs free in matters of inter-dining but the Punjabi Hindus also are far ahead of their co-religionists in other states in these matters.

VIII

The Sikh chronicles tell a charming story of the Mughal Emperor Akbar visiting Guru Amar Das at Goindwal. It is said he got down from his horse and walked a little distance bare-footed in his habitual reverence for all saints.¹⁶ It was pointed out to the Emperor that 'it was obligatory for all the visitors to dine in the Guru's *langar* before meeting the Guru. So, instead of being taken into the Guru's presence or being met by the Guru directly, he was asked to sit on the ground with other visitors and share the 'Bread of Grace.' The Emperor, who had adopted a policy of generous tolerance, complied with this requirement and partook of the *langar*. On seeing the Guru, he said : "Holy Sir, I find that your *langar* feeds hundreds of men and women every day. I want to offer an estate that will suffice to pay its expenses." The Guru thankfully declined the offer and said : I have already obtained enough from my Creator. The people are my 'lands' and 'estates.' The devotees who come from far and near bring the necessary supplies to the *langar*. Each day's collections are spent the same day, and for the next day we trust in Him. Enough that daily we get our bread. Enough that we are of the 'poor' and think of the Beloved.¹⁷

Some writers, including Malcolm, say that the gift, which was the grant of twelve villages was offered by the Emperor, was declined on the principle of Guru Nanak that *Guru-ka-Langar* and other institutions should be supported by the hard-earned money of the disciples.

But the *District Gazetteer*, Amritsar, and some writers mention that as a token of his appreciation of the Guru's work the Emperor gave an estate of a few villages as a present to Bibi Bhani; and this is the estate that later on was converted into a flourishing colony of disciples, where today stands the famous city of Amritsar.¹⁸

16. Puran Singh, *The Book of the Ten Masters*, p. 46.

17. Macauliffe, M. A., *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 58, 59; and Puran Singh, *The Book of the Ten Masters*, p. 46.

18. *District Gazetteer*, Amritsar; Puran Singh, *The Book of the Ten Masters*, p. 46; Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 59-60; and Duncan Greenleese, *the Gospel of the Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 1xv.

On the other hand some have raised a point—'How could it be possible for the Guru to accept the estate for his daughter that had been refused by him for the *langar*, which was meant for all the people?'¹⁹

At least this much is clear that the Emperor pressed on the Guru for the acceptance of the land but the Guru did not agree to get it for the *langar*.

When *Raja* of Haripur came to see the Guru he had also to take meal at the *langar* along with his *Ranis* and some other members of the family, before they could meet the Guru.

One day Mai Das, an orthodox Vaishnava, went to Goindwal for *darshan* of Guru Amar Das but could not bring himself to take food in the Guru's *langar*, so he went away disappointed to Dwarka. It is said on his way in a forest he met Sri Krishna, who fed him with divine food and told him to return for more such divine food to the Guru at Goindwal. He at once obeyed and was very lovingly welcomed by the Guru and given one of the bravest of the Sikhs as a teacher.²⁰ Later Mai Das left a perfected saint.

IX

Once some faithful Sikhs sought the permission of the Guru's daughter, *Bibi Bhani*, to offer her attire and ornaments, so that she might decorate herself like other girls. In reply she chanted a hymn of Guru Nanak : "All the gold and silver is illusion, and false are those who wear them,"²¹ and reminded the Sikhs that the best use to which money could be put would be to fill the Guru's *langar* with corn and supply, the necessities of pilgrims.

Guru Amar Das was ever pleased with those who served selflessly in the *langar*.

Jodh, a Brahman, was a cook in Guru Amar Das's kitchen. Leaving all pride of birth he served there. Whatever offerings the disciples brought to the Guru were handed over to him and he spent all on feeding others. He never allowed slackness to interfere with his duty and fed the hungry at all times, as many as were present. The Guru was pleased with his service of devotion and bestowed on him the spiritual knowledge and the *Nām*.

When the disciples from far and near came to meet the Guru he would always instruct them to feed the poor. The Guru so often stressed

19. Jagjit Singh, *Temple of Spirituality or Golden Temple, Amritsar*, pp. 17-18.

20. Duncan Greenleese, *The Gospel of the Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 1xiv.

21. Guru Nanak, *Asa di Var*.

the need and importance of the service through *langar*. Hereunder are some stories in brief which are mentioned in the *Suraj Parkash* by Bhai Santokh Singh, and some of them have been also narrated by Macauliffe in *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II :

Lalu, Durga and Jiwanda, three disciples of the Guru, took shelter at the feet of the Master and engaged in his service. One day, while sitting near him, they asked the Guru : "We are thy servants; kindly show us the Way."

"There is nothing like doing good to others," replied the Guru. "Try to serve others at all times. This can be done in the following way. Listen and ever remember : Give to the poor and the distressed whatever wealth you possess. Wherever you find a destitute person give food and clothes to him. The greatest of all gifts is to give food at all times. Food gives life to mankind. How can other gifts equal it ?"

One day Ugar Sen, Ramu, Dipa and Nagauri came to the Guru, and prayed for instructions. The Guru in his mercy said : "Whenever a disciple comes to you offer food to him . . ."

Similarly when once Gangu, Sohan and Bhangu came to pay homage, they got the following instructions : "Share your earnings with others. That food alone is blessed which is taken after being offered to others."

"In the ages gone by men used to perform *Yajnas* and appeased their gods by oblations burnt in fire. In this age you will get the same reward by offering food to the hungry."

The whole congregation of Dalla village came to the Guru once and prayed for general instructions for their conduct. The Guru through his grace was pleased to say : "On the days of *Gurpurbs* and festivals like Baisakhi and Diwali, gather together in some common place. Prepare *Karah Prasad* and distribute it among the assembly. Recite and sing the holy word of the Guru. If you find a Sikh devoid of clothes, offer new clothes to him. Give food to the hungry and unite in helping others."

X

By the time of the third Guru the Sikhs were able to renounce their social prejudices to a great extent and they looked upon each other as brothers. For them no one was untouchable, and nothing could be polluted by human touch. There was no superstition of the *Chauka*, among them.

Guru Amar Das says : "Even if he were a most learned Pandit of world-wide renown, he would take care to remember that nothing is

polluted in the kitchen. All restricted kitchens are false. Only He is pure."

Teja Singh says : "That from that time onwards there was no sanctity observed about eating and drinking among the Sikhs, may be gathered from the following story taken from the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* : 'One Partab Mal, a learned Hindu said to his son who was inclined to turn Muhamadan, If you want to get freedom in eating you may better join Sikhism, where there is no restriction about food'."²²

22. Teja Singh, *The Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism*, p. 21.

Date of the visit of Guru Amardas to Kurukshetra

DR BALBIR SINGH

(1) Guru Amar Das (1479-1574) was the third Guru of the Sikhs. The period of his pontificate (Guruship) was limited to the duration of A.D. 1552 to 1574. During this interval he took a trip to Kurukshetra from where he further proceeded to Hardwar, etc. It is recorded that the object of the sojourn was to preach, bless and to fulfil the general purpose of bringing about the spiritual regeneration of the common people. No authentic date of this journey is available in the traditional sources of Sikh annals. The authenticity of this visit is, however, confirmed by the fact that there is a hymn in *Guru Granth Sahib*, by the fourth Guru, bearing testimony to this event [*Tukhari Chhant*, p. 1116].

(2) The hymn has its own significance. Read together with the commentary on it by *Tika Faridkot* it assumes a momentous aspect of historical bearing. From this study it becomes clear that when the Guru went to Kurukshetra it was the occasion of the solar eclipse. It further points out that this was a rare opportunity as, when it occurred, it was the ruling conjunction of the *Nakshatra Abhijit*.

(3) It may be of interest to point that a *Nakshatra* has been defined as an asterism in the moon's path of lunar mansion. There are thus 28 *Nakshatras* which occupy relatively fixed positions in the sky and which lie in the monthly circumambulatory course of the moon. The list as given in the original Sanskrit text is as follows :

अश्विनी भरणी चैव कृत्तिका रोहिणी मृगः ।
आर्द्रा पुनर्वसु पुष्यस्ततोऽश्लेषामघा तथा ॥
पूर्वफाल्गुनिका तस्मादुत्तराफाल्गुनी ततः ।
हस्तचित्रा तथा स्वाती विशाखा तदनंतरम् ॥
अनुराधा ततो ज्येष्ठा ततो मूलं निगद्यते ।
पूर्वाषाढोत्तराषाढस्त्वभिजिच्छवणस्तथा ॥
धनिष्ठा शतताराख्या पूर्वाभाद्रपदा ततः ।
उत्तराभाद्रपदचैव रेवत्येतानि भानि च ॥

(ज्योतिषभास्कर, पृष्ठ 16.)

These are tabulated hereunder, written in plain Roman script :

1. Asvini	15. Svati
2. Bharani	16. Visakha
3. Krittiki	17. Anuradha
4. Rohini	18. Jyeshtha
5. Mrigasira	19. Mula
6. Ardra	20. Purva Ashadha
7. Punarvasu	21. Uttra Ashadha
8. Pushya	22. Abhijit
9. Aslesha	23. Sravana
10. Magha	24. Sravishtha or Dhanishta
11. Purva Phalguni	25. Satabhisaj or Satataraka
12. Uttra Phalguni	26. Purva Bhadrapada
13. Hasta	27. Uttra Bhadrapada
14. Chitra	28. Revati

(4) For the Sanskrit word *Abhijit*, number 22 in the Table above given, the Prakrit form is *Abhiji*. In the diction of *Guru Granth Sahib*, it is scribed as *Abhichu*. Thus we have the lines :

ਹਰਿ ਆਪਿ ਕਰਤੇ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀਆ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੁਲਖੇਤਿ ਨਾਵਣਿ ਗਇਆ ॥

ਨਾਵਣੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਅਭੀਚੁ ਗੁਰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਦਰਸੁ ਭਇਆ ॥੧॥

(ਤੁਖਾਰੀ (ਛੰਤ) ਮਹਲਾ 4-10, ਸ਼ਬਾ 1116.)

With the aid of *Tika Faridkot* commentary, the meaning of the above scriptural text would be as follows :

This auspicious day was brought into being by the great Creator Himself. It was then that the *Satguru* had gone to Kurukshetra for bathing. In Kurukshetra on the occasion of *Nakshatra Abhijit* at the auspicious time of bath the congregation drawn from the three worlds had the sight of the revered *Satguru Amardas*.

Thus the scriptural text provides a meaningful astronomical data. The phenomenon of solar eclipse is indicated when the Guru was at Kurukshetra (see para 2 above). The text further furnishes the fact of the dominant position of the *Abhijit Nakshatra* in the sky. These sidereal factors can easily lend themselves to be processed like a chronogram yielding numerical results pin-pointing the precise date of Guru's visit to Kurukshetra. It has already been pointed out that the period of pontificate of the 3rd Guru lay between A.D. 1552-74. During this span of time the phenomenon of solar eclipse occurred as many as nineteen times as per schedule given below :

DATE OF VISIT OF GURU AMARDAS TO KURUKSHETRA

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. January 14, 1553 | 11. August 10, 1561 |
| 2. June 18, 1555 | 12. December 15, 1563 |
| 3. November 14, 1555 | 13. June 8, 1564 |
| 4. May 9, 1556 | 14. April 9, 1567 |
| 5. November 2, 1556 | 15. September 21, 1568 |
| 6. October 22, 1557 | 16. February 5, 1570 |
| 7. April 18, 1558 | 17. July 21, 1571 |
| 8. February 26, 1560 | 18. January 15, 1572 |
| 9. August 21, 1560 | 19. July 9, 1572 |
| 10. February 14, 1561 | |

[An Indian Ephemeris, L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, Vol. V, pp. 308-51.]

Further search in the ephemeris reveal the fact that the conjunction of the *Abhijit Nakshatra* in respect of these 19 eclipses occurred twice only. First it was on January 14, 1553 secondly on January 15, 1572.

We thus see that our quest for the date is narrowed down to the choice between the two dates. The dilemma arising out of two conclusive alternatives can however be easily solved. In the same hymn of *Guru Granth Sahib* there is a mention of tax-collectors who were posted to collect the dues from the pilgrims. This was the imposition under the central ruling authority on the Hindu sacred places. The *Guru*, however, was not called upon to pay the tax. On the other hand, the collectors were over-whelmed by his august personality that they instead made offerings to the *Guru*. As is well known, the pilgrim-tax was remitted by Akbar in A.D. 1563. [*Akbar the Great Mogul*, V.A. Smith, second edition, 1919, pp. 64-5.]

This imperial declaration which is a dated incident and by virtue of which the pilgrim-tax is abolished helps to resolve the dilemma of the choice between the two alternatives. The date of the visit of Guru Amar das to Kurukshetra is thus pin-pointed to January 14, 1553.

☺ In some books of Astrology there is a mention of 27 *Nakshatras* in place of 28. They omit *Abhijit*. They do not, however, exclude *Abhijit* as such, but consider it as a part of the 22nd *Nakshatra*. Anyway the *Nakshatra* 22nd remains the *Abhijit Nakshatra* in an implicit or explicit form depending on whether the list contains 27 or 28 *Nakshatras*. This only means that the omission in some lists of *Abhijit*, is in name only. Its substance remains very much active, living so to speak symbiotically with *Nakshatra* No. 22, but which wakes up to full activity when it has to lend special sanctity to such phenomenon as an eclipse.

It may be noted that out of all *Tirathas*, Kurukshetra is considered the most sacrosanct in respect of celebration in connection with the solar

eclipse. In the *Mahabharata* it is said that a bath in the Sannihati *Tirath* (in Kurukshetra) at the time of solar eclipse is productive of the fruits equal in merit to the performance of one thousand *Ashvamedha Yajna* [*Van Parva*, 83, 192, 198-199].

(6) Use of astronomical data in the service of chronology is a recognised methodology in the field of historical dating. The celebrated B.G. Tilak made use of it in his classical work known as *The Orion*, first published in 1893. This was in connection with the antiquities of the *Vedas*. At one place he remarks :

Astronomically the matter is as simple as it could be. All our measurements of time are directly based upon the changes in the positions of heavenly bodies. But there is no measurement of time, at present determined, which is longer than the period during which the equinoxes complete their revolution in the ecliptic. [*The Orion*, fifth edition, 1972, p. 211.]

I may add that Tilak's imagination took fire when he came across the word *Agrayana* or *Agrahayana* in *Rig Veda*. He exhaustively argued that such a hymn must have been composed when the year began with the sun in the constellation of Orion, i. e., before 4000 B.C. He elaborated his arguments into the shape and dimension of a highly learned thesis of a technical type. The basic assumption in it was the discussion around the vernal equinautical point and its precession during which the equinoxes complete their revolution in the ecliptic. It has now been calculated that the equinoxes complete their cycle, through precession, in about 26,000 years.

This astronomical data provided a rethinking on the age of *Vedas* which so far has been inferred by the western scholars using only the linguistic data. Dr Bloomfield of John Hopkins University remarked about *The Orion* as :

"Unquestionably the literary sensation of the year. History, the chronic readjuster, will have her hands uncommonly full to assimilate the results of Tilak's discovery and arrange her paraphernalia in the new perspective."

Guru Amar Das—As An Organiser

K. S. THAPAR*

ਧਨ ਧਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ
ਜਿਨ ਜਾਤੀ ਭਰਮ ਮਿਟਾਏ; ਧਨ, ਧਨ ।

This is part of a popular composition which the Sikhs recite in Gurdwaras and houses and on the occasion of Gurburb celebrations. The composition is popularly taught to children in Sikh institutions, not only as an exercise to make them learn the names of their Gurus but also to high light the special contribution of Guru Nanak and each of his successors individually. Thus it begins :

ਧਨ ਧਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਗ ਤਾਰਨ ਕਾਰਨ ਆਇ; ਧਨ, ਧਨ ।

“Blessed be Guru Nanak who came to redeem humanity;
Blessed be he, blessed be he.”

To mention some others :

ਧਨ ਧਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਜਿਨ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਅਖਰ ਬਣਾਏ; ਧਨ, ਧਨ ।

“Blessed be Guru Angad who invented the Gurmukhi letters (alphabet); Blessed be he, Blessed be he.”

ਧਨ ਧਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰਦਾਸ ਜਿਨ ਜਾਤੀ ਭਰਮ ਮਿਟਾਏ; ਧਨ, ਧਨ ।

“Blessed be Guru Amar Dass who removed the superstitious beliefs in caste amongst humanity; Blessed be he, Blessed be he.

ਧਨ ਧਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮ ਦਾਸ ਜਿਨ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਸਰੋਵਰ ਬਣਾਇਆ; ਧਨ, ਧਨ ।

“Blessed be Guru Ram Dass who constructed the tank of nectar (Amritsar); Blessed be he, Blessed be he.”

ਧਨ ਧਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਜਿਨ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਜਹਾਜ਼ ਬਣਾਇਆ; ਧਨ, ਧਨ ।

“Blessed be Guru Arjan, who compiled the *Granth* (the ship to cross the ocean of life); Blessed be he, Blessed be he.”

Thus in popular estimation, the distinguishing merit of Guru Amar Dass's ministration was the conquering of prejudices of caste and creed, of high and low, of rich and poor amongst humanity. Guru Nanak had nine successors. The total ministration lasted for over two hundred years and served to stabilise the creed. One life (Guru Nanak passed away at the age of 71) was hardly enough to remove the age old igno-

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rance, superstition and falsehood that was rampant every where. It is remarkable that all the nine successors of Guru Nanak, in a ministration which lasted two hundred years, so scrupulously adhered to the principles laid down by the founder of the religion. None of them departed even an iota from the teachings of Guru Nanak. They developed the thought; lived a life to set an example as to how the principles could be translated into practice and provided an organisational framework for their growth.

All religion is either based on philosophy or a philosophy develops from the tenets of a religion. Guru Nanak did not draw on any abstract philosophy to propagate religion. He unveiled a path and advocated a way of life from which a deep philosophy emerges. It is outside the scope of this essay to go into the details of the teachings of Guru Nanak or examine the tenets of Sikh religion. It may, however, be stated that the tenets are based on intellect (ਬੁਧਿ) and intuition (ਸੁਧਿ). It thus combines knowledge and devotion but the chief stress is on virtuous living :

"Above all is Truth; but true living is higher."

ਸਚੁ ਓਰੈ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਉਪਰ ਸਚ ਆਚਾਰ ।

This truthful living is fundamental to Sikh ethics. Absolute faith in and Devotion to God; Love and service to all, living in humility, free from the passions of "Lust", "Anger", "Avarice", "Attachment" and "Pride." Above all the suppression of "Ego" "ਹਉਮੈ", absolute surrender of one's will to the Will of God by which a man may become recipient of God's Grace through which alone salvation is possible.

While all Gurus lived a virtuous life, we are here concerned with Guru Amar Das who in a long life of over ninety years—twenty-two years as Guru—exhibited such humility, compassion and love that one wonders if human spirit can rise higher. If Datu (Guru Angad's son) kicks him in envy, he holds the assailant's feet and consoles him for the hurt that must have been caused to his foot. If young urchins, incited by religious bigots, break the earthen pitchers of his Sikhs, he advises the Sikhs to carry water in skin bags, and if those skin bags are pierced by arrows, he advises them to carry metal utensils. On no account would he permit his Sikhs to retaliate.

A study of Guru Amar Dass's life is a long lesson in purity of mind and body, conquest of ego, merger of self in God, absolute obedience to Guru, service of humanity (which is equated with love of God) and simple, humble living.

"With the conquest of Mana (self) Maya is conquered."

ਮਨ ਮਾਰੇ ਧਾਤੁ ਮਰ ਜਾਇ । (ਗਗ ਗਉੜੀ ਮ: 3.)

and again :

“If Mana is impure, everything else is impure.”

ਮਨਿ ਮੈਲੈ ਸਭੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਮੈਲਾ । (ਵਡਹੰਸ ਮ: 3.)

But a mere knowledge of these truths is not enough.

“No one finds God by mere talk” ਗਲੀ ਕਿਨੇ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ । (ਅਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ.)

One has to live upto the ideals; otherwise ‘This ego will dupe him and he will not be able to realise the Indweller (God).’

ਘਰਿ ਹੋਂਦਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਨ ਪਛਾਣਿਆ ਅਭਿਮਾਨਿ ਮੁਨੇ ਅਹੰਕਾਰਿ । (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਗ ਮ: 3.)

He also says : “ My Lord is eternal. He is seen when one practices the Word (lives according to true teaching).”

ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਹੈ ਦਿਸੈ ਸਬਦੁ ਕਮਾਇ । (ਵਾਰ ਗੁਜਰੀ ਮ: 3.)

and again :

“Unless you ponder over the teachings of the Guru (and live them) a mere sight of his person will be of no avail.”

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਨੋ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਵੇਖਦਾ ਜੇਤਾ ਜਗਤੁ ਸੰਸਾਰ

ਡਿਠੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਵਈ ਜਿਚਰੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਨ ਕਰੇ ਵੀਚਾਰੁ । (ਵਾਰ ਵਡਹੰਸ ਮ: 3.)

Guru Amar Dass practised what he preached. He constantly reminds himself, even by addressing various organs of his body, of the Truth behind the creation and recounting the function of each to realisation of Truth. For example :

“O my mind (soul or self) always remain attuned to God.”

ਏ ਮਨ ਮੇਰਿਆ ਤੂ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਲੇ । (ਅਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ.)

“O my wayward self no one ever obtained God by cleverness (dialecticism).”

ਏ ਮਨ ਚੰਚਲਾ ਚਤੁਰਾਈ ਕਿਨੇ ਨਾ ਪਾਇਆ । (ਅਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ.)

“O my dear self, always remain attuned to the true one.”

ਏ ਮਨ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ ਤੂ ਸਦਾ ਸਚੁ ਸਮਾਲੇ । (ਅਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ.)

About the body he says : “Without love of the true one the body is poor (helpless) ਸਾਚੀ ਲਿਵੇ ਬਿਨੁ ਦੇਹ ਨਿਮਾਣੀ । (ਅਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ.)

Various organs are created for purpose of taking shelter in the Love of God without which they remain purposeless :

“O, my tongue, by tasting other savours, you will not quench your thirst. Your thirst will not go unless you get God’s elixir.”

ਏ ਰਸਨਾ ਤੂ ਅਨਰਸਿ ਰਾਚਿ ਰਹੀ ਤੇਰੀ ਪਿਆਸ ਨਾ ਜਾਇ ।

ਪਿਆਸ ਨਾ ਜਾਇ ਹੋਰਤੁ ਕਿਤੇ ਜਿਚਰੁ ਹਰਿ ਰਸੁ ਪਲੈ ਨ ਪਾਇ । (ਅਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ.)

“O my body, what have you done by coming into the world... says Nanak, only the man whose heart is attached to God will be accep-

table."

ਏ ਸਰੀਰਾ ਮੇਰਿਆ ਇਸੁ ਜਗ ਮਹਿ ਆਇਕੈ ਕਿਆ ਤੁਧੁ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਇਆ...

ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕ ਏਹੁ ਸਰੀਰੁ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ਹੋਆ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸਿਉ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਇਆ।

(ਅਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ.)

"O, my eyes see none but God."

ਏ ਨੇਤ੍ਰਹੁ...ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਦੇਖਹੁ ਕੋਈ... (ਅਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ.)

"O, my ears hear the sacred name and be purified."

ਏ ਸ੍ਰਵਣਹੁ ਮੇਰਿਹੋ...ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਸੁਣਹੁ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਵਹੁ। (ਅਨੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ.)

It was this superior being, perfectly attuned in mind and body to God who systematically propagated the teachings of Guru Nanak by precept and by example. In every religion, precept and practice get stabilised by the organisation of a church. Guru Nanak's period is seed time of Sikh Religion. Guru Angad consolidated the teachings. It was left to Guru Amar Dass to establish institutions that laid the foundation of a united brotherhood and which are a distinct feature of the Sikh community.

One very notable institution was the Guru-ka-Langar. Indeed Guru Nanak had started the practice of a common kitchen (langar) at Kartarpur. All the Sikhs who lived with the Guru at Kartarpur or who visited him were fed from the common kitchen. The kitchen was maintained from the proceeds of the farm which Guru Nanak had developed and where all the Sikhs worked together. The Guru had said "Do honest labour and share the fruits with others" "ਕਿਰਤ ਕਰੋ, ਵੰਡ ਛਕੋ," So the "Sangat" put in joint labour at the farm and partook of food from the common kitchen. Outsiders were welcome. It was yet like an organisation of a commune. Guru Angad continued the langar at Khadur, and here it was maintained by the offerings of the Sangat. Guru Amar Dass at Goindwal gave the institution a very specific and a very distinct shape. The langar institution which Guru Amar Dass established was based on three principles. One was the principle of brotherhood and equality. To the Sangat where every one was treated alike, the Guru added 'Pangat'—sitting in line to partake of food together. In the Pangat there is no distinction of high or low, rich or poor. Everyone must take his seat as he comes. And every one, including the visitors, was obliged to partake of food in Pangat before he or she was admitted to the Guru's presence. The second principle was the oneness of mankind. The brotherhood or equality was not confined to Sikh Sangat but was extended to every one even outside the fold thus emphasising the universal brotherhood of man irrespective of caste or creed. Even the Emperor Akbar

who held a very exalted position and also did not profess the Sikh religion had to undergo the same discipline before he was admitted to the Guru's presence. Guru Nanak had himself shown tolerance for and regard to all creeds. Guru Nanak, perhaps, is the first great religious teacher who honours all faiths and shows equal respect for all religious teachers. He had, of course, levelled them and rejected the pretensions of any to equality with God or powers of intercession with the Almighty; but he respected them all for their teachings. Guru Amar Dass had a special prayer before God for all humanity.

"Save the tortured humanity by your Grace.

From whichever path they come, save them."

ਜਗਤੁ ਜਲੰਦਾ ਰਖਿ ਲੈ ਆਪਣੀ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਧਾਰਿ

ਜਿਤੁ ਦੁਆਰੈ ਉਬਰੈ ਤਿਤੈ ਲੈਹੁ ਉਬਾਰਿ । (ਵਾਰ ਬਿਲਾਵਲ ਮ: 3.)

The path or the creed people follow may be the same or different, the prayer of Guru Amar Dass is the same for all alike. Guru Gobind Singh was, later, to very specifically declare that he 'recognised all humanity as one.' In the Guru-ka-Langar a practical shape is given to this thought. Well might one repeat "Blessed be Guru Amar Dass who removed the superstitious beliefs in caste amongst humanity." The third principle on which the Langar rested was that it must be supported on the contributions of the Sikhs themselves. No special patronage of the rich was acceptable. Emperor Akbar's offer of grant of land for the maintenance of langar was refused by Guru Amar Dass. The Guru did not depend on grants or even on accumulation of capital for the langar. Every contribution received for langar was spent on the same day as it was received. Nothing was saved over for the morrow.

Two other institutions are required for a firm establishment of a religious group. One is authentic codified scriptures and the other a place of pilgrimage where the devotees may assemble from far and near. Guru Amar Dass initiated both. While the final compilation of a sacred book, the *Granth*, was to take place in the time of Guru Arjan, Guru Amar Dass collected as many hymns of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad, in addition to his own, as he could get. This collection, later handed over by his son Baba Mohan to Guru Arjan, was a rich contribution to the *Granth*. Similarly, while the construction of a central place of pilgrimage (at Amritsar) was to take place under Guru Ram Dass and Guru Arjan, it was Guru Amar Dass who directed Ram Dass to begin that construction. Even so he constructed one such centre himself, the *Baoli* (a sheltered well with steps going down to the level of the water) at Goindwal.

For the propagation of the Sikh faith, Guru Ram Dass established

centres in remote places. These were called 'Manjis' under the charge of preachers called 'Masands.' The offerings made by the faithful from such remote places were also forwarded by the Masands to Goindwal. This system too was developed and given final shape by Guru Arjan.

In this essay Guru Nanak's period has been termed as the seed time of Sikh religion. Guru Amar Dass's period may be termed as the seed time of institutions that laid the foundations of the Sikh community as a separate sect. Such is the breadth of vision of the Great Guru that the organisation he planned embraces almost every facet of life. There are three occasions in the life of man which attract special attention—birth, marriage and death. Some special ceremony to mark these three occasions is necessary, not out of superstition or ritual but on account of human emotion and social need. Birth of a child is an occasion for rejoicing in a family and for thanksgiving. Guru Amar Dass composed the Anand Sahib in Rag Ramkali which along with other hymns has become to be part of the kirtan (musical recitation) on such occasions. "Sing the praises of the Lord."

Marriage is an occasion which besides being generally accepted as an occasion for rejoicing has also a social obligation. All religions prescribe elaborate ceremonial for the performance of a marriage, not only as a mark of social recognition of a solemn bond but also to take marriage to a plane higher than mere physical. Guru Amar Dass felt the need of a simple ceremony for the Sikhs which may also free them from services of the Brahman priestly class for this purpose. During his life time the Sikh form of marriage became prevalent. It was slightly elaborated later, after Guru Ram Dass had composed the four stanzas or 'Lavan' in Rag Suhi. But the ceremony remained basically the same with a portion of Anand Sahib Sung in kirtan at the end. When the Sikh Marriage Bill (to be called Anand Marriage Act) was under consideration in 1909 the Sikh ceremony was highly commended for its simplicity and dignity. The Act of 1909 gave a formal and legal basis to a practice long prevalent.

Death is a sad occasion. Guru Amar Dass, however, said that death, which closes the earthly journey of man and enables him to reach and reside permanently at the feet of the Lord, must not be a time for lamentation. An account of the event of his own death has been preserved in the composition of his grandson, Sunder. This is included in the *Granth* the title 'Sadd' (the call), 'ਸੋਦ.' Only two points from it need be mentioned. The Guru forbade anyone from 'weeping' or 'lamenting' after his death :

“Lest anyone should cry after me; this I would not like at all.”

ਮਤ ਮੈ ਪਿਛੈ ਕੋਈ ਰੋਵਸੀ, ਜੋ ਮੈ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਭਾਇਆ ।

And secondly on the positive side he said that after him the Sikhs should hold kirtan recitation. “After my death sing praises of the Lord,” ਮੈ ਪਿਛੈ ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਕਰਿਅਹੁ ਨਿਰਥਾਣੁ ਜੀਓ । In common practice the kirtan on the occasion of death also ends with recitations from Anand Sahib.

Guru Amar Dass thus is a great architect of Sikh community. He laid the foundation of most of the basic institutions and also the code of behaviour for Sikhs on important occasions in man's life. Sikhism thus acquired a distinct identity, distinguished from any other religious sect.

Social Milieu of Guru Amar Das

DR BHAGAT SINGH*

Under the able and benign guidance of Guru Amar Das, Sikhism passed through a remarkable transformation and there was a many-sided development of the community. Besides the spiritual progress of the Sikhs, he did a lot to bring about changes in the social practices followed by them.

This article deals with such social practices only as were not approved by Guru Amar Das and which he considered to be contrary to human conscience and God's Will.

Woman was as important member of the society as man, but her status in Hindu society had been lowered. The gradual subjection of women culminated in the complete slavery of women to men. "A woman from her cradle to the grave was to be dependent upon male—in childhood on her father, in youth on her husband, and in old age on her son."¹ A woman was never considered fit for independence. She was mainly confined to home and domestic cares. All her dreams were concentrated on proving herself a devoted wife to her husband. The male on the other hand, looked upon her as a sort of mental deficiency not to be trusted too far or in things that mattered.

A woman was excluded from mixing with men. It was nothing short of a scandal for a woman of a household to appear before male guests and converse with familiarity.² She was not allowed to move or speak freely with men. She followed her husband at a respectable distance while walking.³

It was not considered proper for a husband to divorce his wife or to turn her out of the house in spite of prolonged illness, barrenness or loose character. Divorcing of a wife was considered an act worthy of condemnation. A husband and a wife were separated only by death as they had no divorce.⁴ In social life woman was considered much

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1. Mulla, D.F., *Principles of Hindu Law*, p. 371 (edition 1929).

2. Thomas, P., *Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners*, p. 55 (ed. 1960).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

4. Alberuni, *Tahqiq-ul-Hind*, Vol. II, p. 154 (Trans. by Sachau).

inferior to man. The Sikh Gurus tried to raise the prestige of woman equal to that of man and preached respect for the female. They declared that woman was not only not inferior to man but had also equal status and responsibilities before God.

Women were made to observe *pardah*. This *pardah* was something to screen off the women from the view of the males. Among the Muslims a girl began to observe *pardah* when she approached the age of puberty or slightly earlier but among the Hindus they took to *pardah* only after marriage. They adhered to it for the whole of their life. It is said that before the advent of Islam in the country women went about freely.⁵ This, however, does not seem correct. *Pardah* was an ancient indigenous institution and was in existence in this land from time immemorial. *Pardah* and child marriage were considered to be good safeguards of women. *Pardah* was a measure of respectability among higher classes, so that higher the rank, the more secluded the woman.⁶ The custom of *ghungat* was very common among the Hindus.⁷ The vast masses of peasant women moved about freely without wearing any veil. They did not live in seclusion or observe *ghungat*. The respectable ladies went about in litters which were carried by four litter-bearers, accompanied by their male servants.

Guru Amar Das strongly censured *pardah* or covering of the face by women. According to a Sikh tradition the Rani of the ruler of Haripur visited the Guru in *pardah* despite the instruction of the Guru that the *pardah* was not to be observed by his followers. The Guru is said to have spontaneously uttered, 'why has this mad woman come here?' This shows Guru's strong dislike for the *pardah* system.

The condition of widows was most unfortunate and miserable in the society and was very hard to bear. It is recorded by Alberuni that if a wife lost her husband by death, she could not marry another man. A widow had to choose between two alternatives, that is, remaining a widow all her life or to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband.⁸ She usually chose the latter alternative. The act of burning a Hindu wife after the death of her husband was called *Sati*. The custom of *sati* was generally observed by high castes like Brahmins and Kshatryas. Among the Rajputs also this practice was there. According

5. Cooper Elizabeth, *The Harim and the Purdah*, p. 102.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

7. Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p. 347.

8. *Tahqiq-ul-Hind*, Vol. II, p. 155 (trans. Sachau).

to Manucci, a Hindu woman took pride in immolating herself on the pyre of her dead husband.⁹ According to Macauliffe, Guru Amar Das was strongly for a widow re-marriage.

K.M.Ashraf underlines some serious social evils prevalent among the people in medieval times such as untouchability, *Sati*, child marriage and slavery.¹⁰ He does not make it explicit but the first three were almost exclusively prevalent among the Hindus and the fourth, that is, the slavery, formed an integral part of the Muslim society. Amongst the Muslims social inequalities were ignored, tolerated or occasionally condemned but in Hindu society they were sanctified by their ancient faith.

The custom of *Sati* was not reciprocal, as it did not apply to the husband when his wife died before him. After the death of the husband this custom was thought to be a test to judge the loyalty and faithfulness of his wife. It is written by Alberuni that becoming *Sati* was considered better because the widow otherwise was ill-treated as long as she lived.¹¹ Ibn Battuta clearly states that the widow who did not become *Sati*, dressed herself in coarse garments. She lived with her own people in misery and was despised for her lack of fidelity.¹² Dalle Valle further writes, "Widows marry not again, they cut their hair and spend all their life as creatures neglected by themselves and others."¹³

The act of burning or *Sati* was performed both with the dead body or without it. To burn alongwith the dead body of the husband was one type of *Sati* called *Sahmarna* or *Sahgaman*. The second type of *Sati* was known as *Anumarna* or *Anugaman* according to which, on the receipt of information about the death of her husband in distant land, the wife would burn herself alongwith some symbol of her husband. Abul Fazal divides the *Satis* into a number of categories as :

- (i) those who were forced to become *sati*;
- (ii) those who burned themselves on account of their devotion;
- (iii) those who considered it necessary on account of family traditions and customs; and
- (iv) those who were dragged into the fire against their will, by the relatives.¹⁴

9. *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol. III, p. 156.

10. *Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan*, p. 122.

11. *Tahqiq-ul-Hind*, Vol. II, p. 155.

12. *Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 191.

13. *The Travels of a Roman into East India and Arabian Deserts*, p. 191.

14. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bloch.), Vol. I, pp. 191-92.

Ibn Battuta described ghastly scenes of Sati which he himself witnessed—one at Pakpattan and the other in Malwa. For the people in general, it was a *tamasha* to watch the spectacle of a widow burning on the pyre of her husband. If a widow failed to burn herself it was a sure sign of want of fidelity and truthfulness on her part.¹⁵ It was considered of a great religious merit to commit *Sati* at certain sacred places such as Prayag and Kashi.

Guru Amar Das said that 'she is not a *Sati* who burns herself on her husband's pyre, in fact she is a true *Sati* who dies afflicted by the grief of her husband's departure.' According to Payne, Guru Amar Das 'is chiefly remembered for his vigorous crusade against the practice of Sati.'¹⁶

G.B. Scott also writes that the third Guru was the first reformer who condemned the prevailing Hindu practice of *Sati* and preached against it. Akbar also prohibited this practice but was unable to eradicate it completely.¹⁷

Infanticide was the practice under which the female born-child was put to death at the time of her birth. The birth of a female child was very much lamented by the parents. Infanticide had created hell on earth for the female sex. Birth of a girl was considered an inauspicious event in a family because she could be the cause of expiation or penance for her parents for some unimaginable crime. The girls were, therefore, neglected, ignored and allowed to rot, and many of them died prematurely. This custom was prevalent among the Rajputs and among many families of self-respecting zamindars. The Gakhars also used to kill their daughters at the time of their birth. It is written by Farishta that as soon as a female child was born, the father would take her to the door of the house and holding the child in one hand and knife in the other, proclaim that if any one wanted a wife he was at liberty to take her away. If nobody came forward the poor infant was immediately put to death. Thus we see that the male population was preponderant. Female infanticide was primarily due to the degrading position of Hindu women in society.

After the death of a person in a Hindu family, a large number of ceremonies were gone through. The family and the relatives cried over the death for weeks together. The Guru did not approve of the whole

15. Yule, Henry, *The Book of Ser Marcopole*, Vol. II, p. 341 (ed. London, 1903).

16. *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 31.

17. Smith, V.A., *Akbar the Great Mughal*, pp. 131-33.

procedure that was adopted after the death. He left instructions to be followed after his death. Thirty years after the death of Guru Amar Das, his great-grandson, Sunder Das wrote an account of the instructions which the Guru had left regarding the ceremonies to be actually performed. Sunder Das said :

Finally the true Guru spoke, "After my death sing God's praises. Call God instead of Pandit, and for the *Garar Puran*, read God's word; Read God's word, hear God's name, the Guru desireth God's love instead of a lofty bier, barley rolls, bread on leaves, Hindu obsequies, lamps and throwing his bones into Ganges. The true Guru spoke as it pleased God, and he was blended with Omniscient Being."¹⁸

The above instruction of the Guru also refers to the various practices relating to death prevalent in the society at that time.

There was no uniformity with regard to the food habits. Hindus were mostly vegetarians.¹⁹ As regard the manners of eating and cooking, the Muslims used to dine together out of the same plate and on the same table. Guests were served with twenty to fifty dishes in rich families. In the light of their ideas of social respectability, the hosts tried to be lavish. The Hindus struck to their intricate arrangements of cooking and eating. They generally believed that purity of thought could only be attained by not being seen by others when eating food."²⁰

For the preparation of food the ground and a part of the wall was plastered with cow-dung. Only the cook, after taking bath and covering himself with a *dhoti*, entered the place. Cooking was concealed from the public view.²¹ Guru Amar Das told his followers that even if a person were a most learned pandit 'he would take care to remember that nothing is polluted in the mess. All outlined dining squares are false. Only God is pure.' Before taking food Hindus performed ceremonies such as hearing some parts of vedas, sprinkling water, presenting some of the food to the idols and throwing a little food upon the ground as an offering to the Devtas, etc.²² First, the children, then relations and then man himself took food. The cook ate last of all. Two could not eat out of the same dish and drink water in the same cup.²³ Brahmins used their separate eating and drinking vessels and if any body used the same, those were broken. Brahmins generally did not eat meat and

18. Macauliffe, M.A.; Vol. II, pp. 151-58.

19. Ashraf, K.M., *Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan*, p. 219.

20. Macauliffe, M.A., Vol. I, p. 344.

21. *Ain-i-Akbari* (trans. by Francis Gladwin), Vol. II, p. 507.

22. *Ibid.* 23. *Ibid.*

they also avoided onions and garlicks. The Hindus did not dine with the Muslims.

In the sixteenth century, the people were in the habit of taking wine. Guru Amar Das has referred to it and has expressed his strong disapproval to drinking. The Guru says :

One man bringeth the full goblet, another cometh and filleth the cup,

The intellect of him who drinketh departeth and intoxication entereth his brain.

He distinguisheth not between mine and thine and is buffeted by his master.

If possible, drink not at all the false wine by which man forgetteth God and receiveth punishment at His court.²⁴

The Guru's *langar* was becoming a great institution. The need of *langar* or common mess was felt for the reason that as an institution it possessed the potentiality of a valuable instrument of social reform in a setting where social and caste taboos prevented people from sitting and eating together as it was believed that with the touch of a low caste person, the food of the high got profaned and rich man's dining, sitting by the side of a poor man, was taken as a set-back to the social position of the rich man. Such evils were eating into the vitals of Indian society in those days. The Gurus introduced interdining among their followers with a view to doing away with these evils.

All people were considered by the Sikh Gurus as members of the same human family. All members of the same family eat from the same kitchen and the same things are served equally to all of them. The equality of mankind was not a mere theoretical belief with the Gurus but it was a practical realism with them and they took concrete steps to actualize it among their followers. Guru Amar Das repudiated the prevalent social distinctions and tried to bring them on the same plane by making them sit in the same row and dine, their shoulders rubbing with one another. He declared that the existing institution of class gradation and untouchability were indefensible and were against the Will of God. All his visitors were required to eat from his kitchen before they were allowed to see him. Even Akbar the great Mughal Emperor and the Raja of Haripur had to do the same.

Distinction of caste is one of the fundamental institutions resting on religious sanction of the Hindus amongst whom the Sikh Gurus had

24. Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, p. 215.

to preach. In the words of Gough, "Caste may be generally described as the theory and practice of hereditary social distinctions carried to the extremist limits and confirmed by the sanction of religion...carried to the extreme it is a barrier to all progress since in effect it is an enormous system of privileges."²⁵ Gurus knew that the spiritual development, religious reform and social progress could not take place under a system of privileges which confined the monopoly of spiritual evolution and religious sanctity to the so-called higher castes and debarred the lower ones from the spiritual and religious advantages. Therefore, the Gurus denounced the caste and the taboos linked with it with utmost vehemence and advocated equality of man.

The Hindu caste being divisive in character was one of the major hindrances in the formation of such a society. Providing a powerful shell, caste in India bound the man from his very birth to a specified group and behaviour. If actions were to be determinant of social position as well as position before God, the Guru asserted, caste by birth could not have a part to play in his social structure. Being aware of the hold caste beliefs had on the people, the Gurus attacked the very root of it and said that the social divisions were not the creation of God but were man-made. They were against the exploitation of the lower ones by the high castes. According to Guru Nanak, God has no caste.²⁶ One does not become 'high' in God's eye by regarding oneself high. In His court caste and birth are not taken into account; honour and caste are determined by the acts of the individuals.²⁷

The Hindu society was torn asunder by unbridgeable caste differences. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Hindu religion had become a bungle of empty rituals. The popular Hindu religion was confined to peculiar forms of eating and drinking, peculiar ways of bathing and painting the forehead, and other such mechanical observances. The study of the scriptures was the privilege of the priests alone. "The springs of the true religion had been choked up by the weeds of unmeaning ceremonials, debasing superstitions, the selfishness of the priests and indifference of the people. Form had supplanted the reality and the highly spiritual character of Hinduism had been buried under the ostentatious paraphernalia of sects. The centuries of invasion, foreign misrule and persecution had produced the greatest depression and demoralisation

25. Charles Gough, *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, p. 16.

26. *Rag Parbhati, Adi Granth*, p. 1328.

27. *Ibid*, p. 1330.

to an enormous degree."²⁸

With society in this shape, the job of Guru Amar Das was not so easy. But since he had the reformer's will, the odd circumstances would not restrain him from striving to pull the society out of its disgusting position. Under the impact of his strong views a section of the society underwent a remarkable change in their social behaviour. In the words of Indubhusan Banerjee, "Guru Angad had, no doubt, done something to give the Sikhs an individuality of their own but it was under Guru Amar Das that the difference between a Hindu and a Sikh became more pronounced and the Sikhs began gradually to drift away from the orthodox Hindu society and form a class, a sort of new brotherhood by themselves."²⁹

28. Narang, G.C., *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 20 (5th edition).

29. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I, p. 183.

Sri Guru Amar Das—His Teaching and Philosophy

DR GOBIND SINGH MANSUKHANI*

The life of Guru Amar Das is an example of an ideal man living in this world. His *sewā* (voluntary and selfless service) of Guru Angad and the entire *sangat* (congregation), which he did for a period of more than eleven years is a model of holy and selfless living. The purpose of the *sewā* is the elimination of the ego which is a hurdle in the way of universal love and remembrance of God's Name. Ego has to be overcome through humility and works of charity. Even when the disciple does good deed, worldly people criticise him. However, if he does not take to heart what others say, and shows patience and practices forbearance, people will ultimately realize the value of his work and wisdom.

Guru Amar Das's attitude to Datu, the son of Guru Angad, is a great lesson for every Sikh. Datu kicked the Guru but the latter did not retaliate but quietly left the village. He never minded the apparent insult in the presence of the congregation. On the contrary he showed exemplary patience and humility and thus won the respect of his followers. Similarly his forbearance in the face of hostility and aggression of Gond Marwaha, Tappa and the *brahmins* of Goindwal is a testimony to his saintly nature. The story of Prema, the leper, whom he cherished and brought back to good health and later got married, is an outstanding example of his benevolent disposition and his great compassion.

One day, Bhai Budha lovingly asked Guru Amar Das, on behalf of the *sangat*, to tell them of the Sikh discipline in daily life. The Guru replied as follows : "Listen, O Sikhs of the Guru ! Get up early at dawn and take a bath. Then sit in a corner and concentrate your mind and recite the Holy Name till sun rise, then go about your daily work or profession and earn your living honestly. Do not tell lies or speak ill of others. Share your joys and sorrows with your fellow beings. Resign yourself to the will of God and do not find fault with the doings of the Creator. Do not run after transitory pleasures of the world. Give up deceit, jealousy and covetousness. Always seek the company of the good and

* *The Sikh Review*, May 1979.

the virtuous. Mould your conduct according to the instructions of your religious guide."

His Philosophy

Guru Amar Das laid down the universal highway for every seeker of truth. According to Sikhism, the Guru is the pivot in the training of the devotee. Guru Amar Das learnt the Sikh way of life from his predecessors and emphasised the important role of the Guru in guiding the disciple. Fortunately, we have now the permanent guidance of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* which contains the message and the instructions of the Gurus.

(1) The Guru

According to Guru Amar Das, the Guru is a kind of boat or ship to ferry man across the world's tempestuous ocean, or a ladder for spiritual ascent. Guru Amar Das says in this connection : "Imbued with the Name, the true Guru is the ship in the Dark Age." (p.522.) "By serving the Guru, man saves his capital ; the Guru is a ladder or boat of salvation. Nanak says, he who loves God receives the enlightenment. The true Lord is attained through the true mind." (p.1279.)

The Guru destroys the disciple's ego through humility and service. "Nanak says, by meeting the true Guru, man's self-will is destroyed, and the true Lord comes to dwell in his mind." (p.560.)

"Without the Guru, man cannot perform *bhakti* and cannot love holy word." (p.1417.)

"Divine knowledge and the jewel of Nām are obtained from the Guru; After subduing desire, the mind remains stable within." (p. 1044.)

The Guru holds the key to the spiritual treasure. Guru Amar Das says in this connection :

"In the true Guru's hand is the key. None else can open the door. By perfect good luck, the Guru is met." (p.124.)

"Virtues are accumulated and vices disappear ;

With the Guru's help, one merges in the holy world." (p.361.)

Commenting on the *three fold aspect* of the Guru—God, the perfect man, the *shabad* (*gurbani*)—Guru Amar Das concludes that all the three constitute a single Reality :

"There is one *bani* (divine gospel) uttered by the only Guru and one *shabad* (Holy Name) to reflect upon." (p.646.)

"Everyone talks of bliss but bliss is obtained through the Guru. (p.917.)

"The perfect Guru showed me the Lord,
And through the Guru's hymns, I realised Him." (p.592.)

(2) Sewa

The Guru also teaches the disciple the true way of service of all creation, without any let or hindrance. The disciple must submit himself to the guidance and the will of the Guru :

"When one does the service of the Guru, the mind becomes pure and finds refuge in the true Home." (p.120.)

"Through the service of the Guru, one gets real happiness, which cannot be found anywhere else." (p.548.)

"Nanak says, if one follows the will of the Guru, one naturally merges in the Truth." (p. 1249.)

(3) Universal Love

The Guru recognised the validity of all religions and revelations and prayed for universal welfare. Guru Amar Das says :

"O God, save this burning world through Thy Grace ;

Save it by whatever way one comes to you." (p.853.)

All men and women are equal, because they are the creation of the Lord :

"Form the unique Lord come all forms and colours ;

The air, water and fire are kept together amongst all." (p.160.)

"The whole world is made out of one clay ;

But the Potter has fashioned it into vessels of many kinds." (p.1128)

(4) Holy Company (*Sadh Sangat*)

The company of the pious is beneficial to the disciple for his spiritual progress. The Guru calls mammon a snake, and holy-men snake charmers. In the society of saints, man learns *sadhana* (spiritual practice) and the secret or technique of *Nam simran* (Remembrance of the Holy Name). God's elixir is relished in the saints' congregation. The company of like-minded pious persons strengthens the devotee's conviction and provides him a lot of moral support in spiritual effort.

Guru Amar Das says in this connection :

"Come dear saints ; let us speak of the gospel
of the Ineffable God." (p.918.)

(5) Detachment

Though the Sikh leads a family life, his mind does not get involved in worldly matters. He does not renounce the world, but rather its worldliness and mammon.

Guru Amar Das describes the life of a *gurmukh* (God-oriented person) in the following words :

"The Guru-oriented become desireless and attain to supreme bliss.

In household, they remain unattached and in life affection for the Lord. Sorrow and separation cling not to them and they remain happy in the Lord's will.

Nanak says, they ever remain imbued with their God and He blends them with Himself." (p.1249.)

The disciple does actions but they are done without the ego or the self and as such, these detached actions bring no reaction :

"He alone is above actions who reflects over the Guru's hymns. Within his mind is the divine knowledge and thereby he effaces his ego." (p.128.)

(6) Holy Name (*kirtan*)

Guru Amar Das affirms that the Holy Name is within man himself, but its secret is imparted to him by the Guru. *Kirtan* or the singing of the glories of God disassociates man from his physical environments and takes him to the inner consciousness. Since *Kirtan* is nothing but the Holy Name, man feels the presence of the Guru. Then the Guru takes him to the *shabad* and thus the meditation on the Holy Name produces inner joy, which is called *amrit rasa* or *har rasa*. The Guru says :

"Imbued with the Lord's nectar, I now easily sing His praise and my tongue utters the Lord's Name." (p. 1049.)

"The tongue tastes the Lord's nectar; the mind is drenched in Lord's love, and the mortal meditates on on the true Name.

The inner well is brimful with the Lord's ambrosia. Through the Name's meditation, the tongue draws and drinks it." (p.570.)

Guru Amar Das realised that bliss is obtained by singing the Lord's praise and His glory :

"Within the minds of the devotees is bliss.

They are in true with the love of the true Lord.

Night and day, they ever sing the praises of the Pure One and are easily absorbed in the praiseworthy Lord. (p.122.)

"In the minds of such friends of God is bliss.

They reflect over the Guru's *bani* ; They enshrines the Name in their minds, then pain is dispelled and the Creator blesses them with divine light.' (p.549.)

God's Name is the sweetest delicacy. It removes all sorrows. It is the surest way to salvation :

"O my soul, supremely sweet is God's Name.

It is the destroyer of sins and fears of millions of births. By the Guru's grace, the unique Lord is seen." (p.1233.)

"Let some one see and study the *shastras* and *simiritis*, without the Name, none is emancipated." (p. 229.)

But one must understand the *shabad* and reflect on it and put it into practice :

"Many melodies of joy play for one in whose mind the Lord's Name abides." (p.754.)

The benefits of meditation on the Holy Name or the singing of hymns are significant. *Firstly*, just as soap removes dirt in the same way, the holy Name washes clean the inner consciousness of men. *Secondly*, it smoothenes the path of *sadhana* and helps in the life of service, piety and noble action. The disciple carries out his daily chores with a sense of peace and joy.

(7) Devotion and Humility

Devotion is nothing but love and respect for the Guru and the holy Name. The devotion finds expression in conduct and action. Look at Guru Amar Das's love of Guru Angad. Even in the sudden process of stumbling on a stormy wintry night, he minded the pail of water meant for the bath of his Guru. He thought of his beloved Guru then, instead of his own fall or injury. Guru Amar Das says :

"If one forgets the Beloved for a moment, what kind of devotional service is it; One whose body and soul are soothed by the true Name never allows his breath to go waste." (p. 35.)

The disciple surrenders his all—body, mind and soul—to the Guru and the Lord :

"Surrender your body, soul and wealth to the Guru and submit to his will to win the Lord." (p. 918.)

(8) Divine Grace

Without God's grace, the devotees' efforts do not succeed. Man may do his best to please the Lord and yet not get near Him. Sikhism is essentially a religion of grace *sadhana* or spiritual effort or what is called *kamai* has to be blessed by the Lord in order to bear fruit. Man may sow the seed, water the plant and supervise the crop, but what harvest can he reap if there is flood or snow !

"If an account is called for by God who could satisfy him ? Accounting cannot bring any satisfactory result.

The true Lord Himself grants pardon and having forgiven blends with Himself." (p. 111.)

"Nanak says, with the Lord's grace, bliss is obtained and ignorance removed." (p.918.)

"By God's grace, the mortal serves the Guru and through God's

grace, the service is performed.

By God's grace, the mind is controlled, and by His grace the mind becomes pure." (p. 558.)

God in His grace can awaken a sleeping mortal and give him enlightenment and wisdom :

"He who has made the mortal sleep shall awaken him. By Guru's instruction, he obtains understanding." (p. 112.)

When the disciple seeks the perfect Lord, he gradually imbibes His virtues and walks in His way :

"If you walk according to His will, you shall be like Him whom you serve." (p. 549.)

(9) Final Stage : Bliss/Union

In *Anand Sahib*, Guru Amar Das has given in detail the gospel of bliss and the means to achieve it. *Firstly*, he has painted the hurdles that lie in the way and which have to be crossed. These hurdles are : argumentation, worldly wisdom, neglect of higher values, ritual, falsehood, hypocrisy, duality, greed, avarice, ego, in short the manifestation of *māyā*, The responsibilities of the family and professional career and commitment to the community are real challenges to test the mettle of man. *Secondly*, the Guru has mentioned certain positive steps which the disciple has to take in order to develop his spiritual side. The association with the Guru, the sincerity of *sadhana*, selfless service, the company of the holy, the performance of or listening to *kirtan* or *gurbani*, the relish of *Nam rasa*, the direction of organs of perception and organs of action like eyes, ears, the tongue and others in higher goal, and finally the acceptance of God's will are some of the necessary steps towards the earning of God's grace. Where the *sahj* Stage or *anand* or *dasam duar* or *turiya* is attained, all sorrows and maladies vanish, the fear of death is overcome and divine melody is heard and ineffable joy is experienced. The devotee shines with an inner radiance and wisdom which make him feel the presence of God within himself. He is *jiwan-mukt*—liberated while alive—and merges in the Ocean of Bliss :

"Some rare Guru-ward becomes emancipated in life...

He verily blends with Him, the True Lord." (p. 232.)

Merger in the Infinite is the final goal of human life. It is difficult to describe this condition. Like a drunk man who cannot tell the taste of a juicy fruit after eating it, the devotee—intoxicated with the divine nectar cannot define the state of bliss, because it is beyond the experience of the senses.

"He who soars above the nine Gates (organs) and hears the playing

of the celestial melody in the tenth Gate is liberated. (p. 110.)

"Their hearts remain saturated with God's elixir and their mental pride is destroyed. Their mind-lotus blooms and in meditation they become one in the Lord." (p. 25.)

Guru Amar Das relates his own experience of the state of beatitude in the following words :

"There, one neither sleeps nor hungers : he lives in peace and the nectar—Name of God.

"Nanak says, pain and pleasure cling not to man : there is the illumination of the All-Pervading Soul." (p. 1414.)

The Twenty-Two Manjis established by Guru Amar Das

1. Bhai Sachin-Sach, village Mandar, Tehsil Sharakpur, Lahore, *Manji* for Ambala area.
2. Bhai Allah-yar, a Pathan horse-merchant.
3. Bhai Sadharan of Goindwal (? Bakala), (*Manji*) for part of Ambala area.
4. Bhai Sawan Mall of Goindwal, a nephew of Guru Amar Das, *Manji* for Haripur and Kangra area.
5. Bhai Sukhan of Dhamial, district Rawalpindi, *Manji* for Pothohar.
6. Bhai Handal (Niranjan) of Jandiala, district Amritsar, *Manji* for his home area.
7. Bhai Kidara of Batala, district Gurdaspur.
8. Bhai Kheda of Khem Karan, district Amritsar, *Manji* for Khem Karan.
9. Bhai Gangu Shah of Garh-Shankar, district Hoshiapur, *Manji* for Sirmaur and Nahan areas with headquarters at Daso in Kharar Tehsil.
10. Bhai Darbari of Majitha, district Amritsar.
11. Bhai Paro of village Dalla, *Manji* for Sindh, sea-side area.
12. Bhai Phera of Mirpur, Jammu, *Manji* for Mirpur Jammu and Hill area.
13. Bhai Bua of Sri Hargobindpur.
14. Bhai Beni of Chunian, district Lahore.
15. Bhai Mahesha of Sultanpur, *Manji* for (part of) Malwa area.
16. Bhai Mai Das of Naroli, *Manji* for Majha.
17. Bhai Manak Chand 'Marjiwra' of Vairawal, *Manji* for Vairawal, area.
18. Bhai Matho Murari of village Khai (ਖਾਈ), district Lahore, *Manji* for Chunian, district Lahore.
19. Bhai Raja Ram of village Sandhma, in district Jullundur.
20. Bhai Ranga Shah of Mallu-pote (ਮਲੂ ਪੋਤੇ), in district Jullundur.
21. Bhai Rang Das of village Gharuan (ਘਰੂਆਂ), district Ropar.
22. Bhai Lalo of village Dalla.

The above list of twenty-two *Manjis* given by Giani Sohan Singh *Granthi* of Sri Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, in the *Gurdwara Gazette*, of the

S.G.P.C., for May 1979, pp. 73-80, agrees with that given by Bhai Kahn Singh in his *Gur-Shabda Ratnakar Mahankosh*, pp.2533-34. It, however, differs from the one mentioned in the *Amar Chanan* of Giani Makhan Singh Mrigind, published by the Federation of Sikh Organizations of U.K., Southal, England, pp. 37-43. It contains the following names in places of No. 2, 10, 13, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22 of the above list.

6. Bhai Pirthi Mall of Dalla; *Manji* for (part of) Malwa.
14. Bhai Sain Das, of Lahore, *Manji* for Trans-Ravi area.
15. Bhhi Ditte de Bhall of Basarke, *Manji* for Majha area.
16. Bhai Sewa, of Kabul, *Manji* for Kabul(Afghanistan) area.
17. Bhai Durga, of village Mihdan (मिहड़), Hardwar, *Manji* for Hardwar area.
18. Bhai Jit (Bengali), of Sylhet, *Manji* for Bengal territory.
19. Bhai Balloo, of Goindwal, *Manji* for Goindwal area.
20. Bibi Bhago, of Kashmir, *Manji* for Kashmir area.
22. Bhai Bhikkha Bhat (originally from the Deccan) of Sultanpur, *Manji* for propagation of Sikhism among the Bhats.

Bhai Phera (Phiria or Phiraya) No. 12, and Bhai Kidara No. 7 of the first list above have both been shown under No. 13 of the *Amar Chanan* list as brothers, of Mirpur (Jammu), with a common *Manji* for Mirpur Jammu and the Hill area.

And Bhai Matho Murari No. 18, is shown in the *Amar Chanan* (p.40) under No. 11 as Bibi Matho, daughter of Sheehan Uppal, married to Murari of village Khai

Gurdwaras of Guru Amar Das

1. Gurdwara Sahib, village Basarke, five miles from Amritsar.
2. Gurdwara Thara Sahib (ਥਰਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ) Khadur, district Amritsar.
3. Gurdwara Damdama Sahib, village Bindhian (ਬਿੰਦੀਆਂ) between Khadur and Goindwal.
4. Gurdwara Kotha Sahib, also known as Sannh Sahib (ਕੋਠਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜਾਂ ਸੰਨ੍ਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ) at Basarke village.
5. Gurdwara Baoli Sahib, Goindwal.
6. Gurdwara Haveli Sahib (Gurdwara Wadda Darbar Asthan), Residential house of Guru Amar Das in the bazaar, Goindwal.
7. In the above Haveli Sahib is also Kothri Sahib, where Guru Amar Das breathed his last.
8. Khooh Sri Guru Amar Das, a well in the thickly populated area of Goindwal with a room adjoining it for *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*.
9. Baba Anand Niwas Asthan, residence of *Baba Anand*, son of *Baba Mohri* and grandson of Guru Amar Das, Goindwal.
10. Gurdwara Chaubara Sahib, also known as Chubara *Baba Mohan*, the residence of *Baba Mohan* son of Guru Amar Das, Goindwal.
11. Gurdwara Sahib, Thanesar, district Ambala.
12. Gurdwara Sahib, Kurukshetra.
13. Gurdwara Sahib Kankhal (in the *haveli* of the Nirmalas) two miles south of Hardwar on the bank of the Ganges.
14. Gurdwara village Bahlol (three *kos* to the north of Kasur), district Lahore.

Contemporaries of Guru Amar Das

DEVINDER KUMAR VERMA*

Guru Amar Dass :

Born, Basarke (Amritsar), May 5, 1479 A.D., (Lunar) Baisakh Vadi 14, 1536, (Solar) Jeth 8, 1536, Safar 12, 884 Hijri.

Died, Goindwal (Amritsar), September 1, 1574 (Wednesday), Bhadon Sudi 15, 1631, Asu 1, 1631, Jamadi-ul-Awal 14, 982 Hijri.

Guru Nanak :

Born, Talwandi Rai Bhoi (West Pakistan), now called Nankana Sahib, April 15, 1469 A.D. (Saturday).

Died, Kartarpur, on the bank of River Ravi (now in Pakistan), September 7, 1539 A.D. (Sunday).

Guru Angad :

Born, Matte di Serai (Ferozepur), March 31, 1504 A.D. (Sunday).

Died, Khadur Sahib, March 29, 1552 A.D. (Tuesday).

Guru Ram Dass :

Born, Chune Mandi, Lahore ; September 24, 1534 A.D. (Thursday).

Died, Goindwal (Amritsar), September 1, 1584 A.D. (Tuesday).

Guru Arjun Dev :

Born, Goindwal (Amritsar), April 15, 1563 A.D. (Thursday)

Died, Lahore, May 30, 1606 A.D. (Friday)

Contemporary Rulers of India :

Bahlol Khan Lodhi

Crowned, 1450 A.D.; Died, 1488 A.D.

Sikandar Lodhi, son of Bahlol Lodhi

Crowned, 1488 A.D.; Died, 1517 A.D.

Ibrahim Lodhi, son of Sikandar Lodhi

Crowned, 1517 A.D.; Died, April 19, 1526 A.D.

Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur

Born, 1483 A.D.;

Became emperor of India, 1526 A.D.; Died, 1530 A.D.

Humayun :

Born, March 7, 1508 (Tuesday).

Crowned as emperor of India, 1530 A.D.; Died, 1556 A.D.

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Sher Shah Suri (Farid)

Born, 1472 A.D.; Died, 1545 A.D.

Jalal ud-Din Akbar

Born, 1542 A.D.

Crowned as emperor of India, 1556 A.D.; Died, 1605 A.D.

Governors of Lahore :

Daulat Khan, 1500-1524 A.D.

Mir Abdul Aziz (Dipalpur).

Muhammad Ali Tajik (Kalanaur).

Dilawar Khan son of Daulat Khan (Sultanpur)

} 1524-25 A.D.

Mir Yunis Ali, 1527-30 A.D.

Mirza Kamran, 1530-1540 A.D.

Governors of Multan

Hussain Khan Langah, 1469-1498 A.D.

Sultan Mahmood (grandson of Hussain Khan), 1498-1525 A.D.

Sultan Hussain Langah (younger son of Mahmood Langah), 1525-27 A.D.

Langah Khan (on behalf of Mirza Askari son of Emperor Babur), 1528-30 A.D.

Saints and Scholars

Kabir, 1440-1518 A.D.

Chaitanya, 1486-1533 A.D.

Jiv Goswami, 1511-1596 A.D.

Vallabhacharya, 1479-1530 A.D.

Shankar Dev, 1490-1569 A.D.

Dhani Dharam Das, 1433-1543 A.D.

Sain Das, 1468 A.D.

Jin Chandra Suri, Died 1473 A.D.

Jin Samundra Suri, Died 1498 A.D.

Jin Hans Suri, Died 1515 A.D.

Jin Manikya Suri, Died 1555 A.D.

Tulsi Das, 1511-1637 A.D.

Sur Das, 1479-1515 A.D.

Vidyapati, 1400-1507 A.D.

Martin Luthar, 1483-1546 A.D.

Igantius of Loyola, 1419-1556 A.D.

Jean Calvin, 1509-1564 A.D.

Guru Amar Das at a glance

DEVINDER KUMAR VERMA*

Born :	Wednesday Vaisakh Sudi 14, 1536, 10 Jeth Samat 1536; 5 May, 1479; Safar 12, 884 Hijri
Father :	Sh. Tej Bhan
Mother :	Mata Sulakhani (Lakho, Lachhmi, Bhup Kaur, Rup Kaur, Bhakhat Kaur, etc.)
Wife :	Mata Mansa Devi (Rami, Malan, etc.)
Occupation :	Agriculture and Trade
Sons :	Baba Mohan and Baba Sohan
Daughters :	Bibi Bhani and Bibi Dani
Son's in Law :	Bhai Jetha (son of Shri Hardas, Sodhi Khatri of Lahore); Bhai Rama (Suri according to Macauliffe).
Grandson (<i>Dohita</i>) :	Guru Arjan
Gurgaddi :	Tuesday, Chet Sudi 4, 1609; 3 Vaisakh 1609; March 29, 1552 A.D.; 3 Rabi-ul-Awwal 959 Hijri.
Age at the time of accession of gurgaddi :	72 years 10 month and 24 days
Period of Gurgaddi :	22 years 4 months and 30 days
At Khadur :	(About) 1540 A.D.
At Goindwal :	1546 A.D.
Installed an Guru Gaddi :	1552.
Kurukshetra visit to :	January, 1553 A.D.
Construction of Baoli :	1559-1564 A.D.
Akbar's Visit to Khadur :	1571 A.D.
Total age :	95 years 3 months and 23 days.
Death :	Wednesday, Bhadon Sudi 15 Samat 1631, (September 1, 1574), at Goindwal.

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Guru Amar Das The Divine Grandson of Guru Nanak

DR JIT SINGH SITAL*

ਸੋ ਟਿਕਾ ਸੋ ਬੈਠਾ ਸੋਈ ਦੀਬਾਣੁ
ਪਿਯੂ ਦਾਏ ਜੇਹਿਹ ਪੌਤਾ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ।

He (Amar Das) obtained the same mark, the same throne, and the same court.

The grandson was as acceptable as the father, and grandfather.

(Rai Balwand and Satta: *Ramkali ki Var.*)

On 5th of May, 1479, there appeared on the horizon of India a great luminary in the person of Amar Das who, later on in 1572, came to be known as Nanak the Third, the divine grandson of Guru Nanak, as the scriptures and historians put it.

Amar Das was born in the house of Baba Tej Bhan at village Basarke near Chheharta, district Amritsar. Tej Bhan belonged to the solar dynasty which traces its lineage to Bharat, cousin of Lord Rama.

But spiritually, Amar Das is considered to be the true son/grandson and the rightful heir-apparent to Guru Nanak—

'So tikkā so Behnā soi Dībān'

—the like of the Great founder of the World Faith and adoring the same high seat of Divine Learning. The renowned bards Satta and Balwand (*Ramkali ki Var*) also sang in the same tune saying: 'He was Nanak, he was Lehna and he was Amar Das himself.' Furthermore they say: the same first son of Guru Nanak occupied the same seat of Guruship; the grandson has been recognized in the manner, his father and grandfather were accepted by the Sikhs.

Amar Das was a staunch Vaishnavite and used to go to Hardwar every year. It was during his 20th/21st visit that he was reproached by a Sadhu (or a Pandit) for not owning a Guru and was made to realise that, without a guru, all his pilgrimages had gone waste. Fire in him was kindled. Within a couple of days he perchance heard Bibi Amro, daughter of Guru Angad Dev married to Amar Das's nephew, reciting the sacred hymns of Guru Nanak. Amar Das, thereupon, approached

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her and desired her to accompany him to her father, Guru Angad, who was successor to Guru Nanak's *Gaddi* at Khadur Sahib. 'Beholding Guru Angad, he (Amar Das) at once knew that he had found what he had been in search of,' says Prof. Harbans Singh in his article on Guru Amar Das (*The Sikh Review*, May 1979, p. 69). This happened in 1541-42 when the Guru was sixty years old. He served his master, Guru Angad, with utmost devotion and love for 12 years continuously.

Amar Das was married to Mansa Devi, daughter of Shri Devi Chand Behl of Village Sankhatra, district Sialkot, in January 1502, who begot him two daughters—Bibi Dani and Bibi Bhani—and two sons, Mohri and Mohan. Immensely pleased with Amar Das's incessant service, Guru Angad Dev, at last, declared him as his successor in 1552. Guru Amar Das ascended the *Gur-Gaddi* at the age of 72 and served the House of Nanak for twenty-two years, merging thereafter in the Light of the eternal flame.

Amar Das, the third Nanak, organised Sikhism and established twenty-two *manjis*—the Sikh Centres (dioceses or preaching districts)—and *Sangat* and *Pangat* became integral part of the True Faith. None was to see the Guru unless he had partaken of meals at Guru ka Langar—the free kitchen for all. This applied to kings and paupers alike. Emperor Akbar was granted audience only after he had his food at the *langar*.

Guru Amar Das was a great organiser, and untiring social reformer, a divine composer and musician and preacher. He worked for removing taboo on widow-remarriage, *purdah* amongst woman. Custom of *sati* was discouraged. He was a great builder also. As desired by Guru Angad, he founded Goindwal himself and asked Ram Das to build a city at the present site of Amritsar. He held congregations daily whereat *Gurbani* was recited and sung in accompaniment of musical instruments. He composed sacred hymns in seventeen *Ragas* and was the compiler of *Gurbani*, having collected all the hymns of the first two Gurus and compositions of almost all Vaishnav Bhagatas. He gave a distinct entity to the Sikh Faith, severed all relations with the Udasi sect and asked his followers to give up all rituals, customs, etc., prevailing among the Hindus.

Goindwal became the Sikh centre—the Kashi and Hardwar of the Sikhs, while the Baoli there signified the sacred Ganga. He foresaw a world-centre of mankind in Amritsar which was to be built by his successors. The Guru was a great healer, who brought life and vigour to the suffering humanity. During his Guruship Sikh Faith made huge strides and the Word of the Guru got disseminated far and wide. He named Jetha—Ram Das—, his son-in-law and a devout Sikh as his successor and passed

away on September 1, 1574. To the Guru, the *Nirankar*, the *Sat-Guru* and the *Gurmukh*, formed the trinity of the Sikh Faith.

Although Guru Amar Das (1479-1574) was a contemporary of Guru Nanak (1469-1539), yet it seems he could not get an opportunity to meet the Guru in his life time. However, the author of *Twarikh Guru Khalsa* (p. 298) alludes to one such casual meeting at Khadoor Sahib. According to his version, once Guru Nanak, Guru Angad (at the time Bhai Lehna) and Mai Bharai were holding a discourse at the sacred tank of Tapiana. Amar Das happened to pass there while on his way to Basarke. While paying homage to the Guru, Amar Das made an offering of 'Tilchawli' (a dish made of rice, *til* and sugar). Having partaken that, the Guru said to Lehna, 'O Angad ! this son of a Khatri has put us under great debt by offering *Tilchawli* and country sugar. He will, in return, receive much. Guru Nanak's prediction came to be true.

Daulat Ram (*Swanikh Umri Guru Gobind Singh*, pp. 41-43), while giving the important events of the life of Guru Amar Das, remarks that the Guru had been practising the Hindu faith for about sixty two years before coming into contact with Guru Angad Dev ji. He was much influenced by the teachings of the House of Nanak. He discarded all Hindu orthodox Puranic thoughts and became a true disciple of the second Guru whom he served with zeal and devotion for twelve years. Wordly vanity and conceit didn't come in his way. Like an expert surgeon, the Guru operated upon the decaying body of Hinduism and cleansed it of all prevalent evils. The Guru imparted a distinct entity to the Sikh Religion. He prohibited the Sikhs from taking to the path of the Udasis. He safeguarded the faith of Nanak against extrenuous influences of other sects and creeds and saved it from total annihilation.' Guru Amar Das helped the Sikhs to attain the highest morality and blissful life. 'Guru's philosophy of life centred round 'The One Word and One Guru.' Spake he :

'There is One Creator, One Guru and One Word to meditate on :

True is the shop, true its dealings;

Its garners are filled with jewels.'

Philosophy/Teaching of Guru Amar Das

The Philosophy of Guru Amar Das was in no way different from that of the founder of the faith—Guru Nanak. It was the least grotesque or dogmatic. Rather, it signified a true pattern of living. Guru Amar Das drew his power, both divine and temporal, from the Lord and the Satguru and preached and propagated the truth propounded by Guru Nanak and Guru Angad. He unravelled the vast and rich treasure of his

predecessors.

Some salient points of the faith of the House of Nanak are :

Monotheism : Belief in *Unity* of God;

Disapproval of the *Worship* of idols;

God as the ultimate Absolute *Sat* (Truth and Reality);

God is the only One, Omnipotent and Omniscient Reality;

He is the Creator; without Fear and without hate;

He pervades the Universe; He is not born;

He doesn't die to be born again : He is the Supreme Truth.'

This is embodied in the *Mul Mantra* or the basic belief of Sikhism.

God could not be described; He is *Nirankar*, the formless; the Gurus used a variety of names for God as against one thousand names of Vishnu (*Sahansarnama*) and about a hundred of Allah (the Holy Quran). Gurus used both Hindu and Muslim nomenclatures for God, i.e., Ram, Rahim, Murari, Govind, Rabb, Allah. To Nanak, He was the True Creator (*Sat Kartar*).

The institution of the Guru, his need and importance, purity of life, casteless society, the gentle path of *Nam* and *Sahaj*, triumph of human will (with the help and benevolence of the Guru) over fate and predestination, are some of the other tenets of the Sikh Faith. The three commandments of the Gurus are :

Kirt Karo, Nam Japo, Vand Chhako, i. e., work, worship and charity.'

'Ghāl khāi kich hāthon dē

Nanak rāh pachane sé. (*Sarang ki Var.*)

Guru Amar Das strove his best in the building of the Sikh Church. His sermons were simple and direct and couched in the language of masses. As Khushwant Singh puts it in *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 53-4, 'Amar Das introduced many innovations which tended to break the close affiliations of the Sikhs with the Hindus (in matters of faith and worship). He sanctified a well alongside the temple at Goindwal and fixed the first of the month of Baisakh as the day for the annual gathering of Sikhs. He also introduced new forms of ceremonials for births and deaths, in which the recitation of hymns of the Gurus replaced the chanting of Sanskrit slokas. He tried to do away with the practice of *pardah* (seclusion of women), advocated monogamy, encouraged inter-caste alliances and remarriage of widows. He strictly forbade the practice of *Sati*—the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Satta and Balwand (*Ramkali ki Var*) applauded Guru

Amar Das saying :

'He made divine knowledge his steed and chastity his saddle.
On the bar of truth he strung the arrow of God's praise.
In the age of utter darkness, he rose like the Sun.
He sowed the seed of truth and reaped its fruit.'

An institution of *Pangat* or *Guru ka langar* (free common kitchen) was rightly established by the Guru alongwith that of *Sangat*. As stated by Dr Fauja Singh, '*pangat*' or *Guru ka langar* performed four-fold function : 'First, it imparted a secular dimension to the *sangat*. Secondly, it added to the functional efficiency of the Sikh organisation. Thirdly, it translated the principle of equality into practice. Fourthly, it served as a cementing force among the followers of Sikhism.¹

Before the investiture ceremony, Guru Angad, having embraced Amar Das who had stood the test quite successfully while performing his duty daily right upto the last, bestowed upon his successor (Amar Das) twelve titles (epithets) : this was befitting answer to the irresponsible utterance of the weaver-woman in whose loom-pit the Guru-servant had inadvertently fallen in the early hours of his last ordeal. Some of these epithets conferred upon Guru Amar Das were : He (Amar Das) shall be the home of the homeless, the honour of the unhonoured, the strength of the strengthless, the support of the unsupported, the shelter of the unsheltered, the protector of the unprotected, the restorer of what is lost and the emancipator of the captive.

Giani Gian Singh (*Panth Parkash*) alludes to this fact as follows :

‘ਤੁਮ ਹੋ ਨਿਬਾਵਨ ਥਾਨ, ਕਰਹੋ ਨਿਮਾਨਹਿ ਮਾਨ,
ਨਿਤਾਣਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਤਾਨ, ਨਿਓਟਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਓਟ,
ਨਿਆਸਰਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਆਸਰਾ, ਨਿਧਿਰਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਧਿਰ,
ਪੀਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੀਰ, ਦਿਆਲ ਗਹੀ ਬਹੋੜ
ਜਗਤ ਬੰਦੀ ਛੋੜ, ਭੰਨਣ ਘੜਨ ਸਮਰੱਥ
ਸਭ ਜੀਵਕਾ ਜਿਸ ਹੱਥ’ ॥

The Institution of Guru :

The institution of the Guru is the pivot of the Sikh Faith. Salvation cannot be attained without the Guru. Guru only takes the Sikhs across the fearful ocean of life. Guru is the true guide, but not God. 'Unity in the plurality of the Gurus,' says Dr Sher Singh, (*Philosophy of Sikhism*,

1. Dr Fauja Singh : *Development of Sikhism under the Gurus*—an article on Sikhism, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, p. 6.

p. 46), 'served as a useful purpose in the development of Sikhism. But for this belief there would have been no Sikh nation. This fact is supported by historians as well as Sikh scriptures. Guru is Great. The personality of the Guru could pass to the disciple (as is evident from the Sikh history and scriptures) and raise him to a status of equality. (Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 41.)

'As one lamp can light another without losing any of its light, so can a teacher impart wisdom to his disciple and elevate him to equality.'

It is the institution of the Guru, round which whole of the *Bani* of Guru Amar Das revolves. The subject-matter of Guru Amar Das' sayings covers 'service of the Guru; devotion and worship of the Guru, the need and importance of the Guru, and complete surrender to the will of the Guru.' This was but natural, for Amar Das had found his Guru after a long wait and constant search. He rejoiced over his achievement of having procured in his life time the Great Guru—the sole aim of his life. The *Anand*—His masterpiece is a great eulogy of the Guru. He hails the Guru in his shabads and slokas.

Unity of God and Universality of Mankind were the basic tenets of the Sikh Faith. *Satguru* is the saviour and the affectionate Father. A Sikh—the son of the True Guru—is a real brother (*Bhai*), a companion and a chum. The institution of the *Gur-Sikh* as *Bhai* (the real brother) was also established firmly by the Guru. Says he in *Sri Rag* :

'In their hearts the perfect Guru hath established
God's name as an inexhaustible store house ;
O my brethren, admonish your hearts.'

People in all walks of life need the Guru's guidance. In *Sri Rag*, Guru Amar Das makes it clear and exhorts people practising deception to become hermits in their true home. Only by following the Guru's instruction one can practise truth. Says the Guru :

'O man ! be a hermit in thine own home.
He who hath been enlightened by the Guru's instruction practiseth
truth, self-restraint and good works.' (Sri Rag, III.)

Again, it is the true Guru who tells you as to whom you should worship and what Name should you utter. It is only through obedience to the True Guru that pride and vanity are removed from within yourself. One saturated with the True Word gets his heart's desires fulfilled.

Thus by taking to the Path shown by the Great Guru, one gets fully absorbed in God's Name.

Without the Guru, deliverance cannot possibly be attained, nor

could doubt and worldly love and lust be made to depart.

In *Sri Rag ki Var* 'Nanak the third declares :

'Ever true are the dealings of those who serve the true Guru.'

While the True Guru could only be obtained by love, says the Guru:

'Thou shalt meet the true Guru if thy heart dwells with Him. We should, therefore, inculcate the spirit of service to the Guru, because 'only those who serve the true Guru shall be considered of account.'

In *Majh Ashtpadi* III, Guru Amar Das enumerates the advantages of obeying the word of the Guru :

'He who dieth by the Guru's word is really dead

(for he shall not undergo transmigration).

Grief shall not annoy, nor Death crush him.'

A true disciple ultimately merges in the Guru :

'Who heareth the true word, obeyeth it and treasureth it in his heart, his light shall be blended with God's.'

(Macauliffe, Vol. II, p. 172.)

'Without the true Guru, God cannot, in any way, be seen. If the Guru be gracious, he showeth Him unto man.'

A disciple united with God under Guru's instruction, seldom gets separated from Him.

Again, in *Rag Gauri* III, the Guru, when asked by a Sikh as to what advantage he had obtained from the association with the Great Guru, replied :

'God is met by meeting the Guru

God then blendeth man with Himself

Through love of True Guru doubt and fear vanish.

On meeting the Guru, all wisdom and understanding are obtained ;

It is through the Guru, that true service is performed.

The Guru is gracious enough to shed celestial light on the darkness of the perverse. The Love of Guru's word does that *carishma* :

'The perverse who are in total darkness shall see God if they meet the true Guru.

Nanak, God hath blended with Himself him whom he caused to love His Word.' (*Gauri ki Var*, I.)

Even the disciple of the Guru who meets the Guru can confer salvation on others. This proves the usefulness of the *Manjis* instituted by the Third Guru :

'He who meeteth such a person shall be saved by him.

He whose heart containeth the perfume of God's name, shall utter great and exalted words to make happy those who hear him;

And he himself shall obtain honour at Guru's Court.' (*Var Gauri.*)
 Thus of all religious systems, the Guru's is the best. Guru Amar Das preached this system and held it as the only path to attain true Bliss.
 'Very fortunate are they who obtain God's system.
 True disregarded of the world is obtained by the Guru's instruction.
 Six Hindu religious systems pass current,
 But the Guru's system is profound and unequalled.
 By the Guru's system the way of salvation is obtained,
 And the True One Himself abideth in the heart.' (*Ibid.*)
 In *Gujri ki Var* (slokas III) the Guru obtains pleasure by praising the Guru or God under the name of *Wah, Wah* :

'Nanak, by uttering *Wah ! Wah !* God is obtained ;
 His praise is obtained by good acts.
 The tongue is adorned by uttering the words *Wah ! Wah !*
 By these perfect words God is found.'

The *Anand* in the *Ramkali* is a great euology in praise of the Guru and expresses unbound joy as the True God is found. The *Anand* is the masterpiece of Guru Amar Das. It also denotes the great achievement one receives at the hands of the Guru, as against the futile search for the bliss carried out by many-a follower of the other paths. Daily do we express this joy, while reciting portions of this great masterpiece. This denotes the true worship as well.

'Joy, my mother, that I have found the true Guru !
 I have easily (through *Sahaj*) found the True Guru,
 and the music of gratulation is in my heart.
 The excellent Rags and the race of the female singers
 of heaven have come to sing hymns.
 They who have fixed God in their hearts sing His praises.
 Saith Nanak, I feel joy that I have obtained the True Guru.'

And every disciple of Guru Amar Das knows it well that whosoever listens and recites the *Anand* is filled with love and devotion. Whenever read, it brings forth happiness and eternal bliss.

Guru Amar Das' philosophy is thus embodied in the prescription he prescribes for his followers in *Bihagre ki Var* :

'The true Guru gave me this prescription.
 Remember God's Name through the Guru.
 God is ever present. Having removed the film of doubt from thine eyes allows the light to enter.
 The Name of God is nectar; apply it as eye-salve;
 Treasure up in thy heart the order of the Guru.'

Make the love of the true One thine abstinence;

So shall God, O Nanak, preserve thee in happiness in this world
and thou shalt afterwards disport with Him.'

To Guru Amar Das, Guru's word—divine and inspired as it were—
was eternal and infallible. The Guru's word was the embodiment of the
formless creator. Sovereignty of the Word was thus established by the
Guru for the first time. Says the Guru in the measure *Gujri* (Slokas):

'Wahu Wahu Bani Nirankar hai tis je wad avar na koi.'

[Hail the Guru's word—the formless creator which is supreme
over all.]

Guru Amar Das thus showed the inner path of eternal light and
unstrung sound. He kindled the candle of soul within his disciple. This
is also termed as the path of *Surat Shabad*. The soul is awakened with
the sweet music of the True Word. '*Sahaj Marg*' of the Guru led to the
eternal joy and bliss as revealed in 'The Anand Sahib.'

Nominating Amar Das as his successor Guru Angad, Nanak the
second, had remarked: 'Amar Das hath done great service and his toil
is acceptable. His words prove true. Wealth, supernatural power and
all earthly advantages wait on him. He who serveth Amar Das shall
obtain the fruit his heart desireth.'

Immortal words of Guru Angad said to have been addressed to
Guru Amar Das while holding him in his eternal embrace (as stated
earlier), hold good for the word of God—His true Name—in Guru Arjan's
masterpiece the 'Treasure of Peace' the *Sukhmāni* (*Ashtpadi*, III, *pad* vii).

Thy Name is the treasure for the penniless,
Thy Home is the home for the homeless,
Thy Honour is the honour for the honourless
Thy Grace bestows life to all.'

Thus Guru Amar Das, having propagated the True Name of the
Great Guru and after a spiritual reign of twenty two years, departed
this life on the forenoon of the day of the full moon in the month of
Bhadon, Sambat 1631 (1547 A.D.). Undoubtedly, the Great Guru had
cemented the relationship of the disciple and the True Guru on the one
hand and that of *Nirankar* and the Guru on the other, for all times to
come. Salutations to the Great Guru—Nanak the third, whose blessings
and support were so eagerly sought by the Tenth Master:

*Phir Angad te Guru Amar Das,
Ram Das hoey Sahai (Var Bhagauti, X.)*

Note :- Renderings of *Gurbani* in English have been reproduced from
Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion*. The writer acknowledges this gratefully.

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਅਤੇ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਕ ਸਰਵੇਖਣ

ਡਾ: ਮਦਨਜੀਤ ਕੌਰ*

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਜ਼ਿਲਾ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਦੀ ਤਹਿਸੀਲ ਤਰਨ ਤਾਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਦਰਿਆ ਬਿਆਸ ਦੇ ਸੱਜੇ ਕੰਢੇ ਵਸਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਮਧਕਾਲੀਨ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦਾ ਇਹ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਹੁਣ ਇਕ ਪਿੰਡ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਰਕਬਾ 1333 ਵਰਗ ਮੀਲ ਹੈ।¹ ਸੰਨ 1546 ਵਿਚ ਮੁਗਲ ਰਾਜ ਵੇਲੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਾ ਨਾਮੀ ਮਰਵਾਹੇ ਖਤ੍ਰੀ ਨੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਹੇਠ ਇਹ ਪਿੰਡ ਵਸਾਇਆ।² ਗੋਇੰਦਾ ਬਿਆਸ ਤੋਂ ਪਾਰ ਪਿੰਡ ਤਲਵੰਡੀ ਚੌਧਰੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਵਸਨੀਕ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੀ। ਗੋਇੰਦਾ ਵੱਡਾ ਇਕ ਸ਼ਾਹੂਕਾਰ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਵੱਖਰਾ ਪਿੰਡ ਵਸਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਮੰਤਵ ਲਈ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਚੁਣਿਆ। ਇਹ ਧਰਤੀ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਬੀਆਬਾਨ ਜੰਗਲ ਸੀ। ਵੇਲੇ ਦੇ ਹਾਕਮਾਂ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਇਜਾਜ਼ਤ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਗੋਇੰਦੇ ਨੇ ਪਿੰਡ ਵਸਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਜ ਅਰੰਭਿਆ ਸੀ। ਪਰ ਏਸ ਵਿਚ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਫਲਤਾ ਨਾ ਮਿਲੀ।³ ਨਿਰਾਸ਼ ਹੋ ਕੇ (ਗੁਰੂ) ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਦੱਸਿਆ। (ਗੁਰੂ) ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਖਡੂਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਚ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੇਵਕਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਸਨ। ਸਿੱਖ ਰਵਾਇਤ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੇ (ਗੁਰੂ) ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਨੂੰ ਗੋਇੰਦੇ ਦੀ ਨਗਰ ਵਸਾਉਣ ਵਿਚ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਦਿੱਤੀ। (ਗੁਰੂ) ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਹੱਥੀ ਪਿੰਡ ਦੀ ਮੌੜੀ ਗੱਡੀ ਅਤੇ ਗੋਇੰਦੇ ਦੀ ਸਿਖੀ ਸੇਵਕੀ ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿਚ ਰੱਖਦਿਆਂ ਹੋਇਆਂ ਪਿੰਡ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਰੱਖਿਆ।⁴

ਥਾਂ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਨਦੀ ਦੇ ਕੰਢੇ ਇਕ ਰਮਣੀਕ ਥਾਂ ਤੇ ਵਸਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਹਰ ਮੌਸਮ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਨਜ਼ਾਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਕ੍ਰਿਤਿਕ ਵਿਲਖਣਤਾ ਰਖਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਥੋਂ ਦੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਬੜੀ ਉਪਜਾਊ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਥਾਂ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਸ਼ੇਰ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਸੂਰੀ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਣਾਈ ਗਈ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਸੜਕ (ਆਧੁਨਿਕ ਜੀ.ਟੀ. ਰੋਡ) ਦੇ ਨੇੜੇ ਸੀ।⁵ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਆਵਾਜਾਈ ਅਤੇ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਲਸ਼ਕਰ ਤੇ ਕਾਵਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਇਸ

*ਗੇਡਰ, ਮਹਿਕਮਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਟੱਡੀਜ਼ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ।

1. *District Causus, Handbook*, 1961, 1971.

2. See, *Amritsar District Gazetteer* Ed., B.R., Chopra, Chandigarh, 1976, p. 27, f. n. 6.

3 ਵੇਖੋ, ਸ਼ਜਰਾ ਨਸਬ ਮਾਲਕਾਨ ਮੋਜ਼ਾ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ, ਤਹਿਸੀਲ ਤਰਨ ਤਾਰਨ, ਜ਼ਿਲਾ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ, ਹਦਬਸਤ ਨੰ. 338, ਚਕ ਬੇਟ ਬਾਗਰ ਜ਼ੈਲ ਵੇਰੋਵਾਲ (ਡੀ. ਸੀ. ਆਫਿਸ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ).

4. *District Gazetteer Amritsar*, p. 594.

5. ਮੁਗਲ ਕਾਲ ਵੇਲੇ ਇਹ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਸੜਕ ਅਟਾਰੀ ਤੋਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵੱਲ ਸਰਾਏ ਅਮਾਨਤ ਖਾਨ, ਨੂਰਦੀਨ, ਨੌਰਗਾਬਾਦ ਅਤੇ ਫਤੋਹਬਾਦ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਗੁਜ਼ਰਦੀ ਸੀ। ਇਹ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਸਰਾਵਾਂ ਤਹਿਸੀਲ ਤਰਨ ਤਾਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹਨ। ਵੇਖੋ, *Amritsar District Gazetteer*, p. 607.

ਰਸਤੇ ਤੋਂ ਝੰਘਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਹ ਥਾਂ ਵਪਾਰਿਕ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀ ਤੋਂ ਬੜੀ ਅਹਿਮ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀ ਸੀ। ਅਤੇ ਇਥੋਂ ਦੀ ਬਸਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਬਾਜ਼ਾਰ ਤੇ ਅਨਾਜ ਦੀ ਮੰਡੀ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਇਥੋਂ ਦੇ ਵਸਨੀਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਰੱਜਗਾਰ ਵੀ ਮੁਹੱਈਆ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਸੀ। ਇਹ ਇਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਤੱਥ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੂਆਂ ਨੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਠਨ ਵਿਚ ਆਰਥਿਕ ਤੱਤ ਨੂੰ ਕਦੀ ਵੀ ਅੱਖੋਂ ਉਹਲੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ। ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਜਲਦੀ ਹੀ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਅਨਾਜ ਅਤੇ ਚਾਰੇ ਦੀ ਸਪਲਾਈ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਮੰਡੀ ਬਣ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਆਲੇ ਦੁਆਲੇ ਦੇ ਕਈ ਵਪਾਰੀ ਵੀ ਏਥੇ ਆ ਵਸੇ। ਥਾਂ ਦੀ ਚੋਣ ਦੇ ਤੱਥ ਦੀ ਵਿਆਖਿਆ ਪਰੰਪਰਾਗਤ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਪਰੰਪਰਾ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਥਾਂ ਦਾ ਮਹੱਤਵ ਬਿਆਸ ਹੈ। ਬਿਆਸ ਦਾ ਪੁਰਾਣਾ ਨਾਂ ਬਿਪਾਸਾ ਸੀ।⁶ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਕੰਢੇ ਰਿਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਮੁਨੀਆਂ ਨੇ 'ਵੇਦਾਂ' ਦੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਜੋ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਧਰਮ ਤੇ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤੀ ਦੀ ਬੁਨਿਆਦ ਬਣੇ। ਸਿੱਖ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਬੜੀ ਬਲਵਾਨ ਪਰੰਪਰਾ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਇਸ਼ਨਾਨ ਲਈ (ਗੁਰੂ) ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਹਰ ਰੋਜ਼ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਵੇਲੇ ਖੰਡੂਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੋਂ ਪੈਦਲ ਚਲ ਕੇ ਬਿਆਸ ਨਦੀ ਦਾ ਜਲ ਲਿਆਂਦੇ ਸਨ।

ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਨਗਰ ਨਿਰਮਾਣ ਵਿਚ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੂਆਂ ਦਾ ਬੜਾ ਯੋਗਦਾਨ ਹੈ⁷ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਲੜੀ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਤੀਜਾ ਸਥਾਨ ਹੈ।⁸ (ਗੁਰੂ) ਅਮਰਦਾਸ ਵੀ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਦੋ ਗੁਰੂਆਂ ਵਾਂਗ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਨਵਾਂ ਨਗਰ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਨ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਸਨ। ਇਸ ਖੇਤ੍ਰ ਵਿਚ ਉਹ ਆਪਣੀ ਰਚਨਾਤਮਕ ਸੂਝ ਨਾਲ ਇਕ ਨਵਾਂ ਤਜਰਬਾ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਸਨ। ਉਹ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਨੂੰ ਆਤਮਿਕ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਸਾਰਿਕ ਪੱਖਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਇਕ ਆਦਰਸ਼ ਨਗਰ ਬਣਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਸਨ, ਜਿਥੇ ਭਗਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਰੋਜ਼ੀ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਨਾਲ ਚਲ ਸਕੇ। ਏਸੇ ਲਈ ਜਿਥੇ ਇਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਮਨੁੱਖੀ ਜੀਵਨ ਦੇ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ ਦੇ ਗੇੜ ਤੋਂ ਮੁਕਤੀ ਦਵਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ 'ਬਾਉਲੀ' ਦੀ ਖੁਦਾਈ ਕੀਤੀ ਉਥੇ ਹੀ ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਸਰੀਰਕ ਭੁੱਖ ਦੀ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤੀ ਲਈ ਅਟੱਟ 'ਲੰਗਰ' ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਆਦਰਸ਼ ਸਮਾਜ ਦਾ ਸੰਕਲਪ ਕੀਤਾ। ਬਾਉਲੀ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਮੁਕਤੀ ਲਈ ਬਰਾਬਰੀ ਦਾ ਹੱਕ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਗਤ ਵਿਚ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਬੈਠ ਕੇ ਭੋਜਨ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਰੀਤ ਚਲਾ ਕੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਸਮਾਨਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਮਾਜ ਦਾ ਅਨਿਖੜਵਾਂ ਅੰਗ ਬਣਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਇਸਤਰੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਸੰਗਤ ਵਿਚ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅਧਿਕਾਰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ ਅਤੇ ਪਰਦੇ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਥਾ ਦੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਤੇ ਸਤੀ ਦੇ ਰਿਵਾਜ ਦਾ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਕੀਤਾ। ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਆਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਸਮਾਨਤਾ ਦੇ ਜਿਸ ਆਦਰਸ਼ ਦਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਸੰਦੇਸ਼ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਸੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਨੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਅਗਾਂਹ ਵਧਾਇਆ। ਦਰਅਸਲ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਮਾਜ ਅਤੇ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਦੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਗਸ਼ਾਲਾ ਮੰਨਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੀ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਹੇਠ ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਵਿਕਸਿਤ ਹੋ

6. ਕਾਨ੍ਹ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਭਾ, 'ਮਹਾਨਕੋਸ਼', 1960, ਪੰਨਾ 320.

7. See Ganda Singh and Teja Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1950, p. 25.

8. ਏਸ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਕਰਤਾਰਪੁਰ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਖੰਡੂਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ।

ਚੁੱਕਾ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੰਗਠਨ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਬਾਕੀ ਸੀ। ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਠਨ ਨੂੰ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਠਨ ਨੂੰ 22 ਮੰਜੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਵੰਡਿਆ ਗਿਆ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਮੰਜੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਪਦਵੀ ਸਨਮਾਨ ਵਜੋਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੇਵਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਗਈ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਚ ਵਧ ਚੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲਿਆ ਤੇ ਨਿਸ਼ਕਾਮ ਸੇਵਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ। ਮੰਜੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਬਖਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਵੇਲੇ ਜਾਤ-ਪਾਤ ਅਤੇ ਇਸਤਰੀ ਪੁਰਖ ਦੇ ਭੇਦ ਵਲ ਧਿਆਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ।

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਮੱਧ-ਕਾਲੀਨ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਧਰਮ ਨਿਰਪੱਖ ਨਗਰ ਸੀ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਠਨ ਦੇ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਵਜੋਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਗੈਰ-ਸਿੱਖ ਵਸਨੀਕ ਵੀ ਧਰਮ-ਉਪਾਸ਼ਨਾ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ੁਰੂਤਰ ਸਨ। ਇਹੋ ਕਾਰਣ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਥੇ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੰਦਰ ਤੇ ਸ਼ਿਵਾਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਪੀਰਾਂ, ਫਕੀਰਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਮਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਮਸਜਿਦਾਂ ਹਨ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਬਣਨ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਦ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਪਿੰਡ ਛੱਡ ਗਏ ਹਨ, ਪਰ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸਥਾਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਲੋਕ ਹਾਲੇ ਵੀ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੀ ਸਤਿਕਾਰ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ, ਜਿੰਨਾਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਹੋਰ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸਥਾਨ ਦਾ।

ਦੂਰੀ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਤੋਂ 48 ਕਿਲੋ-ਮੀਟਰ, ਤਰਨ ਤਾਰਨ ਤੋਂ 24 ਕਿਲੋ-ਮੀਟਰ ਅਤੇ ਖੰਡੂਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੋਂ 9 ਕਿਲੋ-ਮੀਟਰ ਦੀ ਦੂਰੀ ਤੇ ਸਥਿਤ ਹੈ।

ਆਵਾਜਾਈ ਦੇ ਸਾਧਨ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਸੜਕ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਅਤੇ ਤਰਨ ਤਾਰਨ ਨਾਲ ਜੁੜਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਏਸ ਰਾਹ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਈਵੇਟ ਟਰਾਂਸਪੋਰਟ ਕੰਪਨੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਬਸਾਂ ਚਲਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਤੋਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਲਈ ਸਿਧੇ ਅਤੇ ਤਰਨ ਤਾਰਨ ਯਾ ਖੰਡੂਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਬਸਾਂ ਵੀ ਮਿਲਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਡਾਕਖਾਨਾ ਬ੍ਰਾਂਚ ਪੋਸਟ ਆਫਿਸ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਫਤਿਹਾਬਾਦ ਦੇ ਸਬ ਪੋਸਟ ਆਫਿਸ ਅਤੇ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਦੇ ਹੈਡ ਪੋਸਟ ਆਫਿਸ ਦਾ ਭਾਗ ਹੈ।

ਲੋਕ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਵਸੋਂ ਦੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਵਿਚ ਸਭ ਜਾਤਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਧਰਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਵੱਸਣ ਦਾ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ ਮਿਲਦਾ ਹੈ। ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਰਹਿਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਭੱਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਮਰਵਾਹੇ ਖਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਨ। ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬਹੁਤਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਿਵਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਗੋਇੰਦੇ ਦੇ ਖਾਨਦਾਨ ਨਾਲ ਸੀ। ਹੋਰ ਜਾਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਲੋਕ ਘੱਟ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਸਨ। ਪਰ ਬਾਅਦ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਵੱਡੀ ਤਬਦੀਲੀ ਆਈ ਅਤੇ ਕਈ ਜਾਤਾਂ ਤੇ ਧਰਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਲੋਕ ਇਥੇ ਆ ਵੱਸੇ। ਹੁਣ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਭੱਲੇ ਖਤ੍ਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਮਰਵਾਹੇ ਘੱਟ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਮਜ਼ਬੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਹੈ। ਏਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਜੱਟ, ਕੰਬੋ, ਅਰਾਈਂ, ਰਾਜਪੂਤ, ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣ, ਗੋਸਾਈਂ, ਰੰਘੜ, ਆਦਿ ਵੀ ਹਨ। ਹੁਣ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਨਿਵਾਸੀ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਨੂੰ ਮੰਨਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਹਨ। ਇਕ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਰਬਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਜ ਕੇ (ਇਸ ਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਧਰਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੈ) ਗੁਰੂ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਚ ਹੈ। ਧਰਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਗੁਰੂ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਦੇ ਮਸ਼ਹੂਰ ਰਬਾਬੀ ਸੱਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਬਲਵੰਡ ਦੀ ਵੰਸ਼ ਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਬੋਲੀ-ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਮਾਝੀ ਅਤੇ ਮਲਵਈ ਦੋਵੇਂ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਬੋਲੀਆਂ ਜਾਂਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ।

ਘਰ

ਨਿੱਕੀਆਂ ਇੱਟਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਬਣੀਆਂ ਵੀਰਾਨ ਵੱਡੀਆਂ ਇਮਾਰਤਾਂ, ਟੁੱਟੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਹਵੇਲੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਖੜੋਤੇ ਹੋਏ ਖੰਡਰ ਅਪਣੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੀ ਗਵਾਹੀ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਵੱਸੇ ਹੋਏ ਘਰ, ਪੁਰਾਣੇ, ਕੱਚੇ ਅਤੇ ਛੋਟੇ ਹਨ। ਥੋੜ੍ਹੇ ਜਿਹੇ ਨਵੇਂ ਮਕਾਨ ਵੀ ਹਨ। ਪੂਰੇ ਪਿੰਡ ਵਿਚ ਸਫ਼ਾਈ ਦਾ ਚੰਗਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਨਹੀਂ। ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਦੀ ਗਲੀ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਕੇ ਬਾਕੀ ਗਲੀਆਂ ਕੱਚੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਪੀਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਹੁਣ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਦੀ ਸਕੀਮ ਹੇਠ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ।

ਆਬਾਦੀ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਆਬਾਦੀ ਦੇ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਡੇ ਕੋਲ 1951 ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੋਈ ਅੰਕੜੇ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਨਹੀਂ। ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਵੇਲੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਆਬਾਦੀ ਦੀ ਅਨੁਮਾਨ ਏਸ ਤੱਥ ਤੋਂ ਲਾਇਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਸਥਾਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਦਾ ਸਦਰ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਅਤੇ ਸਿਖ ਧਰਮ ਦਾ ਵੱਡਾ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਅਨੁਮਾਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਆਬਾਦੀ ਵੱਸੇ ਹੋਏ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਯਾਤਰੂਆਂ ਦੀ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਆਵਾਜਾਈ ਕਰਕੇ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ। ਬਾਅਦ ਵਿਚ ਜਦ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਚਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ (ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ) ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਇਸਨੂੰ ਆਪਣਾ ਸਦਰ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਬਣਾ ਲਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਤੋਂ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਚੱਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸਪੁਰ ਆ ਗਏ ਤੇ ਉਥੋਂ ਦੀ ਵਸੋਂ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਘੱਟ ਗਈ। ਸਾਡੇ ਕੋਲ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਆਬਾਦੀ ਦੇ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਅੰਕੜੇ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹਨ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਵੇਰਵਾ ਏਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੈ :

1951	1053
1961	1179
1971	1850 ⁹

ਪਟਵਾਰੀ ਦੇ ਰਿਕਾਰਡਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਆਬਾਦੀ ਲਗਭਗ ਦੋ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ। ਆਬਾਦੀ ਦੇ ਅੰਕੜਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਸਪਸ਼ਟ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਪਰੋਕਤ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਆਬਾਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਤਾਂ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਇਸ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਦੀ ਦਰ ਬਹੁਤ ਘੱਟ ਹੈ। ਦੂਜੀ ਗੱਲ ਧਿਆਨ ਦੇਣ ਯੋਗ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਿਉਂ ਜਿਉਂ ਆਬਾਦੀ ਵਧਦੀ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ, ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਟੱਬਰਾਂ (Households) ਦੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਘਟਦੀ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਏਸ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਨ ਕਿੱਤੇ ਦੀ ਤਲਾਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਬਾਹਰ ਜਾਣਾ ਹੈ। ਭੱਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਲਗਭਗ ਸਾਰੇ ਟੱਬਰ ਹੀ ਪਿੰਡ ਛੱਡ ਚੁੱਕੇ ਹਨ। ਜੇ ਇਥੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਨਿੱਕੀ ਸਨਅਤ ਨੂੰ ਉਤਸ਼ਾਹਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਆਬਾਦੀ ਦੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਜਾਣ ਨੂੰ ਰੋਕ ਪਾਈ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ।

ਮੇਲੇ ਤੇ ਤਿਉਹਾਰ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਕਈ ਮੇਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਤਿਉਹਾਰ ਮਨਾਏ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਤਿਉਹਾਰ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਹਨ। ਏਹ ਮੇਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਤਿਉਹਾਰ ਸਲਾਨਾ ਵੀ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਹਰ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਆਉਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਵੀ।

9. *District Census Handbook*, 1961, 1971; and *District Gazetteer Amritsar*, pp. 593-594.

ਵੈਸਾਖੀ ਦਾ ਮੇਲਾ

ਹਰ ਸਾਲ ਵੈਸਾਖੀ ਵਾਲੇ ਦਿਨ ਇਹ ਮੇਲਾ ਬੜੀ ਧੂਮ ਧਾਮ ਨਾਲ ਮਨਾਇਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਹਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ ਲੋਕ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਇਸ਼ਨਾਨ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਏਸ ਮੌਕੇ ਤੇ ਬਾਜ਼ਾਰ ਵੀ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਚਮੜੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਵਸਤਾਂ, ਮਿੱਟੀ ਦੇ ਭਾਂਡੇ ਅਤੇ ਆਮ ਸੌਦਾਗਰੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਚੀਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਦੁਕਾਨਾਂ ਲਗਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ।

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸਾਲਾਨਾ ਬਰਸੀ ਦਾ ਮੇਲਾ

ਇਹ ਮੇਲਾ ਹਰ ਸਾਲ ਸਤੰਬਰ ਦੇ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਜੋਤੀ-ਜੋਤ ਸਮਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਮੌਕੇ ਉਤੇ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ। ਹਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ ਸ਼ਰਧਾਲੂ, ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਰਧਾਂਜਲੀ ਭੇਟ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ਼ਨਾਨ ਲਈ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਏਸ ਮੌਕੇ ਤੇ ਵੀ ਬਾਜ਼ਾਰ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਮਾਸਿਕ ਤਿਉਹਾਰ ਤੇ ਮੇਲੇ

ਪੂਰਨਮਾਸ਼ੀ, ਮੱਸਿਆ ਤੇ ਸੰਗ੍ਰਾਮ ਦੇ ਮੌਕਿਆਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਹਰ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਸੰਗਤ ਇਕੱਠੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿੱਚ ਇਸ਼ਨਾਨ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਲੰਗਰ ਤੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਾਦ ਛਕਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਮੌਕਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਵੀ ਛੋਟੀਆਂ ਮੋਟੀਆਂ ਦੁਕਾਨਾਂ ਲਗਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ।

ਆਰਥਕ ਹਾਲਤ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਆਰਥਿਕ ਹਾਲਤ ਪਛੜੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ। ਇਥੋਂ ਦੇ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਲੋਕ ਹੇਠਲੇ ਤਬਕੇ ਦੇ ਹਨ। ਪਿੰਡ ਆਧੁਨਿਕ ਸਹੂਲਤਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਵਾਂਝਾ ਹੈ। ਬਹੁਤੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਕਿੱਤਾ ਵਾਹੀ ਹੈ। ਵਾਣ ਵੱਟਣ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਵੀ ਇਕ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਕਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਪੁਰਾਣਾ ਘਰੇਲੀ ਉਦਯੋਗ ਹੈ। ਰਵਾਇਤ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਇਸ ਕਿੱਤੇ ਦਾ ਆਰੰਭ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਨੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ। ਕਿਹਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਖੁਦ ਵੀ ਵਾਣ ਵਟਦੇ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਸੇਵਾ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਕਿਰਤ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਪਾਲਣਾ ਕੀਤੀ। ਭਾਰਤ ਦੀ ਵੰਡ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਵਾਣ ਵੱਟਣ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਬਹੁਤੀ ਹੱਦ ਤੱਕ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਪਾਸ ਸੀ। ਵਾਣ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਉਹ ਮੁੜ੍ਹੇ ਵੀ ਬਣਾਉਂਦੇ ਸਨ। ਹੁਣ ਇਹ ਕੰਮ ਮੂਲ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਰਾਜਪੂਤ ਆਵਾਸੀ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਇਥੇ ਆ ਵੱਸੇ ਸਨ। ਇਹ ਪੀੜ੍ਹੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਿਲ ਹਨ। ਵਾਣ ਵੱਟਣ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਜਿਥੇ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਹੱਥਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਇਆ ਕਰਦਾ ਸੀ, ਹੁਣ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਮਸ਼ੀਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਲੈ ਲਈ ਹੈ। ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਵਾਣ ਅਪਣੀ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤੀ ਲਈ ਮਸ਼ਹੂਰ ਹੈ। ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਮਜ਼ਦੂਰ, ਗਰੀਬ ਅਤੇ ਭਿਖਾਰੀ ਵੀ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਹਨ। ਗਰੀਬ ਅਤੇ ਭਿਖਾਰੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਵਾਰੇ ਦੇ ਲੰਗਰ ਅਤੇ ਯਾਤਰੂਆਂ ਦੇ ਦਾਨ ਤੇ ਨਿਰਭਰ ਹਨ।

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਕਿਰਿਤਿਕ ਵਿਕਾਸ

ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਯੋਜਨਾਬਧ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਇਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸੀ। ਫੇਰ ਲੰਗਰ, ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਨਿਵਾਸ, ਸਰਾਂ, ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਗੋਇੰਦੇ ਦੇ ਖਾਨਦਾਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਹਵੇਲੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਵਸਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਵਪਾਰੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਕਾਮਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਕਾਨ ਉਸਾਰੇ ਗਏ। ਪਰ ਬਾਅਦ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ-ਘਰ ਵਿਚ ਪਰਿਵਾਰਿਕ ਮਤਭੇਦ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਟੇ ਵਜੋਂ ਜਾਇਦਾਦ ਦੀ ਵੰਡ ਅਤੇ ਨਵੀਆਂ ਹਵੇਲੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਮਕਾਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ। ਪਰ ਇਹ ਉਸਾਰੀ

ਕਿਸੇ ਯੋਜਨਾ ਅਧੀਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ। ਮੁਗਲ ਕਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਆਬਾਦ ਰਿਹਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਨਗਰ ਦੀ ਰੋਣਕ ਬਿਆਸ ਦੇ ਪੱਤਣੇ ਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਯਾਤਰੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਵਪਾਰੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਇਧਰੋਂ ਆਵਾਜਾਈ ਕਰਕੇ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਬਣੀ ਰਹੀ ਪਰ ਪਿਛੋਂ ਮੁਗਲ ਕਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਉਤਾਰ-ਚੜ੍ਹਾਉ ਦਾ ਅਸਰ ਇਸ ਨਗਰੀ ਉੱਤੇ ਵੀ ਪਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਅਫਗਾਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਹਮਲੇ ਸਦਕਾ ਇਹ ਕਈ ਵੇਰ ਉਜੜਿਆ। ਸਿੱਖ ਰਾਜ ਵੇਲੇ ਇਥੇ ਮੁੜ ਰੋਣਕ ਹੋਈ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਪੱਕੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ। ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਵੇਲੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਬਾਵਾ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਜਾਗੀਰ ਸੀ। ਪਰ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਲੰਗਰ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਵਾਂਗ ਹੀ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸਥਾਨ ਰਹੇ। ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਵੇਲੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਖਾਸ ਕੰਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਇਆ। ਪਿਛੋਂ ਜਦੋਂ ਦਿੱਲੀ ਤੋਂ ਪਿਸ਼ਾਵਰ ਤਕ ਸਿੱਧੀ ਰੇਲਵੇ ਲਾਈਨ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਜਲੰਧਰ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਤੇ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦੇ ਰਸਤੇ ਚਲਦੀ ਸੀ, ਨਿਕਲਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਰੋਣਕ ਵਿਚ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਫਰਕ ਪਿਆ। ਵੀਹਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਿਆਸਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਹਿਯੋਗ ਨਾਲ ਨਵੇਂ ਸਿਰੋਂ ਉਸਾਰੇ ਗਏ। ਆਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਦ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਤੋਂ ਆਏ ਕੁਝ ਲੋਕ ਇਥੇ ਵੱਸੇ ਅਤੇ ਕਈ ਪਿਛੜੀਆਂ ਜਾਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਟੱਬਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੇ ਏਥੇ ਵਸਾਇਆ। ਪਰ ਫੇਰ ਵੀ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਰੋਣਕ 'ਗੁਰੂ ਨਗਰੀ' ਵਾਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕੀ। ਇਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਨਕਸ਼ਾ ਇਕ ਬੇਤਰਤੀਬ ਵਾਧੇ ਦਾ ਨਮੂਨਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਈ ਅੱਡੇ ਅੱਡ ਭਾਗ (pockets) ਹਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਭਾਗਾਂ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਉਘੜ-ਦੁਘੜੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਈ। ਪਿਛਲੇ ਦੋ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਉੱਤੇ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਧਿਆਨ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸੇ ਯੋਜਨਾ ਹੇਠ ਕਪੂਰਥਲੇ ਤੋਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਤੱਕ ਦਰਿਆ ਬਿਆਸ ਉੱਤੇ ਸਿਧਾ ਪੁਲ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਸਕੀਮ ਬਣਾਈ ਗਈ, ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਲਗ ਭਗ ਮੁਕੰਮਲ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਹੈ। ਆਸ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਪੁਲ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬਿਆਸ ਦੇ ਰਸਤੇ ਜਲੰਧਰ ਜਾਂ ਜਲੰਧਰ ਵਲੋਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਆਉਣ-ਜਾਣ ਲਈ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ। ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਵਪਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਉਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਮਿਲੇਗਾ।

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਅਸਥਾਨ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਈ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਅਤੇ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਹਨ :

1. ਸ੍ਰੀ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਚੌਰਾਸੀ ਪਉੜੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਹੈ। ਸ਼ਰਧਾਲੂ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ 'ਚੌਰਾਸੀ ਕੱਟ' ਵੀ ਆਖਦੇ ਹਨ। ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਹਰੇਕ ਪੌੜੀ ਤੇ ਜਪੁ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਇਕ ਪਾਠ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ ਇਸ਼ਨਾਨ ਕਰਕੇ ਕਰਨ ਨਾਲ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ ਲੱਖ ਜੂਨ ਤੋਂ ਛੁਟਕਾਰਾ ਮਿਲ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਬਾਉਲੀ ਦੇ ਨਿਰਮਾਣ ਵਿਚ ਏਸ ਅਧਿਆਤਮਕ ਆਦਰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਭੌਤਿਕ ਕਾਰਣ ਵੀ ਸੀ। ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਵੱਸਣ ਤੋਂ ਬੜੀ ਦੇਰ ਬਾਅਦ ਹੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੇ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕੀਤਾ ਕਿ ਦਰਿਆ ਬਿਆਸ ਦਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਸਾਫ਼ ਤੇ ਪੀਣ ਜੋਗ ਨਹੀਂ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੇਵਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਮਤ 1616 (1559 ਈ.) ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਦਾ ਪਾੜ ਪੁਟਾਉਣਾ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਤੇ ਲਗ ਭਗ ਛੇ ਸਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਕਾਰਜ ਸਿਰੇ ਚੜ੍ਹਿਆ। ਬਾਉਲੀ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਦੇ ਦਾਮਾਦ ਭਾਈ ਜੇਠਾ (ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ) ਨੇ ਵੱਧ ਚੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਲਿਆ।

ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਇਮਾਰਤ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਾਜ ਵੇਲੇ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ਬੁਨਿਆਦਾਂ ਤੇ ਬਨਾਈ ਗਈ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਾ ਬੜਾ ਵੱਡਾ ਯੋਗਦਾਨ ਸੀ। ਹੁਣ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਬਣ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਲਗਭਗ ਪੂਰੀ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਇਮਾਰਤ ਬੜੀ ਖੂਬਸੂਰਤ ਅਤੇ ਵੱਡੀ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਤੇ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਮਾਇਆ ਖਰਚੀ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਆਮਦਨ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਸਾਧਨ ਚੜ੍ਹਤ ਅਤੇ ਜਾਗੀਰਾਂ ਹਨ। ਭਾਈ ਕਾਨ੍ਹ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਭਾ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਮੁਗਲ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਵੀ 1155 ਰੁਪਏ ਦੀ ਜਾਗੀਰ ਲੱਗੀ ਹੋਈ ਸੀ। ਇਹ ਜਾਗੀਰ ਪਿੰਡ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ, ਟੱਡੇਵਾਲ, ਦੁੱਗਲਵਾਲਾ ਅਤੇ ਫਤੇਚੱਕ ਵਿਚ ਸੀ। ਸਿੱਖ ਰਿਆਸਤ ਨਾਭਾ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਵੀ ਜਾਗੀਰਾਂ ਲੱਗੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨਾਲ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ, ਖੰਡੂਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਕਾਵਾਂ, ਅਕਬਰਪੁਰਾ, ਮਿਆਣੀ-ਖੱਖ, ਝੰਡੇਰ, ਵੇਰੋਵਾਲ ਧੰਦਾ, ਆਦਿ ਪਿੰਡਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੀ ਜ਼ਮੀਨ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਦੇ ਮਕਾਨ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ, ਫਤੇਹਾਬਾਦ, ਫਿਰੋਜ਼ਪੁਰ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ, ਗੁਰਦਾਸਪੁਰ ਅਤੇ ਹਰਿਗੋਬਿੰਦਪੁਰ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਆਮਦਨ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਹੈ।¹⁰

2. ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਲੰਗਰ

ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਲੰਗਰ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਉਹ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ ਸਥਾਨ ਹੈ ਜਿਥੋਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਨੇ ਸੰਗਤ ਤੇ ਪੰਗਤ ਦੇ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ ਨੂੰ ਅਮਲੀ ਜਾਮਾ ਪਹਿਨਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਲੰਗਰ ਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਦੀ ਸਦੀਵੀ ਸੰਸਥਾ ਬਣਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਹੁਣ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਲੰਗਰ ਵਿਚ ਯਾਤਰੂਆਂ, ਲੋੜਵੰਦਾਂ, ਰਾਹੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਗਰੀਬਾਂ ਨੂੰ 24 ਘੰਟੇ ਭੋਜਨ ਮਿਲਣ ਲਗ ਪਿਆ। ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਅਤੇ ਵਪਾਰਕ ਕਾਫ਼ਲੇ ਚੁੱਕਿ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਪੱਤਣੇ ਲੰਘਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਇਧਰੋਂ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਸਨ ਤੇ ਦਿਲੀਓਂ ਅਫਗਾਨਿਸਤਾਨ ਜਾਣ ਲਈ ਵੀ ਸਿੱਧਾ ਇਹ ਹੀ ਰਸਤਾ ਸੀ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਦਰਿਆਓਂ ਪਾਰ ਆਉਣ ਜਾਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਮੁਸਾਫ਼ਿਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਨਪਾਨ ਤੇ ਰਹਾਇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਬੜੀ ਦਿੱਕਤ ਸੀ ਚੁੱਕਿ ਨੇੜੇ ਤੇੜੇ ਕੋਈ ਮੰਡੀ ਅਤੇ ਬਸਤੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ। ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਵੱਡਾ ਲੰਗਰ ਤੇ ਸਰਾਂ ਬਣਾ ਕੇ ਇਹ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਹੱਲ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੀ। ਇਸੇ ਲੰਗਰ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠ ਕੇ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਅਕਬਰ ਨੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਕਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਪੰਗਤ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਾਦ ਛੱਕਿਆ ਸੀ। ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਇਸ ਲੰਗਰ ਦੀ ਇਮਾਰਤ ਕੱਚੀ ਸੀ। ਸਿੱਖ ਰਾਜ ਵੇਲੇ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਪੱਕਿਆਂ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਹੁਣ ਇਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਏਥੇ ਇਕ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲ ਇਮਾਰਤ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਹਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ ਲੋਕ ਇੱਕੋ ਵਾਰ ਬੈਠ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਾਦ ਛਕ ਸਕਦੇ ਹਨ। ਇਹ ਸੇਵਾ ਸੰਤ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਹਿੰਮਤ ਨਾਲ ਸਿਰੇ ਚੜ੍ਹੀ ਹੈ। ਲੰਗਰ ਦੀ ਆਮਦਨ ਦਾ ਮੁਖ ਸਾਧਨ ਨਕਦ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਵਾ ਅਤੇ ਜਿਨਸ ਹੈ।

3. ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਨਿਵਾਸ

ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੇ ਨਵੇਂ ਬਣੇ ਲੰਗਰ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਕਮਪਲੈਕਸ ਵਿਚ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਦੋ ਮੰਜਲੀ ਸਰਾਂ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਦੇ ਖੱਬੇ ਹੱਥ ਦੇ ਪਾਸਿਓਂ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਦਰਿਆ ਬਿਆਸ ਦੇ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਕੰਢੇ ਤਕ ਫੈਲੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ। ਇਥੇ ਬਾਹਰੋਂ ਆਈਆਂ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਰਿਹਾਇਸ਼ ਦਾ ਸੌਹਣਾ ਬੰਦੋਬਸਤ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦੇ 40 ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਕਮਰੇ

10. ਕਾਨ੍ਹ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਭਾ, 'ਮਹਾਨ ਕੋਸ਼', 1960, ਪੰਨਾ 320.

ਹਨ। ਹਰ ਕਮਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਤਿੰਨ ਮੰਜੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਮੌਸਮ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਯਾਤਰੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਬਿਸਤਰੇ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਇਸ਼ਨਾਨ ਆਦਿ ਲਈ ਆਧੁਨਿਕ ਢੰਗ ਦੇ ਇਸ਼ਨਾਨ ਘਰ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹਨ। ਸਫ਼ਾਈ ਦਾ ਉਤਮ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਹੈ।

4. ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਹਵੇਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਇਹ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੋਂ ਥੋੜ੍ਹੀ ਦੂਰ ਗਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਰਿਹਾਇਸ਼ੀ ਘਰ ਦੀ ਥਾਵੇਂ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਹਵੇਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਇਕ ਵੱਡੀ ਇਮਾਰਤ ਹੈ ਜਿਸਦੇ ਵੱਖ ਵੱਖ ਭਾਗ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਜੀਵਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਯਾਦਾਂ ਦੇ ਘਟਨਾ ਸਥਲ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਹਵੇਲੀ ਵਿਚਲੇ ਥਾਂ ਵੱਖ ਵੱਖ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਅਹਿਮੀਅਤ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਜੋ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਵੀ ਮੰਨੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਇਮਾਰਤ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਾਜ ਦੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਦੀ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਕਲਾਤਮਕ ਡਿਜ਼ਾਈਨ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਫਰੀਦਕੋਟ ਨੇ 18,000 ਰੁਪਏ ਦੀ ਲਾਗਤ ਨਾਲ ਬਣਵਾਈ ਸੀ। ਸਾਰੀ ਇਮਾਰਤ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਗਮਰਮਰ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਕਈ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਿਆਸਤਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਜਾਗੀਰਦਾਰਾਂ ਨੇ ਹਵੇਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਲਈ ਭੇਟਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਕਈ ਜਾਗੀਰਾਂ ਲੱਗੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਨਕਦ ਭੇਟਾ ਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਕਾਫ਼ੀ ਆਮਦਨ ਹੈ।

(ੳ) ਬਾਬਾ ਮੋਹਨ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਚੌਥਾਰਾ

ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਹਵੇਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਵੜਦਿਆਂ ਹੀ ਇਹ ਸਥਾਨ ਹੈ। ਏਥੇ ਇਕ ਦੋ ਮੰਜ਼ਿਲਾ ਚੌਥਾਰਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਸੀ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਦੇ ਜੇਠੇ ਲੜਕੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਮੋਹਨ ਜੀ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ। ਬਾਬਾ ਮੋਹਨ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਵਿਰਕਤ ਤਪੱਸਿਆ ਵਿਚ ਜੀਵਨ ਬਤੀਤ ਕੀਤਾ। ਸਿੱਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੀ ਇਹ ਇਕ ਆਮ-ਰਿਵਾਇਤ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਥੋਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਮੋਹਨ ਜੀ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੋਚੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਸਨ¹¹ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਮੌਕੇ ਤੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਮੋਹਨ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਨ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੇ 'ਮੋਹਨ ਤੇਰੇ ਉਚੇ ਮੰਦਰ ਮਹਲ ਅਪਾਰਾ' ਵਾਲਾ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਬੋਨਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਉਚਾਰਿਆ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਮੋਹਨ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਚੌਥਾਰਾ ਇਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਯਾਦਗਾਰ ਵਜੋਂ ਮੁੜ ਤੋਂ ਉਸਾਰਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਇਕ ਮੰਜ਼ਿਲਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਮੰਜੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਬਣਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਚੌਥਾਰਾ ਬਾਬਾ ਮੋਹਨ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਸਿੱਧੀ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਤੋਂ ਲਾਈ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਮ ਲੋਕ ਹਵੇਲੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਚੌਥਾਰਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਹੀ ਆਖਦੇ ਹਨ।

(ਅ) ਕਿੱਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਮਕਾਨ ਦੇ ਇਕ ਚੌਥਾਰੇ ਦੀ ਕੰਧ ਵਿਚ ਗੱਡੀ, ਹੋਈ ਕਿੱਲੀ ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਫੜ ਕੇ ਖਲੋਤੇ ਹੋਏ ਇਕ ਲੱਤ ਭਾਰ ਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਬਿਰਧ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਵਿਚ ਤਪੱਸਿਆ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ। ਹੁਣ ਇਸ ਕਿੱਲੀ ਤੇ ਚਾਂਦੀ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ। ਕਿਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਹਵੇਲੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ

11. ਇਹ ਦੋਨਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ ਪੋਥੀਆਂ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਪੱਖ ਤੋਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਅਹਿਮਤ ਰਖਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਹੁਣ ਤੱਕ ਕਾਇਮ ਹਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਇਕ ਪੋਥੀ ਪਟਿਆਲੇ ਬਾਜ਼ਾਰ ਧਰਮਪੁਰਾ ਦੇ ਨੇੜੇ ਬਾਵਾ ਭਗਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਭੱਲਾ ਪਾਸ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਅਜ ਕਲ ਪੰਜੋਰ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਸਰੀ ਪੋਥੀ ਪਿੰਡ ਯਹੀਆਪੁਰ, ਜ਼ਿਲਾ ਹੁਸ਼ਿਆਰਪੁਰ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਪੁਜਾਰੀ ਕੋਲ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹੈ—ਉਹੀ.

ਦੇ ਬਰਾਂਡੇ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਲਾਗੇ ਦੇ ਕਮਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਹੈ।

(ੳ) ਗੁਰ ਗੱਦੀ ਸਥਾਨ

ਇਸ ਬਰਾਂਡੇ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਉਹ ਥਾਂ ਹੈ ਜਿਥੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਬਾਬਾ ਬੁੱਢਾ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਗੁਰਿਆਈ ਦਾ ਤਿਲਕ ਲਾਇਆ ਸੀ। ਇੱਕ ਚਿੱਤਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਗੁਰਿਆਈ ਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੀ ਝਾਕੀ ਦਿਖਾਈ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਈ ਮੰਜੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਔਹਦੇਦਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਅੱਧ-ਚੱਕਰ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠੇ ਦਿਖਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।

(ਸ) ਬੜਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ

ਇਸ ਸਥਾਨ ਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਅਦ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਜੋਤੀ ਜੋਤ ਸਮਾਏ ਸਨ।

(ਹ) ਪਾਲਕੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਇਸ ਪਾਲਕੀ ਵਿਚ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਪਾਵਨ ਬੀੜ ਤਿਆਰ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੋਚੀਆਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਤੋਂ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਲਿਆਏ ਸਨ। ਇਸੇ ਪਾਲਕੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਪਵਿੱਤਰ ਕੇਸ ਤੇ ਚੌਲਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵੀ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਬੜੀ ਸ਼ਰਧਾ ਨਾਲ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਕਰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ।

(ਕ) ਤੇਈਏ ਤਾਪ ਦੀ ਕੋਠੜੀ

ਰਿਵਾਇਤ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਇਸ ਕੋਠੜੀ ਵਿਚ ਤੇਈਏ ਤਾਪ ਨੂੰ ਬਾਲਕ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਕੈਦ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਅਦ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਈ ਲਾਲੋਂ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਛੁਡਾ ਕੇ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ। ਜਾਪਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਚੌਬਾਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਹਸਪਤਾਲ ਸੀ, ਜਿਥੇ ਮਰੀਜ਼ਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮੁਛਤ ਦਵਾ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਇਹ ਸੇਵਾ ਭਾਈ ਲਾਲੋਂ ਜੀ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਇਕ ਵੈਦਯ ਸਨ, ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ।

(ਖ) ਜਨਮ ਅਸਥਾਨ

ਇਹ ਪਵਿੱਤ੍ਰਸ ਥਾਨ ਪ੍ਰਿਥੀ ਚੰਦ, ਮਹਾਂਦੇਵ ਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਜਨਮ ਸਥਾਨ ਹੈ।

(ਗ) ਚੁਲ੍ਹਾ ਬੀਬੀ ਭਾਨੀ ਜੀ

ਇਹ ਬੀਬੀ ਭਾਨੀ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਰਸੋਈ ਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਪਰਿਵਾਰ ਦਾ ਲੰਗਰ ਏਥੇ ਬਣਿਆ ਕਰਦਾ ਸੀ। ਹੁਣ ਯਾਦਗਾਰ ਵਜੋਂ ਏਥੇ ਇਕ ਸੰਗਮਰਮਰ ਦਾ ਚੁਲ੍ਹਾ ਬਣਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ।

(ਘ) ਬੰਮੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ

ਇਸ ਬੰਮੂ ਨੂੰ ਫੜ ਕੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਬਾਲ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਵਿਚ ਖੇਡਦੇ ਸਨ। ਹੁਣ ਇਹ ਬੰਮੂ ਇਕ ਸ਼ੀਸ਼ੇ ਦੇ ਫਰੇਮ ਵਿਚ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ ਹੈ।

5. ਖੂਹ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ

ਇਹ ਖੂਹ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਆਬਾਦੀ ਦੇ ਐਨ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਸਥਿਤ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਨਾਲ ਲਗਦੇ ਕਮਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ।

6. ਸਥਾਨ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਜੀ

ਇਸ ਸਥਾਨ ਤੇ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਜੋਤੀ-ਜੋਤ ਸਮਾਏ ਸਨ।

7. ਦੀਵਾਨ ਸਥਾਨ

ਹਵੇਲੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਦੇ ਠੀਕ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਇਕ ਬੜਾ ਥੜਾ ਬਣਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਥਾਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਲਗਾਏ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਸਨ।

8. ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਨੰਦ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਨਿਵਾਸ-ਸਥਾਨ

ਇਹ ਸਥਾਨ ਵੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਦੇ ਪੋਤੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਆਨੰਦ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਰਹਾਇਸ਼ ਸੀ। ਅਨੰਦ ਜੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਛੋਟੇ ਲੜਕੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਮੋਹਰੀ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਸਨ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ 'ਰਾਗ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮਾਲਾ 3 ਆਨੰਦ, ਸਿਰਲੇਖ ਹੇਠ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਰਚਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਬਾਬਾ ਆਨੰਦ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਹੀ ਪ੍ਰਯਾਦਿ ਉਚਾਰਿਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੋਈ ਮੰਨੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਛੇਵੇਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਹਰਿਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਵਾਰ ਬਾਬਾ ਆਨੰਦ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਲਕੀ ਭੇਜ ਕੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਤੋਂ ਚੱਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮ ਦਾਸ (ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ) ਬੁਲਾਇਆ ਸੀ। ਇਹ ਪਵਿੱਤ੍ਰ ਪਾਲਕੀ ਇਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਿਕ ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨੀ ਵਜੋਂ ਏਥੇ ਹਾਲੇ ਵੀ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹੈ।

9. ਸਥਾਨ ਬਾਬਾ ਭੋੜੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਾਲਾ

ਇਹ ਸਥਾਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਲੰਗਰ ਦੇ ਨੇੜੇ ਹੀ ਬਿਆਸ ਦੇ ਕੰਢੇ ਤੇ ਹੈ। ਇੱਥੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਬੰਸ ਦੇ ਸੰਤ ਬਾਬਾ ਭੋੜੀ ਵਾਲੇ (ਬਾਬੇ ਭੋਲੂ) ਤਪ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ। ਇਸ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਭੋੜੀ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਭਰੋੜ ਲਕੜ ਦੀ ਭਰੋੜੀ, ਸੌਟਾ ਅਤੇ 'ਪਉੜੇ' (ਖੜਾਵਾਂ) ਸੁਭਾਏਮਾਨ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਕਮਰੇ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਬਾਬਾ ਭੋੜੀ ਵਾਲੇ ਦਾ ਲੰਗਰ ਤੇ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਥਾਨ ਹਨ।

ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੰਦਰ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਖੇ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦੇ ਦੋ ਮੰਦਰ ਹਨ। ਇਕ ਸ਼ਿਵਾਲਾ ਪੰਡਿਤ ਰਾਮ ਲਾਲ ਦੇ ਸਪੁਤਰਡਾ: ਕੇਵਲ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਨ ਦੀ ਨਿਗਰਾਨੀ ਹੇਠ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਸਰਾ ਸ਼ਿਵਾਲਾ ਕੇਸ਼ ਪੰਡਿਤ ਦੇ ਵੰਸ਼ਜਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਧਿਕਾਰ ਹੇਠ ਹੈ। ਕੇਸ਼ ਪੰਡਤ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਦਾ ਸਮਕਾਲੀ ਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ 'ਸਦ ਦੀ ਵਾਰ' ਵਿਚ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਕੇਸ਼ ਪੰਡਤ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਿਵਾਲਾ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਖੇ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦਾ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪੁਰਾਣਾ ਮੰਦਰ ਹੈ। ਏਸ ਦੀ ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਇਮਾਰਤ ਮੁੜ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ।

ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸਥਾਨ

ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਮਹਤ੍ਵਪੂਰਨ ਸਥਾਨ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਹੁਸੈਨ ਦੀ ਦਰਗਾਹ ਹੈ। ਇਥੇ ਸਾਲਾਨਾ ਮੇਲਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਸੀ। ਹੁਣ ਵੀ ਏਸ ਥਾਂ ਦੀ ਮਾਨਤਾ ਹੈ।

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਤਿੱਥੀਆਂ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਕਈ ਮਹੱਤਵ ਪੂਰਨ ਘਟਨਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਥਾਨ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਇਹ ਹਨ :

1. (ਗੁਰੂ) ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਦਾ ਮੌਕੇ ਤੇ ਆਉਣਾ ਅਤੇ ਪਿੰਡ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ 1546 ਈ.
2. ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਦੀ ਗੁਰਆਈ 1552 ਈ.
3. ਬਾਉਲੀ ਦਾ ਨਿਰਮਾਣ 1559 ਈ.
4. 'ਜੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਨਿਰਮਾਣ 1559 ਈ.

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| 5. (ਗੁਰੂ) ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਜਨਮ | 1563 ਈ. |
| 6. ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਜੋਤੀ ਜੋਤ ਸਮਾਉਣਾ | 1574 ਈ. |
| 7. ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਗੁਰਗੱਦੀ | 1574 ਈ. |
| 8. ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਜੋਤ ਜੋਤੀ ਸਮਾਉਣਾ | 1581 ਈ. |

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਕੁਝ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ

ਭਾਵੇਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਹੁਣ ਇਕ ਨਿਕਾ ਜਿਹਾ ਪਿੰਡ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਮੱਧਕਾਲ ਦੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਕੁਝ ਸਮੇਂ ਤਕ ਇਹ ਨਗਰ ਖਾਸ ਹੈਸੀਅਤ ਰੱਖਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ। ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਠੀਕ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਸਿਲਸਿਲੇਵਾਰ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਨਹੀਂ ਮਿਲਦਾ ਪਰ ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧਿਤ ਕੁਝ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਸਮਕਾਲੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਦਰਜ ਹਨ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਮਹਤਵ ਦੀ ਗਵਾਹੀ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗਾਂ ਦਾ ਵੇਰਵਾ ਕਾਲ-ਕ੍ਰਮ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੈ :

ਵਾਰਾਂ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ

ਸੋਲ੍ਹਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਦੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਅੱਧ ਦੀ ਇਹ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਉੱਲੇਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਜੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਵਸਾਏ ਇਕ ਨਗਰ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।¹²

ਤੁਜ਼ਕਿ-ਏ-ਜਹਾਂਗੀਰੀ (ਫਾਰਸੀ)

ਮੁਗਲ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਜਹਾਂਗੀਰ ਦੀ ਆਤਮ ਕਥਾ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਉੱਲੇਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਬਾਰੇ ਦਰਜ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੂਚਨਾ ਵਿਚ ਮਿਲਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਤ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਇਕ ਪ੍ਰਫੁੱਲਤ ਸਿੱਖ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਡੇ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ।¹³

ਪਰਚੀਆਂ ਸੇਵਾ ਦਾਸ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1798 ਬਿਕ੍ਰਮੀ/1741 ਈ.)

ਇਹ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸੇਵਾ ਦਾਸ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਦੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਸਾਖੀ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਵੇਲੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆਈਆਂ ਔਕੜਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਸੂਚਨਾ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਹੈ। ਨਦੀਉਂ ਪਾਰ ਦੁਸ਼ਮਣ ਗੁਆਂਢੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਈਰਖਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਦੈਨਿਕ ਜੀਵਨ ਵਿਚ ਆਈਆਂ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲਾਂ ਦਾ ਵੇਰਵਾ ਦਰਜ ਹੈ। ਸੁਲਤਾਨਪੁਰ ਲੋਧੀ ਦੇ ਸ਼ੇਖ ਬਿਆਸ ਨਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਪਾਣੀ ਭਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਘੜੇ ਗੁਲੇਲ ਮਾਰ ਕੇ ਤੋੜ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਕ ਵੇਰ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸ਼ੇਖਾਂ ਨੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਖਜ਼ਾਨਾ ਜੋ ਨਦੀਓਂ ਪਾਰ ਇਕ ਖੱਚਰ ਤੇ ਆ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ ਜਬਤ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ। ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਹਿੰਸਾ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਰਖਦੇ ਸਨ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਉਹ ਲੜਾਈ ਝਗੜੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਨ ਪੈਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ। ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੇ ਗਿਲਾ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਵੀ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕੋਈ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਮਾਮਲੇ ਨੂੰ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਨਿਰਣੇ ਤੇ ਛੱਡ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਪਰ ਬਾਅਦ ਵਿਚ ਜਦੋਂ ਸ਼ੇਖਾਂ ਨੇ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਗੋਸਾਈਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਤੰਗ ਕਰਨਾ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕੀਤਾ ਤਾਂ ਫਸਾਦ ਹੋਇਆ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਰਿਪੋਰਟ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ

12. ਵਾਰਾਂ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ, (ਸੰ.) ਭਾਈ ਵੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ, ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਮਾਚਾਰ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ, 1972, ਵਾਰ 1 (46-7) ਪੰਨਾ 40.

13. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Eng. Tr. Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I.p. 72,

ਜਹਾਂਗੀਰ ਤੱਕ ਹੋਈ ਤਾਂ ਸ਼ੇਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਕੀਤੇ ਦਾ ਫਲ ਮਿਲਿਆ, ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਖਜ਼ਾਨਾ ਵੀ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਵਾਪਿਸ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ।¹⁴

ਖੁਲਾਸਾਤੁ-ਤਵਾਰੀਖ (ਫਾਰਸੀ, 1698 ਈ.)

ਸੁਜਾਨ ਰਾਏ ਭੰਡਾਰੀ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਖੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਅਤੇ ਮੁਗਲ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਅਕਬਰ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਈ ਮੁਲਾਕਾਤ ਦਾ ਉਲੇਖ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ। ਲੇਖਕ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਇਹ ਮੁਲਾਕਾਤ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਦੇ ਦੱਖਣ ਦੀ ਮੁਹਿੰਮ ਵੇਲੇ ਲਾਹੌਰੋਂ ਜਾਂਦਿਆਂ ਹੋਈ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਮੌਕੇ ਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਸੁਝਾਉ ਉੱਤੇ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਨੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਕਿਸਾਨਾਂ ਦਾ 1/6 ਮਾਲੀਆ ਮਾਫ਼ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਸੀ। ਕਾਰਣ ਇਹ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਦੇ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਕੂਚ ਕਰਨ ਕਾਰਨ ਅਨਾਜ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੀਮਤਾਂ ਘੱਟ ਗਈਆਂ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਨਤੀਜੇ ਵਜੋਂ ਕਿਸਾਨਾਂ ਲਈ ਮੁਸ਼ਕਲ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋ ਗਈ ਸੀ। ਸੁਜਾਨ ਰਾਏ ਭੰਡਾਰੀ ਇਸ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚ ਬਿਆਸ ਦੇ ਕੰਢੇ ਵਸੇ ਹੋਏ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਸੈਨਿਕ ਮਹੱਤਵ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਭੀ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਸ਼ਾਹ ਜਹਾਨ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਦੇ ਪੁੱਤਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਤਰਾਧਿਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਯੁੱਧ ਵੇਲੇ ਜਦੋਂ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਦੇ ਛੋਟੇ ਲੜਕੇ ਔਰੰਗਜ਼ੇਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਦਰਿਆ ਬਿਆਸ ਪਾਰ ਕਰ ਗਈਆਂ ਤੇ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਨੇੜੇ ਬਿਆਸ ਦੇ ਪੱਤਣ ਤੇ ਪੁੱਜੀਆਂ ਤਾਂ ਸ਼ਾਹਜ਼ਾਦਾ ਦਾਰਾ ਸ਼ਿਕੋਹ (ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਦਾ ਜੇਠਾ ਪੁੱਤਰ) ਨੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੇ ਇਕ ਸਹਿਯੋਗੀ ਸੈਨਿਕ ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ ਦਾਊਦ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਦੇਸ਼ ਭੇਜਿਆ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਵਿਖੇ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ, ਉਥੇ ਕੁੱਝ ਦਿਨ ਰੁਕਿਆ ਰਹੇ ਤੇ ਔਰੰਗਜ਼ੇਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਜੰਗੀ ਕਿਸ਼ਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਾੜ ਦੇਵੇ ਅਤੇ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖਤਮ ਕਰ ਦੇਵੇ।¹⁵

ਚਾਰ-ਬਾਗ਼-ਪੰਜਾਬ (ਫਾਰਸੀ, 1874 ਈ.)

ਗਣੇਸ਼ ਦਾਸ ਵਡੋਹਰਾ ਦੀ ਇਹ ਰਚਨਾ ਮੁਢਲੀ ਉਨੀਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਦੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦਾ ਅਹਿਮ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਸਰੋਤ ਹੈ। ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬਿਆਸ ਨਦੀ ਦੇ ਕੰਢੇ ਵਸੇ ਹੋਏ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਜ਼ਿਕਰ ਮਿਲਦਾ ਹੈ। ਉਹ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਲਿਖਦਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਸਦੇ ਅਰਥ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਉਨੀਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਅੱਧ ਵਿਚ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਇਕ ਵਿਕਸਿਤ ਅਤੇ ਆਬਾਦ ਨਗਰ ਸੀ।¹⁶

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਕਲਾ

ਭਵਨ ਕਲਾ :

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੀ ਭਵਨ ਕਲਾ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਮਹੱਤਵ ਰੱਖਦੀ ਹੈ। ਪੁਰਾਣੀਆਂ ਇਮਾਰਤਾਂ, ਖੰਡਰ ਤੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਵੱਖ ਵੱਖ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਕਲਾ ਬਾਰੇ ਸੰਕੇਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਤਰਨ ਤਾਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਤੱਕ ਦੇ ਰਸਤੇ ਵਿਚ ਹਾਲੇ ਵੀ ਕੋਸ਼-ਮੀਨਾਰ ਤੇ ਪੁਰਾਣੀਆਂ ਸਰਾਵਾਂ, ਇਮਾਰਤਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਕਬਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਖੰਡਰ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹਨ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਮੁਗਲ ਕਾਲ ਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਦਾ ਸੰਕੇਤ ਦਿੰਦੇ

14. ਪਰਚੀਆਂ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਸ ਉਦਾਸੀ, ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਭਾਗ, ਪੰਜਾਬ, ਪਟਿਆਲਾ, 1978, ਪੰਨਾ 64-66.

15. ਸੁਜਾਨ ਰਾਏ ਭੰਡਾਰੀ, 'ਖੁਲਾਸਾਤੁ-ਉਤ-ਤਵਾਰੀਖ', ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਅਨੁਵਾਦ, ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਗਿਲ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ, ਪਟਿਆਲਾ, 1972, ਪੰਨੇ 436, 497.

16. ਵੇਖੋ 'ਮੁਢਲੀ ਉਨੀਵੀਂ ਸਦੀ ਦਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ' (ਗਣੇਸ਼ ਦਾਸ ਦੇ ਚਾਰ ਬਾਗ਼-ਪੰਜਾਬ-ਵਿਚੋਂ) (ਸੰ.) ਜੇ. ਐਸ. ਗਰੇਵਾਲ ਅਤੇ ਇੰਦੂ ਬਾਂਗਾ, ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਪੰਨਾ 116.

ਹਨ। ਪਰ ਕੁੱਝ ਥੋਹ ਅਤੇ ਖੰਡਰਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦਾ ਵੀ ਅਹਿਸਾਸ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਇਲਾਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ ਕਾਲ ਵੇਲੇ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਦਾ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਏਸ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਦੀ ਪੁਸ਼ਟੀ ਲਈ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਆਰਕਿਓਲੋਜੀ ਵਿਭਾਗ ਨੂੰ ਖੋਜ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ।

ਬਹੁਤੀਆਂ ਇਮਾਰਤਾਂ (ਜਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਟੁੱਟੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਹਨ) ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾਲ ਦੀ ਭਵਨ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਦਾ ਨਮੂਨਾ ਹਨ। ਇਹ ਹਵੇਲੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਮਕਾਨ ਨਾਨਕਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਇੱਠਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਦੇ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਦੇ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਬਣੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਹਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਇਮਾਰਤ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੀ। ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਚੰਗੇ ਨਮੂਨੇ ਢਹਿ ਗਏ ਹੋਣ। ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਾਜ ਦੇ ਵੇਲੇ ਦੇ ਭਵਨ ਕਲਾ ਦੇ ਨਮੂਨੇ ਹਨ ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਯੋਗਦਾਨ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਕਲਾ ਮੁਗਲ ਕਲਾ ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਤਾਈਆਂ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਕਲਾ ਦੀ ਵਿਲੱਖਣਤਾ ਦਰਸਾਉਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਤੇ ਮਹਿਰਾਬਾਂ ਖਾਸ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸ਼ੈਲੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ।

ਚਿੱਤਰਕਾਰੀ

ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਬਾਉਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਡਿਊੜੀ ਦੇ ਕੰਧ ਚਿੱਤਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਨਮੂਨੇ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਹਨ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕਾਫੀ ਸਾਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਸੰਗਮਰਮਰ ਲਾਉਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਖਤਮ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕੇ ਹਨ। ਜਿਹੜੇ ਕੰਧ ਚਿੱਤਰ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹਨ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ਤਾ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੋਟਿਫ, ਡਰਾਇੰਗ, ਖਾਕਾ ਅਤੇ ਰੰਗ ਬੜੇ ਸੁਚੱਜੇ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਚਿੱਤਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਵਿਸ਼ਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਮਿਥਹਾਸ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੀ ਜਨਮ ਸਾਖੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਰਖਦਾ ਹੈ। ਕਲਾ ਦੀ ਸ਼ੈਲੀ ਅਤੇ ਰੰਗ ਦਾ ਸੁਮੇਲ ਤੇ ਸੰਤੁਲਨ ਹੈ।

Book Reviews

Maheswar Neog, *Anandram Dhekiyal Phukan : Plea for Assam and Assamese*, Asam Sahitya-Sabha, Jorhat, Assam, pp. xvi+173, Rs 12.

The volume under review brings to us the life and personality of a young Indian, Anandram Dhekiyal Phukan of Assam, of the early British period, and his strivings towards the rehabilitation of the people of that province, their language and education, their culture and polity in the new regime, under which Phukan himself worked as an officer. Professor Maheswar Neog also gives us under the cover of this volume the two most important writings of Phukan, namely his memorandum, "Observations on the Administration of the Province of Assam," (1854) submitted to A. J. Moffatt Mills, who was investigating the subject under the orders of British Government of India, and his book, *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language and on Vernacular Education in Assam* (1855). The publication, therefore, is of great documentary value regarding the policies of administration, education, etc., pursued by the Government in the days of East India Company.

It is remarkable that Phukan was only twenty-three when he made these bold submissions regarding the Imperial Government's policies. He was in no mood to mince matters just because he was a servant of that Government. He was fearless in his assertion that the hopes that were raised in the hearts of the people by the introduction of the civilized governance of the British in 1826 were largely belied. He wrote "Our countrymen hailed the day on which British supremacy was proclaimed in the province of Assam, and entertained sanguine expectations of peace and happiness from the rule of Britain. ...The heads of Government have never taken occasion to inquire into the state of the country; and although twenty-eight years have elapsed since the annexation of Assam to the British Empire, little perceptible change has been effected in the condition of the people and good government of the Province." He made a very trenchant analysis of the fiscal policy, the administration of judicial, police, medical, agriculture and allied matters. He criticized the introduction of opium, a veritable menace to the country's health, and suggested means of abolishing this baneful drug.

Phukan gave a telling picture of the retrograde state of education in the province. He condemned the wrong policy by which the Govern-

ment ousted the Assamese language from the vernacular schools and substituted Bengali for it in 1836. The young Civilian was much ahead of his time when he thought that the child should get his elementary education in his own tongue. He advocated the reintroduction of Assamese in the mofussil vernacular schools, the establishment of Sanskrit schools, the introduction of English education and the creation of circulating libraries as effective measures towards the proper growth of education.

Phukan's Memorandum containing his criticism and advice to the Government was warmly welcomed by the investigating officer, Mr Mills, who in particular took up Phukan's suggestion regarding the reintroduction of Assamese as medium of education; but it was not properly heeded by the then Government. That is why Phukan under the pseudonym "A Native" wrote his book, *A Few Remarks*, the very next year without letting the grass grow under his feet.

Professor Maheswar Neog, an eminent scholar and critic, gives us an assessment of the life and activity of Anandram Phukan in the perspective of the political and administrative history of the Assam during the 19th century. He asserts after his review of the whole situation and Phukan's writings that the latter, even though a servant of the British Government, had his people foremost in his mind, as he was "a wonderfully liberal character." The book is an useful addition as source of Indian History in the 19th century and I am sure it will inspire students of history and literature alike.

G. S. ANAND*

B. N. Goswami and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughal and the Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, Price Rs. 50/-.

The land of five rivers has always been cockpit of cultural forces of different nature. Before the advent of Islam there was constant conflict between the followers of Gorakh Nath and Jalandhar Nath. The former were ultimately victorious and were able to oust the latter. Both of these orders belonged to Sivaism which was predominant in this region. But with the passage of time Vaishnava institutions were also established. The Vaishnava temple at Pindori was established in the days of Mughal Emperor Jehangir. It had to struggle hard in the beginning. It was subjected to attacks by a group of militant Sivait ascetics. The sub-

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BOOK REVIEWS

mountane region of Gurdaspur (wherein Pindori is situated) had been the resort of various types of ascetics. Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism held a number of discourses with *Sidhas* at Achal Batala (near modern Batala). It is significant that the book has traced the development of a Vaishnava establishment in this region which has brought a new historical perspective for the scholars of the history of the Punjab.

The fabric of the medieval history of the Punjab is mostly woven by chronicles and accounts written by Muslim historians who had their own prejudices and limitations. Their writings are often replete with fanatical distortions which could not be subjected to historical scrutiny and examination due to paucity of sources of information. This is more true with regard to the non-Muslim religious denominations. From this point of view this book is welcome. It brings to light a new type of source material for historical research.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part, the introduction, gives the history of the temple with details of the days of Bhagwanji and Narainji, the founders, and their successors. It ends with the summary of the documents. The second part gives the translation of the fifty two documents presented in the book. These documents were preserved by the Vaishnava Temple at Pindori. They deal with the land grants given to the temple by various rulers from Jehangir, Mughal Emperor (1606-27), to the Sikh period upto 1849 A.D. The third part gives the photographic copies of the documents.

The founder of the order at Pindori, Bhagwanji, was converted to Vaishnavism by Shri Krishnadas Payahari who was connected with a Vaishnava *gaddi* in Rajasthan "This was the great age of missionary activity by Vaishnava saints and it was probably with an eye on spreading doctrine of Vaishnavism to the Punjab Hills which then used almost exclusive allegiance to Shaivism or Shaktism that Shri Krishnadas Payahari induced Bhagwanji to make district Gurdaspur as the base of his activity."

The first *Patta* of land granted to the Vaishnavas at Pindori appears have been issued in 1695 A.D. It was later on confirmed by Zakaria Khan, the Governor of Punjab 1726-1745. In the struggle which followed, the Sikhs appear to have acquired control of this semi-hilly area just after Mir Mannoo 1748-1753 A.D.

The documents in this book throw a fresh light on the land grants *Dharam Arth* given by the Sikh rulers during the second half of the 18th century and by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the first half of the 19th

century. It is significant to note that the Sikh chiefs started issuing the letters of authority by April 17, 1752, as is clear from document No. XVIII issued by Hukumat Singh which runs : "To the present and future *amils* and *Zamindars* of *qasba* Kahnuwan, may they remain in peace and happiness. Since the *Mandi* and the land of respected Baba Sarwan Nathji is in lawful possession of the *mahants* of Sri Pindori of Bhagwan-Narainji in accordance with the established practice of (the Mughals) emperors, it is incumbent (upon the above mentioned *amils* and *zamindars*) that now (as before) they should treat the proceeds the proprietorship of above mentioned land as belonging to the *mahants* in accordance with the former practice. They should know this to be an injunction."

Written on the 10th Baisakh, Samat 1809 (April 17, 1752) Inscribed at *Qasba Kahanuwan*" (page 206 of the book).

From the collection of these documents it appears that at every political change the document of land-grant had to be renewed. Every new ruler issued fresh instructions to the *amil* and *zamindar* regarding the land-grant sanctioned by his predecessors. It was the policy of the Sikh chiefs and Maharaja Ranjit Singh to continue the religious endowments sanctioned by the Mughal rulers.

The book is useful for historical research in the regional history. An index at the end would have added to its utility.

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